

THE  
AMERICAN LABOR  
YEAR BOOK

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1926

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AMERICAN LABOR YEARBOOK # A  
MERICAN LABOR YEARBOOK



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*The* AMERICAN LABOR  
YEAR BOOK

1926



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READING.

By the  
LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT  
of the  
RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

SOLON DE LEON, Director  
NATHAN FINE, Associate

*Volume VII*

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## NOTICE

The American Labor Year Book aims to be as accurate as possible. Secretaries of National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Labor, Socialist, and Communist Parties, Cooperatives, and kindred organizations in the United States and abroad are therefore URGENTLY requested to send copies of Annual Reports, Convention Proceedings, Journals, Agreements, and other publications, when published. The courtesy will be most highly appreciated.

LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT,  
Rand School of Social Science,  
7 East 15th Street,  
New York, N. Y., U. S. A.

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## FOREWORD

Redoubled effort has been made, in preparing this issue of the AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK, to turn out a volume of practical usefulness to the practical worker in the trade union and labor political ranks.

Into the following pages has been packed as much as possible of the information which the worker needs in his trade union meeting, in noon-hour discussions with his fellow-workingmen, or on the stand for his political party, to back up his arguments and drive home his points. In wage negotiations, laying out union tactics, or shaping political programs, knowledge of the facts of industry and of what the other branches of the labor movement are doing is essential. To search through the multitude of official reports and books on any industrial subject—or even to discover what books and reports exist on it—is often beyond the limited time and energy of the worker. To condense into useable size, and to interpret accurately the information gathered, may be beyond the limited experience of one not accustomed to handling statistics. It is to meet the needs of this situation that the AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK is written.

The first section, on Industrial and Labor Conditions, has been nearly doubled in size. Here will be found, in easily understood form, figures on industrial production, corporation profits, new mergers and trusts, the workers' share in the product of industry, the trend of wages, hours, unemployment, child labor, and related subjects, collected from widely scattered sources. Probably no equal number of pages anywhere else will give so clear a picture of the conditions which today confront the mass of American workers.

Even more expanded is the section on Trade Union Organization. In it for the first time appears a summary of the activity of practically every national union in the country. Of vital importance are the write-ups of such employers' activities as company unions, labor spies, em-

ployee magazines, employee stock-ownership plans, company insurance and pensions.

The enlarged section on Labor Disputes contains an absorbing history of strikes in both hard and soft coal for a quarter of a century. It also analyzes the disputes of the last eight or ten years, showing their number, industries affected, causes, location, time of year, sex of workers involved, and results. Under Labor Politics will be found the activities of the various parties aiming to represent the workers, with the full text of typical platforms in last autumn's city campaigns. The latest amendments to the labor law, and judicial opinions, are described under Labor Legislation, Court Decisions Affecting Labor, and Civil Liberties. Complete account of forward steps and spread of the movement to new centers is given in Workers' Education. The sections on Labor Banking, Investment, and Insurance, on Co-operation, and on Public Ownership, fuller than previously, and with a wealth of up-to-date statistics, show continued development in their respective fields. As a result of this expansion of the American information throughout the volume, International Relations of Labor, and Labor Abroad, have been treated in briefer form.

Hardly any section of the book is entirely the work of one person. Among those who have mainly contributed to bringing the volume to its present usefulness are David P. Berenberg, Robert W. Dunn, Nathan Fine, Carol Weiss King, Cedric Long, Carl Raushenbush, Hiroshi Shimidzu, and Carl D. Thompson. The description of new labor laws is based on the annual summary by the American Association for Labor Legislation. To all of these, as well as to the many trade union and labor party secretaries at home and in many other lands, who have helped by information in journals, reports, and correspondence, the thanks of the Department are due. The members of the Labor Research Committee—John P. Burke, Evans Clark, Max D. Danish, Harry W. Laidler, Algernon Lee, Nellie S. Nearing, and Scott Nearing—have aided throughout with suggestion and criticism.

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- 10— French Socialist Party.....Paris
- 11— Seamen's Union.....Baltimore
- 12— Idaho Federation of Labor.....Pocatello
- 18— Masters, Mates and Pilots.....
- 18— Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association....Washington

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- 3— Michigan Federation of Labor.....Jackson

## MARCH

- 13— Texas-Arkansas Farmer-Labor Party.....Fort Worth

## APRIL

- 4— British Independent Labor Party.....Whitley Bay
- 4— Socialist Youth International.....Amsterdam
- 5— Florida Federation of Labor.....St. Petersburg
- 5— Louisiana Federation of Labor.....Shreveport
- 6— Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.....Pittsburgh
- 10— Rhode Island Federation of Labor.....Providence
- 12— Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L.....
- 19— Technical Engineers.....Washington
- 19— Texas Federation of Labor.....Houston
- 26— Georgia Federation of Labor.....Columbus
- .. Technical Engineers.....Washington
- .. Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico...Guyama

## MAY

- 1— Pan-Pacific Workers' Conference.....Sydney, Australia
- 1— United Wall Paper Crafts.....New York
- 1— Socialist Party of the United States.....Pittsburgh
- 3— Arkansas Federation of Labor.....Hot Springs
- 3— Tennessee Federation of Labor.....Nashville
- 3— Virginia Federation of Labor.....Roanoke
- 3— Finnish Confederation of Trade Unions.....Helsingfors
- 10— Amalgamated Clothing Workers.....Montreal
- 10— Alabama Federation of Labor.....Muscle Shoals
- 10— American Federation of Musicians.....Salt Lake City
- 11— Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.....Erie
- 12— British Conference of Labor Women.....Huddersfield
- 15— Wire Weavers' Protective Association.....New York
- 17— Kansas Federation of Labor.....Kansas City
- 17— Missouri Federation of Labor.....Jefferson City
- 18— Emigration Conference, I. F. T. U.....London
- 26— International Labor Conference.....Geneva
- .. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.....Chicago
- .. Actors and Artistes.....New York

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- 1— Maine Federation of Labor.....Portland
- 2— Colorado Federation of Labor.....Alamosa
- 12— Women's Week of the British Labor Party.....London
- 13— North Dakota Federation of Labor.....Grand Forks
- 14— Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Union.....Louisville
- 22— Montana Federation of Labor.....Bozeman
- 23— International Union of Building Workers.....London
- 28— National Women's Trade Union League.....Kansas City
- 28— South Carolina Federation of Labor.....Charleston
- .. Theatrical Stage Employees.....
- .. Pattern Makers' League.....Cleveland
- .. Marble, Slate, and Stone Polishers.....
- .. Wyoming Federation of Labor.....Casper
- .. British Cooperative Congress.....Belfast
- .. British Women's Cooperative Guild Congress..Newcastle

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5—	Flint Glass Workers.....	Philadelphia
12—	Pavers' and Rammermen's International Union.....	
12—	International Longshoremen's Association.....	New York
12—	Bookbinders .....	Des Moines
12—	Washington Federation of Labor.....	Everett
19—	Plate Printers and Die Stampers.....	Chicago
19—	Stereotypers' International Union.....	Los Angeles
20—	Stove Mounters .....	Newark
20—	Wisconsin Federation of Labor.....	Green Bay
26—	Ohio Federation of Labor.....	Akron
..	Operative Potters .....	Atlantic City
..	United Leather Workers.....	

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2—	Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.....	Denver
2—	Bakery and Confectionery Workers.....	New York
9—	North Carolina Federation of Labor.....	Salisbury
10—	International Miners' Federation.....	Cracow, Poland
16—	Minnesota Federation of Labor.....	Hibbing
16—	Photo-Engravers .....	Philadelphia
18—	Railway Mail Association.....	Cleveland
23—	Printing Pressmen.....	Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
24—	New York Federation of Labor.....	Niagara Falls
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29—	Swedish Federation of Trade Unions.....	Stockholm
..	Massachusetts Federation of Labor.....	Springfield
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**SEPTEMBER**

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6—	British Trades Union Congress.....	
13—	Illinois Federation of Labor.....	Streator
13—	Utah Federation of Labor.....	Salt Lake City
13—	Steam and Operating Engineers.....	
13—	Railroad Signalmen .....	New York
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13—	Molders' Union.....	Montreal
13—	Typographical Union.....	Colorado Springs
13—	Hod Carriers and Building Laborers.....	Albany
13—	Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers.....	Atlantic City
14—	Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers.....	Montreal
20—	California Federation of Labor.....	Oakland
21—	New Hampshire Federation of Labor.....	Nashua
21—	Oklahoma Federation of Labor.....	Ponca City
26—	South Dakota Federation of Labor.....	Huron
29—	Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.....	Detroit
29—	Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.....	Detroit
..	Brick and Clay Workers.....	
..	International Fire Fighters.....	Philadelphia
..	Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	Montreal
..	International Transport Workers' Federation.....	Paris

**OCTOBER**

4—	American Federation of Labor.....	Detroit
5—	Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.....	
11—	British Labor Party.....	Margate
14—	Federated Textile Unions of America.....	New York
..	Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L.....	
..	Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.....	Chicago

**NOVEMBER**

9—	Knights of Labor.....	Washington
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**DECEMBER**

6—	Billers and Posters.....	New York
13—	Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.....	Atlantic City
28—	League for Industrial Democracy.....	New York

# DATES IN LABOR HISTORY

1776-1850

- 1776—American colonies, in Declaration of Independence, proclaimed right of people, whenever any government becomes destructive of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, "to alter or abolish it, and institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."
- 1786—Philadelphia printers conducted first recorded American strike.  
—Shays' rebellion of workers and farmers, against exactions of creditors and high taxes, broke out in Massachusetts.
- 1789—People of Paris captured the Bastille; beginning of French Revolution.
- 1791—Philadelphia carpenters during strike undertook cooperative production.  
—Le Chapelier law, forbidding trade unions, enacted by French Constituent Assembly.
- 1792—Philadelphia shoemakers formed first known American local trade union.
- 1796—Conspiracy of the Equals led by Babeuf in France.
- 1799—British Parliament adopted combination act prohibiting trade unionism.
- 1802—Great Britain passed first modern labor law, the statute of apprentices, limiting hours of apprentices to 12 daily and regulating working and living conditions.
- 1806—Philadelphia shoe makers' union found guilty as criminal conspiracy to raise wages.
- 1807—Congress prohibited importation of Negro slaves.  
—Great Britain abolished slave trade.
- 1811—Luddite outbreaks, British textile hand workers destroyed machinery and factories.
- 1819—Dragoons rode into demonstration against corn laws and combination act at Peterloo, Manchester, England.
- 1825—British combination act against trade unionism repealed.
- 1826—Robert Owen started New Harmony colony in Indiana.
- 1827—Philadelphia carpenters conducted partly successful strike for 10-hour day.  
—Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations, first American city central labor body, formed in Philadelphia.
- 1828—*Mechanics' Free Press*, first known labor paper in the world, founded in Philadelphia.  
—Workingmen's Party, first American local labor party, set up in Philadelphia.
- 1831—New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Workingmen, first American industrial union, formed at Providence, R. I.
- 1832—Ohio enacted first mechanics' lien law after trade union agitation.
- 1833—Robert Owen founded British Grand National Consolidated Trades Union.
- 1834—National Trades' Union, first national labor federation in United States, founded at New York.  
—Pennsylvania adopted first public school law in response to trade union pressure.
- 1836—National Cooperative Association of Journeymen Cordwainers, first American national trade union, organized at New York.

- 1839—Great Chartist petition for manhood suffrage and reform of Parliament, with 1,280,000 signatures, rejected by British House of Commons.
- 1840—Dorr's rebellion in Rhode Island for extension of suffrage in state.  
—President Van Buren ordered 10-hour day in government navy yards.
- 1842—Massachusetts passed first American law limiting working hours for children.
- 1843—Albert Brisbane founded North American Phalanx, Fourierite utopian Socialist colony, near New York City.
- 1844—Rochdale, England, weavers founded pioneer cooperative store.
- 1847—New Hampshire adopted first American 10-hour law, but allowed longer hours "by agreement."
- 1848—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto.  
—Revolutions broke out in France (Paris workers' rising in June), Hungary, Germany, and Italy.  
—Icaria, utopian Socialist colony, founded in Texas by followers of Cabet.
- 1850—International Typographical Union, first powerful national trade union in America, organized.  
—General Workmen's League established at Philadelphia by Wilhelm Weitling.  
—Amalgamated Society of Engineers, first of British new bargaining unions, founded at London.

## 1851-1900

- 1853—Joseph Weydemeyer introduced Marxism in America, organized Proletarierbund.
- 1857—Communist Club organized in New York.
- 1859—Ira Steward began 8-hour agitation.
- 1863—Abraham Lincoln issued Emancipation Proclamation freeing chattel slaves.  
—Ferdinand Lassalle established German Workingmen's Association.
- 1864—International Workingmen's Association (First International) founded by Karl Marx, in London.
- 1866—National Labor Union founded at Baltimore by John Hinchcliff, William H. Sylvis, and others.
- 1867—Karl Marx published first volume of *Capital* in London.
- 1868—Social Labor Party, American section of First International, founded in New York.  
—British Trades Union Congress held first session at Manchester.  
—United States Congress adopted 8-hour law for government employees.
- 1869—Knights of Labor organized at Philadelphia by Uriah S. Stephens.  
—Massachusetts established first state bureau of labor statistics.  
—German Social Democratic Party founded.
- 1870—August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht voted in German Reichstag against credits for Franco-Prussian war.
- 1871—Paris Commune established by workers; suppressed by French and Prussian troops.
- 1875—British criminal law amendment act repealed, legalizing trade union activity.
- 1877—Great railroad strikes on eastern systems.  
—Socialist Labor Party organized at Newark, N. J.  
—*New Yorker Volkszeitung*, first Socialist daily in America, founded.
- 1878—Bismarck enacted anti-Socialist laws.
- 1879—Massachusetts established first American inspector to enforce labor laws.
- 1881—American Federation of Labor (originally Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada) organized by Samuel Gompers at Pittsburgh.

- 1883—Social Democratic Federation and Fabian Society founded in Great Britain.
- 1884—Knights of Labor adopted first Monday in September as Labor Day.
  - United States Bureau of Labor established.
- 1885—Successful Knights of Labor strike on Gould railroads.
  - Belgian Labor Party founded.
- 1886—Nation-wide 8-hour movement launched on May 1.
  - Bomb thrown in Haymarket Square, Chicago; 8 Anarchists arrested; 4 hanged; 1 suicide; 3 afterward pardoned.
  - Henry George campaign for mayorship of New York conducted by United Labor Party and Single Taxers.
  - Leader*, first Socialist daily in English in America, founded in New York.
- 1888—International Association of Machinists formed.
- 1889—Second (Socialist) International formed at Paris.
  - May First adopted as International Labor Day.
  - London dockworkers' and gasworkers' strikes, beginning of unionism for unskilled.
- 1890—United Mine Workers of America organized.
- 1892—Steel workers' strike crushed at Homestead, Pa., after pitched battle with Pinkerton strike-breakers.
  - Buffalo switchmen's strike to enforce 10-hour law on railroads, broken by state troops.
  - Coeur d'Alene, Ida., silver miners' strike crushed by federal troops.
  - Coal Creek and Tracy City, Tenn., miners' efforts to expel convict laborers from mines defeated by militia.
  - Keir Hardie elected as first independent worker in British Parliament.
  - Italian Socialist Party organized.
- 1893—American Railway Union founded by Eugene V. Debs.
  - Independent Labor Party of Great Britain founded by Keir Hardie.
- 1894—Pullman railroad strike defeated by injunction and use of federal troops by President Cleveland over protest of Governor Altgeld of Illinois; Debs sentenced for contempt of court.
- 1895—Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance founded at New York by Daniel De Leon.
  - French General Confederation of Labor founded.
- 1897—Jewish Daily *Forward* founded in New York.
- 1898—Social Democratic Party founded by Debs, Berger, and others, at Chicago.
  - United States Supreme Court upheld Utah 8-hour law for miners.
  - Russian Social Democratic Labor Party organized.
- 1900—International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union founded.
  - Workmen's Circle founded.

## 1901-1924

- 1901—Socialist Party organized at Indianapolis.
  - International Trade Union Secretariat founded.
- 1903—Miners' strike at Cripple Creek, Colo., broken by armed deputies.
- 1905—Industrial Workers of the World organized at Chicago by Debs, Haywood, Daniel De Leon, and others.
  - First Russian Revolution broke out; people massacred before Tsar's palace.
- 1906—Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone kidnapped from Denver on charge of killing ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho.
  - Rand School of Social Science, first workers' education institution in America, founded in New York.
  - British Labor Party organized at London.
  - French Unified Socialist Party organized.

- 1908—Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison held in contempt of court in Buck's Stove and Range boycott case.  
 —New York *Call*, Socialist daily, founded in New York; suspended 1923.  
 —United States Supreme Court upheld Oregon 10-hour law for women.
- 1909—McKees Rocks, Pa., strike against Pressed Steel Car Company won by I. W. W.
- 1910—Victor L. Berger elected as first Socialist in Congress.
- 1911—*Milwaukee Leader*, Socialist daily, founded.  
 —New Jersey enacted first workmen's accident compensation law to be held constitutional.
- 1912—Textile workers struck in Lawrence, Mass., under leadership of I. W. W.  
 —Massachusetts adopted first American minimum wage law for women.
- 1913—Michigan copper miners struck; more than 70 suffocated and trampled to death in false alarm of fire raised at strikers' Christmas celebration.
- 1914—Colorado state militia fired into striking coal miners' tent colony at Ludlow, burning 19 persons, mainly women and children.  
 —Clayton act, exempting trade unions from federal anti-trust law, enacted by Congress.  
 —United States Supreme Court upheld California 8-hour law for women.  
 —Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America organized.
- 1915—United States Supreme Court in Danbury hatters' case awarded \$300,000 damages against United Hatters for boycott.
- 1916—Mooney, Billings, and others arrested, charged with throwing bomb in Preparedness Day Parade in San Francisco.  
 —Business men of Everett, Wash., fired into steamer full of I. W. W. members arriving on boat to test free speech, killing 7.  
 —United States Supreme Court declared first federal child labor law unconstitutional.
- 1917—Bourgeois revolution in Russia, followed by Social Democratic and Bolshevik revolutions.  
 —I. W. W. members seized at Chicago and elsewhere; 95 sentenced in 1918 from 10 days to 20 years.  
 —Socialist Party of United States adopted anti-war resolution at St. Louis convention.
- 1918—Revolution in Germany; Friedrich Ebert, Social Democrat, elected president, 1919.  
 —Debs sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for violation of war-time espionage act; released 1921.  
 —Pan-American Federation of Labor organized.
- 1919—Third (Communist) International founded at Moscow.  
 —International Federation of Trade Unions re-organized at Amsterdam.  
 —Organizing strike of 350,000 steel workers defeated.  
 —Judge Anderson issued injunction to break coal strike.  
 —General strike broke out in Seattle, Wash.  
 —National Labor Party, later the Farmer-Labor Party, organized at Chicago.  
 —Communist and Communist Labor Parties formed at Chicago by left-wing Socialists.  
 —Armistice Day paraders attacked I. W. W. hall at Centralia, Wash., lynching Wesley Everest, one of the defenders.  
 —German Spartacan rising suppressed; Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg assassinated.  
 —Bela Kun became head of Hungarian Soviet government; overthrown.  
 —Bavarian Soviet government established and overthrown.  
 —First International Labor Conference of League of Nations met at Washington.

- 1920—Red International of Labor Unions established at Moscow.  
 —International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions organized.  
 —Five Socialist assemblymen expelled from New York state legislature.  
 —Thousands of Communists, Socialists, and foreign-born workers arrested by Attorney-General Palmer in Red raids; Communist movement driven underground.  
 —314 radicals deported on *Buford*, 249 to Russia.  
 —Trade Union Educational League founded by William Z. Foster.  
 —Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, first labor bank, opened by Machinists at Washington, D. C.  
 —Plumb Plan for government ownership and democratic management of railroads endorsed by American Federation of Labor.  
 —Locked-out Italian metal workers seized and ran factories.  
 —International trade union movement carried out blockade of white-guard Hungary.  
 —British trade union Council of Action prevented shipment of arms to Poland in war on Russia.  
 —Hjalmar Branting became premier in Swedish Socialist-Liberal government.  
 —Briand, French premier, broke railroad strike by calling men to colors to run trains under military orders.
- 1921—International Working Union of Socialist Parties founded at Vienna.  
 —Workers' (Communist) Party of America formed at New York City.  
 —2,500 armed coal miners marched to Logan County, W. Va., to protect fellow-workers against violence by company-controlled deputies.  
 —National strike of packing house workers lost.  
 —Workers' Education Bureau of America organized.  
 —United States Supreme Court in Duplex Printing Company case upheld injunction against secondary boycott.
- 1922—Conference for Progressive Political Action organized by national union heads and political party leaders.  
 —400,000 railroad shopmen and 600,000 hard and soft coal miners struck.  
 —20 killed in clash between striking coal miners and imported strike-breakers at Herrin, Ill.  
 —United States Supreme Court declared second federal child labor law and District of Columbia minimum wage law unconstitutional.  
 —International Workingmen's Association founded by syndicalists in Berlin.
- 1923—Labor and Socialist International (revived Second International) established at Hamburg.  
 —United States Supreme Court in Coronado Coal Company case held trade unions liable for acts of individuals.  
 —Pennsylvania enacted first American old age pension law; declared unconstitutional, 1924.  
 —Red Peasants' International founded at Moscow.  
 —Coalition Socialist-Communist governments formed in Saxony and Thuringia, Germany.
- 1924—Conference for Progressive Political Action and Socialist Party nominated La Follette for President; Executive Council of American Federation of Labor endorsed nomination.  
 —*Daily Worker*, first Communist English daily, established in Chicago.  
 —First Labor government took office in Great Britain, with Ramsay MacDonald as premier.  
 —Plutarcho Elias Calles elected president of Mexico by Labor Party.  
 —Exclusive Socialist government formed in Sweden.  
 —Theodor Stauning formed first Socialist government in Denmark.  
 —Matteotti, secretary of United Socialist Party of Italy, murdered by Fascists.  
 —Estonian Communist uprising suppressed.

# INTERNATIONAL LABOR DIARY, 1925

## January

- 1—4th national convention, Young People's Socialist League, met at New York.
- 2—30 textile companies at Fall River, Mass., cut wages of 25,000 workers 10 per cent.
- Conviction of Charles E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary of Workers' (Communist) Party, for violation of Michigan criminal syndicalist law, upheld; released on bail pending appeal to United States Supreme Court, January 26.
- 7—Paul Loebe, Socialist, elected president of German Reichstag.
- 12—Labor won majority in Sydney, Australia, municipal elections.
- 15—Leon Trotsky relieved of duties as chairman of Revolutionary War Council by Central Executive Committee of Russian Communist Party; appointed member of Supreme Economic Council and chairman of the Concessions Committee May 27.
- 30—Manabendranath Roy, Hindu Communist, expelled from France at request of British government.

## February

- 5—General strike in Valparaiso for rent reduction.
- 6—Slavery abolished in Nepal, India.
- 8—Congress of French Socialist Party met at Grenoble; second congress at Paris in August.
- 10—Cases against 300 participants in 1921 union miners' armed march to Logan County, W. Va., dropped.
- 11—130 killed in Dortmund, Germany, mine disaster.
- 14—Railroad shopmen's strike, begun in 1922, called off.
- Fifth meeting of All-India Trades Union Congress opened in Bombay.
- 17—Todor Strachimiroff, Bulgarian Communist deputy, assassinated in Sofia.
- 21—Conference for Progressive Political Action met at Chicago and dissolved.
- 22—50 members of Mexican Labor Party killed by Agrarians during election riots, Michaca.
- 24—Hjalmar Branting, three times Socialist Prime Minister of Sweden, died at Stockholm.
- 25—E. G. Theodore, Labor Prime Minister of Queensland, Australia, resigned.
- 26—Postal pay and rate increase bill passed in United States Senate; signed, February 28; in effect, April 1.
- 28—5,000 Mexican oil workers struck in Tampico and Vera Cruz.
- President Friedrich Ebert of Germany, leader of Social Democrats, died.

## March

- 3—Fascist metal workers at Brescia, Italy, struck for increased bonus; 8,000 members of *bona fide* union joined strike; strike ended, March 5.
- 6—General strike of German rail workers.
- Haralmy Stoyanoff, Bulgarian Communist deputy, assassinated at Sofia.
- 7—12,000 miners struck in Nova Scotia; government called out 500 soldiers, June 11; strike ended August 6.
- 8—General railway strike in Greece for 8-hour day and against wage cuts.
- 10—30,000 members of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York struck.
- 2,200 thread workers struck at Willimantic, Conn.

- 12—Sun Yat-Sen, leader of Chinese revolutionary movement and first president of Chinese Republic, died at Peking.
- 13—Seven killed, 40 injured by police at Communist meeting in Halle, Germany.
- 14—100,000 Fascist engineering trades workers struck in Lombardy, Italy; strike ended March 16.
- 16—General lockout began in Sweden; ended, March 26.
- 4,000 motormen and conductors struck in Mexico City.
- 18—General lockout of Danish workers; ended June 7.
- 6 Communist deputies expelled from Bulgarian Parliament.
- 19—Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers, and Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers called jurisdiction strikes against each other on \$22,000,000 building operations in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago; strike ended April 3, 4-year jurisdiction dispute ended October 2.
- 20—10,000 Italian engineering trades workers struck at Turin.
- 22—Printers struck in Greece in sympathy with railroad strikers.
- 26—90 French miners killed at Nancy.
- 51 killed in mine disaster at Berlebach, Lorraine.
- 28—6,000 Alsatian miners struck.
- United Socialist Party Congress met in Rome.
- 30—38 English miners drowned in Scotswood colliery, near Newcastle.
- Third International Congress of Journeymen Bakers met at Stuttgart.
- 31—Strike called in West Virginia coal mines; 4,500 men in 18 mines walked out April 1.

## April

- 3—Russian Council of Labor and Defense adopted new policy toward private trade.
- 5—Belgian general election returned 79 Socialists, 78 Catholics, 22 Liberals, 6 Flemish Nationalists, 2 Communists.
- 6—Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference met in London.
- General elections in Ulster, Labor gained three seats.
- 7—Paul Crouch and Walter Trumbull, American soldiers in Hawaii, sentenced to 40 and 26 years' imprisonment respectively for Communist activity; sentences reduced to 3 years and 1 year, May 12.
- 8—8,000 Swedish seamen struck over control of employment exchanges.
- Jacques Sadoul acquitted of high treason and desertion by court martial at Orleans.
- 13—United States Supreme Court declared Kansas industrial court law unconstitutional with regard to hours and working conditions.
- 14—Attempt made to kill King Boris of Bulgaria, in Sofia; Sveti Kral Cathedral blown up, 200 killed April 16; martial law proclaimed April 17; thousands jailed April 19; Captain Minkoff, Communist and alleged leader of plan to destroy cathedral, killed by police, April 20; 500 Communists reported shot April 21; Sacristan Zadgorsky, Marko Friedman, and Koeff executed for bombing of cathedral, May 27; Chopitch, Communist leader, sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment at Belgrade May 29; King Boris refused to sign death warrants of 150 Communists and Agrarians, September 16.
- Hungarian Socialist Labor Party founded as split from Social Democratic Party.
- 19—24 Portuguese revolutionaries killed in Lisbon.
- 21—General Council of British Trades Union Congress ratified Anglo-Russian trade union agreement providing for all-inclusive international conference.
- 22—Neumann, Poege, and Skoblenski, German Communists, condemned to death; 10 others sentenced to prison.
- 30—11,000 carpenters in Essex County, N. J., struck for 75 cents a day wage increase.

**May**

- 5—F. W. Thorsson, former Finance Minister of Sweden, a leader of the Social Democratic Party, died.
- 7—All Russian Soviet Congress opened at Moscow.
- 15—British Trades Union Congress delegation to Russia reported Zinoviev letter a forgery.
- 19—French labor groups attacked Premier Painlevé's campaign against Riff tribesmen.
- 7th League of Nations International Labor Conference opened at Geneva.
- 21—40 Communists arrested in Warsaw.
- 29—Bela Kun, Hungarian Communist leader, arrested in Portugal.
- 30—Conference of Communist Party of Great Britain opened at Glasgow.

**June**

- 1—Annual Congress of British Cooperative Union met at Southport.
- 2—50,000 Chinese cotton mill workers struck in Shanghai; 100,000 other workers struck June 3; several strikers killed by native soldiers June 11; British volunteers killed 14 Chinese, Hankow, June 11; strike spread to Hongkong street railways June 21; anti-foreign demonstration, Canton, 30 killed, 70 wounded, June 30; Shanghai cotton mill strike settled August 21; 9 labor agitators, including 3 women, shot by Shanghai police September 25.
- 4—Commercial treaty with Soviet government approved by Italian Parliament.
- 6—Labor Party won 46 seats in New South Wales legislature.
- 8—United States Supreme Court upheld New York criminal anarchy law, confirming sentence on Benjamin Gitlow; Gitlow pardoned by Governor Smith December 11.
- 11—3rd Congress of Polish Federation of Trade Unions opened in Warsaw.
- 12—Warren S. Stone, president of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, died.
- 17—77 left wing officers of Locals 2, 9, and 22, International Ladies' Garment Workers, put on trial for Communist activity; found guilty and suspended; left wing workers stopped work for 2 hours as demonstration against union administration August 20; temporary peace settlement September 24.
- 18—Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, Independent candidate for President in 1924, died.

**July**

- 1—60,000 metal workers struck in Belgium.
- 2—Anthracite coal miners' convention at Scranton voted for 10 per cent wage increase, 5-day week, and check-off; conferences with operators began, Atlantic City, July 9; conferences failed August 4; strike began August 31; Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania proposed settlement, accepted by miners, rejected by operators November 27; Pinchot called special session of legislature to regulate public utilities December 13; strike ended, February 18, 1926.
- 3,000 Mexican mine workers struck at El Oro.
- 14—Conference of British coal miners at Swansea authorized general stoppage against wage cut; railroad and transport workers instructed not to handle scab coal July 30; government offered subsidy to coal owners, strike call rescinded July 31.
- 20—Congress of International Union of Wood Workers opened at Brussels.
- 24—24th Convention of Belgian Trade Union Federation opened in Brussels.
- 27—75,000 miners struck in Saar coal fields.

**August**

- 1—15,000 Paris bank clerks struck for better wages; Marseilles bank clerks joined strike August 20; strike lost September 11.
- 2—Cuban National Labor Confederation formed at Camaguey.
- 4—General strike at Orizaba, Mexico.
- 7—Mexican railway employees at Chihuahua struck because of non-payment of wages; won same day.
- 11—200,000 Yorkshire, England, textile workers struck against wage reduction.
- 12—150,000 textile workers struck in Saxony.
- 15—2nd Congress of Labor and Socialist International opened at Marseilles.
- French Socialist Deputy Alexander Varennes expelled from party for accepting governorship of Indo-China.
- 17—Unofficial seamen's strike at London and Southampton against wage cuts which had been accepted by leaders, 15,000 men involved; strike spread to Sydney, Australia, August 21; to Durban, South Africa, August 28; longshoremen at Kingston, Jamaica, went out September 15; strike ended in South Africa October 10; 382 strikers jailed in Australia October 15; strike called off in England October 18; in Australia November 29.
- 21—Three Polish Communists executed.
- 27—Japanese Communists tried in Tokio.
- 23—3rd Conference of Education Workers' International met at Paris and Brussels.
- H. H. Van Kol, only Socialist member of Dutch Senate, died.
- 27—Mexican and American Federations of Labor conferred on ending migration of Mexican laborers to United States.
- 29—National Minority Movement, left wing trade unionists, convened at London.
- 31—Canadian Trades and Labor Congress opened at Ottawa.

**September**

- 1—Danish seamen struck against wage cut.
- 5—Strike of oil workers at Vera Cruz, Mexico, against discharges; national general strike voted September 22; vote rescinded September 27.
- Norwegian Labor Party convened in Oslo.
- 7—British Trades Union Congress opened at Scarborough.
- 8—150 coal miners killed in explosion at Heijo, Korea.
- 10—3-hour strike of 10,000 Viennese federal employees for salary increases.
- 16—Secretary of State Kellogg excluded Shapurji Saklatvala, Communist member of British Parliament, from United States.
- 17—100 Communists arrested at Florence, Italy; 158 arrested in Rome September 19.
- 18—Glass Workers' International Congress opened in Prague.
- 21—1-hour strike of Paris telephone and telegraph operators.
- 23—Mathias Rakosi and Zoltan Weinberger, members of Hungarian Soviet government of 1919, and 40 others arrested in Budapest; trial opened November 16; New York police arrested 38 members of International Labor Defense picketing Hungarian consulate in protest against threatened executions October 27.
- Bread riots in Teheran, Persia.
- 28—Chinese telegraph operators struck for wage increases and shorter hours.
- 29—25th Annual Conference of British Labor Party opened in Liverpool.

**October**

- 2—George H. Strobell, vice-president of Russian Reconstruction Farms, died in Russia.
- 3—Latvian Parliament elections, Socialists won 33 seats.
- 5—45th annual Convention of American Federation of Labor opened at Atlantic City; William Green re-elected president October 15.

- 8—Hinshelwood and Gillies, English Communists, sentenced to 60 days' imprisonment and fined £10.
- 10—Fred Bramley, secretary of British Trades Union Congress, died.
- 11—American troops sent to Panama at request of President Chiari to end rent-riots.
- 12—1-day general strike in France against war in Morocco; 50 Communists arrested, 2 killed by police; Cachin and Doriot, Communist deputies, fined and sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment, 10 other Communists sentenced.
- Russo-German commercial treaty signed at Moscow.
- 14—British Communist Party offices raided, 12 leaders arrested; found guilty of conspiracy to publish seditious libel, November 25; 5 sentenced to year's imprisonment, 7 to 6 months.
- French sailors and longshoremen struck at Havre; strike ended October 21.
- 15—500 engineers, firemen, and hostlers of Western Maryland Railroad struck at Baltimore.
- 25—American Negro Labor Congress opened at Chicago.
- Berlin municipal elections, Socialists increased seats in board of aldermen from 46 to 75, Communists from 20 to 43, making labor majority.
- Swiss National Council elections, Socialists won 49 seats, Communists 3.
- 29—General election in Canada, 2 Laborites, 117 Conservatives, 100 Liberals, 23 Progressives elected.
- 31—17 miners killed by gas explosion at Gelsenkirchen, Germany.
- Michael Frunze, Soviet Russian minister of war, died at Moscow.

### November

- 2—Labor won 180 seats in London and provincial borough councils.
- 3—Vienna bread bakers struck for wage increase; won 5 per cent November 6.
- 4—British wireless operators won strike for re-instatement of 9 operators dismissed as economy.
- 90,000 Austrian government employees won 28 per cent wage increase by threat of strike.
- Labor won 13 seats in New Zealand elections, a loss of 4.
- 6—Italian government ordered dissolution of United Socialist Party.
- 8—Amalgamated Clothing Workers' strike against International Tailoring Company in New York and Chicago for renewal of 1919 agreement won by union.
- Herman Greulich, Swiss Socialist pioneer, died at Zurich.
- 11—8,000 English oil shale miners struck against 10 per cent wage cut; oil refinery workers joined strike, November 25.
- 14—Australian Labor Party won 23 seats in general elections, a loss of 6.
- 22—Chilean Wage Earners' Party elected 9 representatives to Chamber of Deputies, 1 to Senate.
- 26—5,000 British ship wireless operators struck against wage cut.
- 30—200 Chicago grave diggers struck for union recognition and wage increase.

### December

- 1—Court of review at Rome freed 25 of 30 Fascisti held for murder of Matteotti.
- 4—Julio Antonio Mella, secretary of Communist Party of Cuba, and 12 others, arrested at Havana for alleged bomb explosion; Mella ended hunger strike December 23; released December 24.
- 5—Council of International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam rejected British proposal of unconditional unity conference with Russian unions.
- 6—135,000 Bombay textile workers won strike against wage cut.
- Labor ticket polled heaviest vote in elections in Palestine.
- 10—61 coal miners killed in gas explosion at Cahaba fields, Alabama.
- 26—52 killed in gas explosion at Palau coal mine, Coahuila, Mexico.

# I. INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

## WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

**Slight General Improvement.**—Measured by basic industrial factors, such as production of coal and steel, volume of trade, restoration of currency to par in international exchange, and increase in employment, the world as a whole made a slight improvement in 1925 over the conditions of the previous year. The gains, however, were neither large nor secure enough to guarantee that the present industrial order will survive the crisis in which it has been struggling since the world war.

**Table 1—Coal Production <sup>1</sup>**

(In thousands of metric tons)

Country	Monthly Average			1925		
	1913	1923	1924	March	June	September
Belgium .....	1,903	1,910	1,947	2,030	1,800	1,914
France <sup>2</sup> .....	3,404	3,978	4,916	5,383	4,908	4,051
Germany <sup>3</sup> .....	15,842	5,185	9,902	11,412	9,891	11,355
Great Britain..	24,336	23,369	22,646	22,849	17,864	19,010
Japan .....	1,776	2,199	2,315	2,623	.....	.....
Russia .....	2,463	1,209	1,323	1,465	1,254	1,569
United States..	43,088	49,268	42,278	40,536	40,797	42,829

**Table 2—Steel Production <sup>1</sup>**

(In thousands of metric tons)

	Monthly Average			1925		
	1913	1923	1924	March	June	September
Belgium .....	205	190	238	269	197	165
France .....	391	415	576	607	600	632
Germany <sup>4</sup> .....	1,412	525	820	1,209	1,109	880
Great Britain..	649	718	696	696	595	650
Russia .....	354	61	95	161	173	196
United States..	2,564	3,682	3,117	4,266	3,259	3,549

<sup>1</sup> League of Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, October, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Since 1919, including Alsace-Lorraine; from 1920 to June, 1925, including Alsace-Lorraine and Saar.

<sup>3</sup> Since 1919, excluding Alsace-Lorraine; since 1920, excluding Alsace-Lorraine, Saar, and Palatinate.

<sup>4</sup> Excluding Luxemburg; since 1918, excluding Alsace-Lorraine; since 1919, excluding Saar; since 1922, excluding Polish Upper Silesia.

**United States and Russia Forge Ahead.**—The two nations in which the most marked increase of activity took place were the United States and Soviet Russia. The former, now the strongest capitalist nation, continued to produce more than half of the world's coal and steel, and passed through an era of gigantic industrial consolidations, huge profits, and unprecedented peacetime foreign investments. On the opposite side of the earth, the first workers' republic steadily progressed toward economic restoration at or above the pre-war levels, with the gold ruble circulating at par in the world's commerce.

**Table 3—Shipbuilding <sup>1</sup>**

(Shipping under construction at end of period, ships of 100 gross tons and upwards, in thousands of tons measurement)

Country	Monthly Average			1925		
	1913	1923	1924	March	June	September
France .....	229	111	197	187	169	150
Germany .....	545	324	355	405	407	307
Great Britain..	1,957	1,395	1,297	1,165	1,094	1,009
Italy .....	125	120	155	164	213	270
Japan .....	48	63	39	42	60	53
United States..	148	42	42	41	68	70

**Table 4—Imports and Exports <sup>2</sup>**

(Value of imports and exports for domestic consumption, in thousands of units of currency of country)

Country	Monthly Average			1925		
	1913	1923	1924	March	June	September
<i>Imports</i>						
France, Frs.....	701,778	2,724,067	3,344,381	3,306,700	2,991,243	4,317,029
Germany, Mks....	897,474	512,020	757,050	1,036,895	1,009,188	1,069,087
Great Britain, £.	54,931	81,474	94,975	100,084	100,382	87,399
Italy, Lire.....	303,803	1,432,431	1,615,704	2,586,968	2,885,334	1,697,675
Japan, Yen.....	60,474	161,924	240,726	309,599	204,065	164,300
Russia, Rbls.....	114,503	12,062	18,153	31,487	20,290	.....
United States, \$.	147,932	310,981	297,926	375,781	319,869	342,384
<i>Exports</i>						
France, Frs.....	573,351	2,536,049	3,454,511	3,762,244	3,506,534	3,849,879
Germany, Mks....	841,436	508,523	544,242	708,115	685,724	776,622
Great Britain, £.	43,771	63,938	66,280	70,303	58,893	60,735
Italy, Lire.....	209,303	923,802	1,193,192	1,480,447	1,783,577	1,605,284
Japan, Yen.....	52,393	117,384	146,741	144,931	181,616	232,600
Russia, Rbls.....	126,678	17,152	25,225	21,800	25,630	.....
United States, \$..	204,024	340,893	374,804	445,835	315,675	412,698

<sup>1</sup> League of Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, October, 1924; October, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> League of Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, October, 1925.

Table 5—Ships Entered <sup>1</sup>

(In thousands of tons measurement)

Country	Monthly Average			1925		
	1913	1923	1924	March	June	September
France .....	2,876	3,485	3,548	3,442	3,890	3,468
Germany .....	2,215	2,531	2,551	2,731	2,796	2,819
Great Britain..	4,089	4,258	4,614	4,421	5,121	4,865
Italy .....	1,560	1,182	1,372	1,461	1,505	1,312
Japan .....	2,060	3,129	3,562	3,839	....	....
United States..	4,440	5,527	5,691	5,227	6,690	6,137

Table 6—Index of Foreign Exchange Rates <sup>1</sup>

(Exchange rate at par against American dollar = 100)

Country	Monthly Average			1925		
	1913	1923	1924	March	June	September
France, Frs.....	100	31	27	27	25	24
Germany, Mks...	100	...	...	100	100	100
Great Britain, £	100	94	91	98	100	100
Italy, Lire.....	100	24	23	21	20	21
Japan, Yen.....	100	97	83	82	82	82
Russia, Rbls....	100	93	98	100	100	100

**Germany and Great Britain Lose Ground.**—Germany, stimulated for a time by the credits received under the Dawes plan, fell toward the close of the year into another depression. A wave of bankruptcies occurred, and the number of unemployed swelled to 1,500,000. In Great Britain the position grew gradually worse, with lowered production and trade, and the heaviest unemployment of three years. Though Great Britain returned to the gold basis and the pound sterling was stabilized at par, the French franc and the Italian lire continued to decline to less than a quarter of their pre-war purchasing power.

Table 7—Index Numbers of Cost of Living <sup>1</sup>

Country	1914	1923	1924	1925		
	July	July	July	March	June	September
France .....	100	334	366	368	390	401
Germany .....	100	3,765,100	<sup>2</sup> 116	136	138	145
Great Britain...	100	171	171	175	173	176
Italy .....	100	487	512	602	596	624
Russia .....	100	117	133	146	142	...
United States..	100	170	169	...	174	...

<sup>1</sup> League of Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, October, 1925.<sup>2</sup> Since December, 1923, gold mark prices.

**Locarno Treaties.**—The security treaties drawn up at Locarno on October 5 to 16 contained no principle of international relations which was not already included in the Versailles treaty of 1920, and did little to aid in the economic restoration of the world. They seem mainly intended to bring Germany into the League of Nations and thus to consolidate a western European alliance against Soviet Russia.

**Table 8—Percentage of Unemployment Among Trade Unionists <sup>1</sup>**

Country or State	December			1925		
	1913	1923	1924	March	June	September
Australia .....	5.3	6.6	10.3	9.3	10.2	...
Belgium <sup>2</sup> .....	3.5	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.1	...
Canada .....	...	7.2	11.6	8.5	6.1	5.7
Denmark .....	15.1	19.6	17.1	15.1	9.3	9.9
Germany .....	4.8	28.2	8.1	5.8	3.5	...
Great Britain..	2.6	9.9	9.2	9.0	12.3	11.4
Massachusetts .	8.5	11.8	...	...	...	...
Netherlands <sup>2</sup> ..	9.1	15.9	12.7	9.4	6.6	...
Norway .....	3.7	14.0	12.5	11.1	8.9	...
Sweden .....	4.4	14.1	15.5	12.0	8.2	8.5

## AMERICAN INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, FINANCE

**Increased Productivity.**—The year 1925 was marked in America by greatly increased industrial activity, the general level being higher than in any other year since the war.

The increase in output with a decreased number of workers, which was noted in 1924, was continued and intensified during 1925. Manufacturing production was nearly 30 per cent greater than in 1919, and about 5 per cent greater than in 1923 when the highest previous record was established. The number employed in factories, on the other hand, was smaller than in both 1919 and 1923. Their earnings were less than in 1923, and only 7 per cent greater than in 1919. On the basis of these figures the United States Federal Reserve Board reported an "increasing rate of production per employee."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> League of Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, December, 1922; October, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Among members of unemployment insurance societies.

<sup>3</sup> Analysis issued January 13, 1926.

Table 9—American Business Indexes, 1925 <sup>1</sup>

(Monthly average, 1919 = 100)

Month	Production in Basic In- dustries	Factory Em- ploy- ment	Factory Pay Rolls	Building Contracts Awarded	Rail- road Car Loadings	Whole- sale Trade	Depart- ment Store Sales
January ...	127	94	103	168	123	79	124
February ..	124	96	109	159	125	76	131
March ...	120	96	110	178	117	83	121
April .....	119	96	108	176	129	79	133
May .....	111	95	108	151	123	79	124
June .....	110	94	105	171	117	83	126
July .....	113	93	103	189	122	83	128
August ....	108	94	105	228	123	87	125
September .	112	95	104	224	121	94	134
October ...	116	97	111	210	121	101	145
November .	115	97	112	229	121	87	129
December .	121	97	112	276	130	79	141

**Raw Materials.**—Petroleum production exceeded that of previous years. More copper and zinc were mined than in any year since the war. Coal output was low, due to bituminous inactivity early in the year and the anthracite strike in the latter half. Gold mined was 2,376,514 ounces, valued at \$49,126,900, a decline from \$52,277,000 in 1924.

**Manufactures.**—Output of steel ingots totaled more than in any previous year. There was an enormous boom in building, far in excess of all previous records. Building contracts awarded totaled \$3,859,157,955, as against \$3,282,038,089 in 1924. The building material industries—lumber, cement, and brick—equaled or exceeded output of earlier years. Automobile production exceeded records for all previous years, with a total of 4,153,250 passenger cars and trucks, compared with 3,504,862 the previous year. Production of gasoline and tires was correspondingly large. Cotton consumption was 6,428,389 bales, or 16.4 per cent more than in 1924.

**Agriculture.**—The value of 26 main crops estimated by the Department of Agriculture was \$8,227,529,000, a decrease of nearly 7 per cent from the value of \$8,816,688,000 set upon these same crops in 1924.

**Wholesale and Retail Trade.**—Wholesale trade was for nearly all the year far below 1919 levels, but department store sales ranged much above 1919 and even above the high year 1924. Mail order and chain-store sales were \$1,109,259,229, an increase

<sup>1</sup> United States Federal Reserve Board, *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, February, 1926.

of 15.2 per cent over the previous record of \$962,571,626 reached the year before.

**Advertising.**—It is estimated that no less than \$69,294,463 was spent in 1924 by 100 leading advertisers. Of this total, \$43,530,000 was spent for advertisements in newspapers, and \$25,764,463 in magazines.

**Table 10—Estimated Advertising Expenditures of 33 Companies, 1924 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Company</i>	<i>Estimated Advertising</i>	
	<i>Newspapers</i>	<i>Magazines</i>
Ford Motor Co.....	\$2,000,000	\$ 651,250
Victor Talking Machine Co.....	1,900,000	1,184,310
Chevrolet Motor Car Co.....	1,650,000	552,065
American Tobacco Co.....	1,600,000	298,691
Liggett & Myers.....	1,500,000	186,206
Standard Oil Co. of Indiana.....	1,500,000	Not listed
Calumet Baking Powder Co.....	1,400,000	Not listed
Wm. Wrigley, Jr.....	1,250,000	Not listed
Dodge Bros.....	1,200,000	641,600
Paige-Detroit Motor Car Co.....	1,000,000	167,700
Postum Cereal Co.....	875,000	1,274,830
Corn Products Refining Co.....	800,000	384,300
Pepsodent Co.....	800,000	561,303
U. S. Rubber Co.....	750,000	309,410
Hupp Motor Car Corp.....	750,000	295,980
Oakland Motor Car Co.....	700,000	232,700
B. F. Goodrich Co.....	700,000	217,725
Clicquot Club Co.....	650,000	124,588
Buick Motor Co.....	635,000	431,500
H. J. Heinz Co.....	600,000	527,970
General Cigar Co.....	600,000	146,400
Union Pacific System.....	570,000	Not listed
Rickenbacker Motor Co.....	560,000	117,500
Macfadden Publications.....	510,000	Not listed
Procter & Gamble Co.....	510,000	1,409,050
Hart, Schaffner & Marx.....	500,000	284,775
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe.....	500,000	Not listed
Willys Overland Co.....	500,000	859,850
Standard Oil Co. of California.....	500,000	Not listed
Literary Digest.....	500,000	Not listed
Sun-Maid Raisin Growers Association.....	465,000	518,050
Canada Dry Ginger Ale, Inc.....	450,000	Not listed
Colgate & Co.....	450,000	1,158,455

**Railroads.**—The railroads had an unprecedented traffic year, car loadings averaging nearly 1,000,000 a week. Total loadings for the 12 months were 51,177,962, an increase of 5.4 per cent over the 48,533,989 cars loaded in 1924.

<sup>1</sup> American Newspaper Publishers' Association, Bureau of Advertising.

**Corporation Net Incomes.**—Net incomes or profits in 1925 of about 75 leading corporations in steel, oil, light and power, telephone and telegraph, transportation, food, tobacco, automobiles and motors, general manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and banking, were:

**Table 11—Net Incomes or Profits of Various Corporations, 1925**

<i>Company</i>	<i>Net Income or Profits</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Net Income or Profits</i>
<i>Steel</i>			
U. S. Steel Corp.....	\$165,188,000	Armour & Co.....	14,451,809
Bethlehem Steel Corp..	13,858,196	National Biscuit Co....	13,581,696
<i>Oil</i>			
Stand. Oil Co. of Ind..	\$ 52,932,648	Continental Baking Co..	13,436,915
Texas Co.....	39,605,078	Corn Prod. Refin. Co...	7,562,749
Gulf Oil Corp.....	35,000,760	Quaker Oats Co.....	5,502,748
Shell Union Oil Corp. <sup>1</sup> .	19,705,863	Postum Cereal Co.....	4,684,161
Marland Oil Co.....	14,799,069	Childs Co.....	1,655,894
Phillips Petroleum Co..	12,329,623	<i>Automobiles and Motors</i>	
<i>Light, Power, Telephone and Telegraph</i>			
Amer. T. & T. Co.....	\$107,405,046	General Motors Corp..	\$115,980,099
Cities Service Co.....	19,172,609	Ford Motor Co.....	94,560,397
United Lt. & Power Co.	17,370,548	Dodge Brothers.....	28,698,846
Elec. Power & Lt. Corp.	16,996,351	Studebaker Corp.....	16,619,522
Western Union Tel. Co.	16,449,180	Nash Motor.....	16,256,216
Assoc. Gas & Elec. Co..	10,086,355	Willys-Overland Co....	12,461,530
Philadelphia Elec. Co...	7,316,817	<i>General Manufacturing</i>	
Amer. Lt. & Trac. Co..	7,323,730	General Electric Co....	\$ 38,641,217
Gen. Gas & Elec. Corp..	7,332,588	E. I. DuPont.....	24,033,957
Postal Telegraph Co. & Com'l Telegraph Co..	4,616,270	American Can Co.....	21,423,903
<i>Transportation</i>			
Pennsylvania R. R.....	\$100,108,007	Eastman Kodak Co....	18,467,113
New York Central.....	67,909,316	Goodyear T. & Rub. Co.	17,647,461
So. Pacific System.....	50,313,759	U. S. Rubber Co.....	17,309,870
Baltimore & Ohio.....	43,034,087	Amer. Sm. & Ref. Co..	15,190,760
Union Pac. System....	40,038,645	B. F. Goodrich Co....	12,744,447
Southern Railroad.....	35,086,021	Gillette Saf'y Razor Co.	12,089,857
Norfolk & Western....	31,510,952	Wm. Wrigley, Jr., Co..	9,146,768
Illinois Central.....	30,032,230	Nat. Cash Register Co.	7,807,596
Great Northern.....	28,276,182	Continental Can Co....	7,097,736
Chi., Bur. & Quincy...	28,131,917	Fisk Rubber Co.....	6,108,906
United Fruit Co.....	22,546,880	Endicott-Johnson Corp.	4,312,064
Northern Pacific.....	22,227,319	Underwood Type. Co...	3,314,580
Chicago & Northwest'n.	21,108,750	Universal Pictures Co..	1,925,506
Reading Co.....	20,354,629	Hart, Schaffner & Marx	1,854,446
Atlantic Coast Line....	20,184,546	<i>Wholesale and Retail</i>	
Pullman Co.....	16,685,473	F. W. Woolworth Co..	\$ 24,601,764
Lehigh Valley R. R. Co.	8,046,563	Sears, Roebuck & Co...	20,975,303
B.-M. T. Corp.....	5,073,534	Montgom'y Ward & Co.	12,908,498
<i>Food and Tobacco</i>			
R. J. Reynolds Tob. Co.	\$ 25,221,579	United Drug Co.....	9,331,337
American Tobacco Co..	22,288,596	Radio Corp. of America	5,737,206
Ligg't & Myers Tob. Co.	15,289,652	Assoc. Dry Goods Corp.	4,134,941
Swift & Co.....	15,379,152	Gen. Outdoor Adv. Co.	1,884,099
<i>Banks</i>			
First Nat. Bank, N. Y..	\$ 15,774,000		
Nat. City Bank, N. Y..	13,884,000		
Bankers' Tr. Co., N. Y.	8,411,000		
Central Union Tr. Co..	6,276,000		
Chase Nat. Bank, N. Y.	5,717,000		
Bank of Com'ce, N. Y..	5,175,000		

<sup>1</sup> For nine months ending September 30, 1925.

**Foreign Trade.**—Exports for the year were \$4,908,743,259, or 6.9 in excess of 1924, and the largest since 1920. Imports were \$4,224,225,962, or 16.9 per cent larger than 1924; with the exception of 1920, they were the largest ever recorded. Excess of exports over imports was \$684,517,297, nearly 30 per cent below the previous year.

**Table 12—American Exports and Imports, 1913-1925 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Excess of Exports</i>
1913 .....	\$2,484,018,000	\$1,792,596,000	\$ 691,421,000
1914 .....	2,113,624,000	1,789,276,000	324,348,000
1915 .....	3,554,670,000	1,778,596,000	1,776,074,000
1916 .....	5,482,641,000	2,391,635,000	3,091,005,000
1917 .....	6,233,512,000	2,952,467,000	3,281,044,000
1918 .....	6,149,392,000	3,031,305,000	3,118,087,000
1919 .....	7,920,425,000	3,904,364,000	4,016,061,000
1920 .....	8,228,016,000	5,278,481,000	2,949,534,000
1921 .....	4,485,031,000	2,509,147,000	1,975,883,000
1922 .....	3,831,932,000	3,112,458,000	719,383,000
1923 .....	4,164,831,000	3,788,882,000	375,949,000
1924 .....	4,590,983,845	3,609,962,579	981,021,266
1925 .....	4,908,743,259	4,224,225,962	684,517,297

**Savings.**—Savings deposits reported at the close of the year by 884 banks in selected centers amounted to \$8,082,071,000; this compares with \$7,634,211,000 in the same savings banks at the end of 1924.

**Life Insurance.**—Life insurance written exceeded that in any previous year. New business was estimated at \$15,600,000,000, an increase of 16 per cent over 1924. The year's new business is more than twice as large as the whole amount of life insurance outstanding in 1900. Total life insurance policies in force at the end of the year equaled \$72,000,000,000.

**Failures and Liabilities.**—Failures were fewest and liabilities of failed firms were the lightest in five years. The number of failures was 18,858, a decrease of 4.3 per cent from 19,712 in 1924; liabilities dropped to \$479,600,000, a decrease of 30.9 per cent from \$694,800,000 in 1924. The number of persons in business has been growing steadily for seven years, reaching in 1925 a total of 2,242,317. The number in business has also been growing relatively faster than the total population. From 1900 to 1910 population increased 21 per cent, and those in business 37 per cent; from 1910 to 1920 population grew 14.9 per cent, while those in business increased 22.9 per cent. Less than 1 per cent of those in business failed during each of the three past years, the percentage in 1925 being slightly the lowest of the three.

<sup>1</sup> *Bradstreet's*, January 16, 1926.

Table 13—Failures, Liabilities, and Number in Business,  
1881-1925 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Failures</i>	<i>Total Liabilities, Millions</i>	<i>Per Cent Assets to Liabilities</i>	<i>Number in Business</i>	<i>Per Cent Failing</i>
1881.....	5,929	\$ 76.0	47.0	780,000	.76
1882.....	7,635	93.2	51.0	820,000	.93
1883.....	10,299	175.9	52.0	855,000	1.20
1884.....	11,620	248.7	54.0	875,000	1.32
1885.....	11,116	119.1	46.0	890,000	1.25
1886.....	10,568	113.6	49.0	920,000	1.15
1887.....	9,740	130.6	50.0	933,000	1.04
1888.....	10,587	120.2	52.0	955,000	1.10
1889.....	11,719	140.7	50.0	978,000	1.20
1890.....	10,673	175.0	52.9	989,420	1.07
1891.....	12,394	193.1	53.3	1,018,021	1.21
1892.....	10,270	108.6	50.3	1,035,564	.99
1893.....	15,508	382.1	60.6	1,059,014	1.46
1894.....	12,724	151.5	54.9	1,047,974	1.21
1895.....	12,958	158.7	55.2	1,053,633	1.23
1896.....	15,094	246.9	59.9	1,079,070	1.40
1897.....	13,083	158.7	54.5	1,086,056	1.20
1898.....	11,615	141.6	51.6	1,093,373	1.06
1899.....	9,642	119.8	50.1	1,125,873	.85
1900.....	9,912	127.2	47.2	1,161,639	.85
1901.....	10,648	130.1	46.9	1,201,862	.88
1902.....	9,973	105.5	47.7	1,238,973	.80
1903.....	9,775	154.3	54.5	1,272,909	.76
1904.....	10,417	143.6	52.7	1,307,746	.79
1905.....	9,967	121.8	53.3	1,352,947	.73
1906.....	9,385	127.2	50.0	1,401,085	.66
1907.....	10,265	383.7	75.0	1,447,680	.70
1908.....	14,044	295.9	56.9	1,487,813	.94
1909.....	11,845	140.7	49.2	1,543,444	.76
1910.....	11,573	188.7	49.8	1,592,509	.72
1911.....	12,646	188.1	54.2	1,637,650	.77
1912.....	13,812	198.9	49.5	1,673,452	.82
1913.....	14,551	292.3	54.3	1,718,345	.84
1914.....	16,769	357.1	55.2	1,749,101	.95
1915.....	19,035	284.1	56.5	1,770,914	1.07
1916.....	16,496	175.2	49.1	1,790,776	.92
1917.....	13,029	166.6	50.9	1,828,464	.71
1918.....	9,331	137.9	50.9	1,824,104	.51
1919.....	5,515	115.5	47.9	1,843,066	.29
1920.....	8,463	426.3	64.3	1,958,042	.43
1921.....	20,014	755.7	59.0	2,049,323	.97
1922.....	22,415	649.8	56.2	2,074,617	1.08
1923.....	19,159	631.2	58.4	2,136,921	.89
1924.....	19,712	694.8	60.4	2,195,626	.89
1925.....	18,859	479.6	54.6	2,242,317	.84

**Stocks and Bonds.**—The stock market showed unparalleled activity. Records of number of shares sold were broken repeatedly on the New York Stock Exchange. Seats which had sold at the end of 1924 for \$100,000—a new record—were selling for \$150,000 in 1925. The number of shares sold on the New York

<sup>1</sup> *Bradstreet's*, January 30, 1926.

Stock Exchange in 1925 totalled 452,211,399, as against 282,032,923 in 1924 and 237,276,927 in 1923.

**Table 14—Stocks and Bonds Sold on New York Stock Exchange, 1889-1925 <sup>1</sup>**

Year	Stocks (Shares)	Bonds (Par Value)	Year	Stocks (Shares)	Bonds (Par Value)
1889...	72,014,699	\$ 493,459,625	1908...	196,821,875	\$1,084,454,020
1890...	71,826,685	409,325,120	1909...	214,425,978	1,314,656,200
1891...	99,031,689	888,650,000	1910...	163,882,956	634,091,000
1892...	86,726,410	352,741,950	1911...	126,515,906	889,567,100
1893...	77,984,965	301,303,777	1912...	131,051,116	674,215,000
1894...	49,275,736	352,741,950	1913...	83,083,585	501,155,920
1895...	66,440,576	519,142,100	1914...	47,899,573	461,898,100
1896...	56,663,023	394,329,000	1915...	173,378,655	956,077,700
1897...	77,470,963	544,569,939	1916...	232,842,807	1,161,625,250
1898...	112,160,166	922,514,410	1917...	184,536,371	1,052,346,950
1899...	175,073,855	336,451,120	1918...	143,378,095	2,093,257,500
1900...	138,312,266	578,359,230	1919...	312,875,250	3,763,217,764
1901...	265,577,354	999,404,920	1920...	224,733,496	3,955,036,900
1902...	188,321,181	891,305,150	1921...	170,839,593 1/2	3,517,670,830
1903...	100,748,366	684,200,850	1922...	260,753,997	4,098,696,027
1904...	186,429,384	1,036,810,569	1923...	237,276,927	2,753,506,630
1905...	263,040,993	1,018,090,420	1924...	282,032,923	3,827,619,845
1906...	283,707,955	676,392,500	1925...	452,211,399	3,398,346,045
1907...	195,445,321	527,166,350			

Due to the increased productivity of American labor, and the huge profits resulting therefrom, the price of industrial stocks shot up. The index of 25 such stocks at the end of 1925 was more than 100 points above the average for 1924.

**Table 15—Index of Stock Prices, 1920-1925 <sup>2</sup>**

(1913 monthly average = 100)

Year and Month	Price 25 Industrial Stocks	Price 25 Railroad Stocks	Year and Month	Price 25 Industrial Stocks	Price 25 Railroad Stocks
1920.....	184	67	1925—		
1921.....	136	64	May .....	245	96
1922.....	169	75	June .....	248	96
1923.....	185	72	July .....	256	97
1924.....	198	81	August ....	272	101
1925—			September..	280	102
January ...	233	96	October ...	300	103
February ..	238	98	November .	300	106
March ....	235	95	December .	305	111
April .....	233	92			

**Stock Diffusion.**—In recent years there has been a determined effort by large corporations to secure themselves against legis-

<sup>1</sup> *The Annalist*, January 8, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> United States Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, January, 1926.

lative attack, and to build support for themselves in labor disputes, by selling their stock more widely. The total number of stockholders in all types of businesses almost doubled since 1900, reaching 14,423,000 in 1923. The face value of shares held was then \$70,000,000,000. Particular attention has been given to disposing of stock among workers and direct customers.

**Non-Voting Stock.**—Together with this campaign of stock diffusion has gone the tendency to deprive such stock of voting power. This is done by marketing two types of stock—"Class A," usually issued in large amount, which carries the right to receive dividends but not the right to vote, and "Class B," usually issued in smaller amount, in which all voting power is centered. Frequently the entire cost of the physical properties acquired is paid out of the sales of non-voting stock to outsiders, while the insiders pay in nothing, but retain full control of the company through their limited issue of voting stock. Control by small banking groups over the resources and credit of the country is thus further being rapidly concentrated. The new development is described as follows by William Z. Ripley, economist, of Harvard University:

All kinds of private businesses are being bought up by banking houses, and new corporations are being substituted for the old in order that the purchase price (and more) may be recovered by sale of shares to the general public. But the significant change is that the new stock thus sold is entirely bereft of any voting power, except in case of actual or impending bankruptcy. General stockholders, to be sure, have always been inert, delegating most of their powers of election, but at worst they might always be stimulated to assert themselves. Under the new style of corporation such general stockholders are badly deprived of all rights in this direction and new preferred stocks are sold up to the hilt of the value of the assets, if not beyond. The issues are called preferred stocks. They are really bonds. And instead, as formerly, of being limited to a half or two-thirds of the tangible assets, no limit is now set except the powers of absorption of the investing public.

Every kind of business is being swept into this maelstrom. All of our public utilities, except railroads—chain and department stores, foodstuffs, washing machines, refrigerators, confectionery, make-believe silk stockings, toilet and beauty preparations—our daily bread, our cake, even our home-made pies!<sup>1</sup>

**Consolidations.**—For the past two years the United States has been going through the greatest era of industrial consolidation and trust-building in history. Among the outstanding mergers accomplished or projected in 1925, with the estimated total value of the consolidated properties and the names of the merged companies, were:

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<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the American Academy of Political Science*, New York, October, 1925.

Table 16—Outstanding Business Mergers, 1925

*Mining*

*Tennessee Products Corporation* (\$30,000,000): Bon Air Coal & Iron Co.; Chattanooga Coke & Gas Co.; Tennessee Consolidated Coal Co.; J. J. Gray, Jr.; Southern Ferro-Alloys Co. (Greatest coal and iron consolidation in 20 years.)

*Nevada Consolidated Copper Company*: Nevada Consolidated Copper Co.; Ray Consolidated Copper Co.; Chino Copper Co.<sup>1</sup>

*Oil*

*Standard Oil Company of California* (\$447,000,000): Standard Oil Co. of California; Pacific Oil Co. (One of the greatest consolidations in the industry, second to Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey.)

*General Petroleum Company* (\$231,378,755): General Petroleum Co.; Union Oil Co. of California.

*Pan-American Western Petroleum Company* (\$200,000,000): Pan-American Western Petroleum Co.; General Petroleum Co.

*Barnsdall Corporation* (\$80,000,000): Barnsdall Corporation; Walte Phillips Co.; Simms Petroleum Co.

*Power and Light*

*Associated Gas & Electric Company* (\$175,000,000): Associated Gas & Electric Co.; Pennsylvania Electric Corp.

*Buffalo, Niagara & Eastern Power Corporation* (\$150,000,000): Buffalo General Electric Company; Niagara Falls Power Company; Niagara, Lockport & Ontario Power Company; Tonawanda Power Company.

*Long Island Lighting Company* (\$34,000,000): Long Island Lighting Company; Kings County Lighting Company; (New York City).

*Railroads*

*New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway Company* (\$1,081,593,223): New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway Co. (Nickel Plate); Chesapeake & Ohio Railway; Hocking Valley Railway Co.; Erie Railway Co.; Pere Marquette Railway Co. (Largest railroad merger in history of country).<sup>2</sup>

*St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Company* (\$875,000,000): St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Co.; Rock Island & Pacific Railway Co. (Would be largest railroad system in world, combined track 13,585 miles.)

*Food Products*

*Ward Food Products Corporation* (\$500,000,000): General Baking Co.; Continental Baking Corp.; Ward Baking Corp. (Includes 157 plants, capacity 5,500,000 loaves daily.)

*National Food Products Corporation* (\$160,000,000): Abbotts-Alderney Dairies; James Butler Grocery Co.; Economy Stores Corp.; Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co.; National Dairy Products Corp.; Reid Ice Cream Corp.; United States Stores Corp.; H. C. Bohack Co.; First National Stores; Detroit Creamery Co.; David Pender Grocery Co.; United States Dairy Products Corp.; Telling Belle Vernon Co.<sup>3</sup>

*National Baking Company* (\$53,000,000): Omaha Flour Mills Co.; Petersen Baking Co.; Donaldson Baking Co.

*General Ice Cream Corporation* (\$8,000,000): J. M. Horton Ice Cream Co.; Albany Ice Cream Co.; Amsterdam Ice Cream Co.; Elmira Ice Cream Co.; Hoefler Ice Cream Co.; International Ice Cream Co.; Lake Shore Ice Cream Co.; Peerless Ice Cream Co.; Rochester Ice Cream Co.; Syracuse Ice Cream Co.; Wheat's Ice Cream Co.

<sup>1</sup> Held up by court action, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Application for merger rejected, March 2, 1926, by Interstate Commerce Commission.

<sup>3</sup> Declared illegal as to voting stock in first seven companies, allowed as to remainder and as to non-voting stock in James Butler and United States Stores companies, March 4, 1926.

*General Manufacturing*

*Canadian International Paper Company, Ltd.* (over \$27,000,000) : International Paper Co., United States; Riordan Co. and Gatineau, Quebec.

*Columbia International Company, Ltd.* (London, \$25,000,000) : Columbia Phonograph Co., United States; Columbia Graphophone Co., Ltd., Great Britain; Carl Lindstroem Co., Germany; Transoceanic Trading Co., Netherlands.

*Belding Brothers & Company* (\$20,000,000) : Belding Brothers & Co.; Hemingway Silk Co.

*Eitingen-Schild Company* (\$17,000,000) : Eitingen-Schild Co.; Funsten & Co.; Fouke Fur Co.; N. Eitingen & Co., Poland; (largest fur combine in world).

*Federal Furniture Factories* (\$15,000,000) : Carolina Wood Products Co.; Federal Furniture Factories; Irving Furniture Factories.

*Electric Refrigerator Corporation* (\$10,000,000) : Kelvinator Corp.; Nizier Corp. (largest manufacturers of domestic and of commercial refrigerators, respectively); Grand Rapids Refrigerator Co.

*National Air Transport Company* (\$10,000,000) : Curtiss Aeroplane & Motor Co.; Wright Aeronautical Corp.; interests believed to represent William Wrigley, Jr., Marshall Field, 3rd, and Edsel Ford.

*Hotels and Theaters*

*Continental-Leland Corporation* (\$20,000,000) : Continental Hotels Co.; Leland Hotels; Sweet, Fearey & Co.; Reserve Mortgage Bond Co.; Shelton Engineering Co.

*Balaban & Katz Corporation* (\$150,000,000) : Balaban & Katz Corp.; Famous Players-Lasky Corp.; (700 theaters).

*Paramount, Inc.* (\$12,000,000) : Paramount; Gordon Olympia Theater Co.

*Universal Chain Theaters Corporation* : Universal Pictures Corp.; (acquired 1,000 motion picture theaters in principal cities of country).

*Banks*

*Chase National Bank* (\$1,025,000,000) : Chase National Bank; Mechanics and Metals Bank; (New York).

*Chatham & Phoenix National Bank and Trust Company* (\$288,809,580) : Chatham & Phoenix National Bank; Metropolitan Trust Co.; (New York).

*American Exchange-Pacific National Bank* (\$20,000,000) : American Exchange Bank; Pacific Bank; (New York).

**Bank Loans.**—Reflecting the increased industrial and commercial activity of the year, the 719 banks in the Federal Reserve System reported on December 30, 1925, a total of \$14,235,389,000 loans and discounts outstanding, an increase of more than \$1,000,000,000 over the previous high record of \$13,068,418,000 at the end of 1924.

**Foreign Loans.**—During 1925 new capital amounting to \$1,189,256,500 was loaned by American capitalists to European borrowers, governmental or private. This is an increase of \$216,245,000, or 22 per cent, over the 1924 total.

New foreign financing in the United States in the seven years 1919-1925 is estimated at nearly \$5,600,000,000. The annual average for the seven years was \$796,922,843. Last year's loans make up 24 per cent of this total; the last two years' loans make 46 per cent.

Table 17—New American Foreign Loans, 1924 and 1925 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Location</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>
Europe .....	\$520,650,000	\$ 662,010,300
Asia .....	121,011,500	66,902,000
Australasia .....	.....	75,000,000
Latin America.....	150,810,000	199,402,200
Canada .....	180,540,000	185,942,000
Total .....	\$973,011,500	\$1,189,256,500

Loans to national governments in 1925 represented a much smaller amount in volume and importance than in 1924.

Table 18—Classification of Foreign Borrowers, 1924 and 1925 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Borrowers</i>	<i>Amount</i>		<i>Per Cent</i>	
	<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>
National governments.....	\$557,026,500	\$393,769,000	57.2	33.1
Provinces and states.....	43,752,000	157,086,000	4.5	13.2
Municipalities .....	62,291,000	92,950,000	6.4	7.8
Corporations .....	309,942,000	545,451,500	31.9	45.9

Since October 14, 1924, German private corporations and government bodies obtained about \$365,000,000 of new capital in the American market, and in 1925 secured 19 per cent of the total capital loaned abroad.

**Indebtedness of Foreign Governments.**—Up to May 16, 1925, there was a total indebtedness, including principal and accrued interest, of \$11,984,827,460.56 still due the United States government by foreign governments.

By the end of 1925 funded indebtedness agreements were reached with all the major debtor foreign governments except France, Russia, and Yugoslavia. In the case of Italy a series of annual payments is provided for over a period of 62 years. Payments begin with \$5,000,000 annually for the first five years. Then they rise each year, from \$14,621,250 on account of principal and interest in 1931, to \$80,988,000 in 1987. Starting in 1931, interest at  $\frac{1}{8}$  of 1 per cent is to be paid, increasing in each 10-year period to  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ , and 1 per cent until the last seven years, when 2 per cent is to be paid. Italy thus will pay very little interest, but obligates itself to return the principal. The United States government pays the defaulted interest to its bondholders.

<sup>1</sup> *Bradstreet's*, January 16, 1926.

Table 19—Foreign Government Debts to the United States <sup>1</sup>

Country	Principal	Accrued Interest	Total Indebtedness
Armenia .....	\$ 11,959,917.49	\$ 2,999,562.45	\$ 14,959,479.94
Austria .....	24,055,708.92	6,495,041.43	30,550,750.35
Belgium .....	376,153,730.76	40,750,429.94	416,904,160.70
Czechoslovakia ...	91,879,671.03	23,120,328.97	115,000,000.00
Estonia .....	13,999,145.60	1,763,777.85	15,762,923.45
Finland .....	8,910,000.00	.....	8,910,000.00
France .....	3,340,516,043.72	870,040,904.55	4,210,556,948.27
Great Britain.....	4,454,000,000.00	.....	4,554,000,000.00
Greece .....	15,000,000.00	2,625,000.00	17,625,000.00
Hungary .....	1,472,883.00	.....	1,972,883.00
Italy .....	1,647,869,197.96	94,130,802.04	2,042,000,000.00
Latvia .....	5,132,287.14	642,712.86	5,775,000.00
Liberia .....	26,000.00	6,768.85	32,768.85
Lithuania .....	6,045,225.00	.....	6,045,225.00
Nicaragua .....	84,090.28	.....	84,090.28
Poland .....	178,560,000.00	.....	178,560,000.00
Rumania .....	36,116,972.44	8,473,027.56	44,590,000.00
Russia .....	192,601,297.37	63,481,935.37	256,083,232.74
Yugoslavia .....	51,037,886.39	14,377,111.59	65,414,997.98
Total .....	\$10,555,920,057.10	\$1,428,907,403.46	\$11,984,827,460.56

## DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

**Distribution of Wealth.**—The latest authoritative study of the distribution of wealth in America is the final report of the federal Commission on Industrial Relations in 1915. The Commission reported that:

The "rich," 2 per cent of the people, own 60 per cent of the wealth.

The "middle class," 33 per cent of the people, own 35 per cent of the wealth.

The "poor," 65 per cent of the people, own 5 per cent of the wealth.<sup>2</sup>

**National Wealth.**—The wealth of the United States was officially estimated as \$320,803,862,000 in 1922. The United States is now the richest nation. The national wealth of Great Britain is put at \$88,840,000,000, that of France at \$67,710,000,000, and that of Germany since the war at \$35,700,000,000.<sup>3</sup>

The most important single item of wealth in the United States, comprising more than half of the total, is real estate and improve-

<sup>1</sup> United States Federal Reserve Board, *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, December, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> United States Commission on Industrial Relations, *Final Report*; quoting estimate by Willford I. King, *The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*.

<sup>3</sup> Estimate of National City Bank, New York City.

ments. Personal clothing, furniture, and jewelry come second, manufactured products third, railroads and railroad equipment fourth, and manufacturing machinery and tools fifth.

Table 20—National Wealth, United States, 1904-1922 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Form of Wealth</i>	<i>1904</i>	<i>1912</i>	<i>1922</i>
Real property and improvements taxed.....	\$ 55,510,228,000	\$ 96,923,406,000	\$155,908,625,000
Real property and improvements exempt....	6,831,245,000	12,313,520,000	20,505,819,000
Livestock .....	4,073,792,000	6,238,389,000	5,807,104,000
Farm implements and machinery .....	844,990,000	1,368,225,000	2,604,638,000
Manufacturing machinery, tools and implements....	3,297,754,000	6,091,451,000	15,783,260,000
Railroads and their equipment .....	11,244,752,000	16,148,532,000	19,950,800,000
Motor vehicles.....	.....	.....	4,567,407,000
Street railways, shipping, waterworks:			
Street railways.....	2,219,966,000	4,596,563,000	4,877,636,000
Telegraph systems....	227,400,000	223,253,000	203,896,000
Telephone systems....	585,840,000	1,081,433,000	1,745,774,000
Pullman and other cars not owned by railroads .....	123,000,000	123,363,000	545,415,000
Pipe lines.....	.....	.....	500,000,000
Shipping and canals...	846,490,000	1,491,117,000	2,951,484,000
Irrigation enterprises..	.....	360,865,000	.....
Privately owned waterworks .....	275,000,000	290,000,000	360,885,000
Privately owned central elec. light and power stations .....	562,851,000	2,098,613,000	4,229,357,000
Total str't rys., etc.	4,840,547,000	10,265,207,000	15,414,447,000
All other:			
Agricultural products..	1,899,380,000	5,240,020,000	5,465,796,000
Manufactured products..	7,409,292,000	14,693,862,000	28,422,848,000
Imported merchandise..	495,544,000	826,632,000	1,548,666,000
Mining products.....	408,067,000	815,552,000	730,296,000
Clothing, personal adornment, furniture, horse-drawn vehicles and kindred property....	8,250,000,000	12,758,225,000	39,816,001,000
Gold and silver coin and bullion.....	1,998,603,000	2,616,643,000	4,278,155,000
Total, all other....	20,460,886,000	36,950,934,000	80,261,762,000
Grand total.....	\$107,104,194,000	\$186,299,664,000	\$320,803,862,000

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of the Census, *Estimated National Wealth*, 1922.

## DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

**National and Per Capita Income.**—The yearly national income of the United States in 1921, the latest year for which figures are available, was approximately \$84,426,667,000. Divided among the population this would make a per capita income of about \$779.<sup>1</sup>

**Individual Incomes.**—The number of individual federal income tax returns filed in the United States rose from 6,787,481 in 1922 to 7,698,321 in 1923, and then dropped to 7,298,481 in 1924.

As the total number of gainfully occupied persons in the country in 1920 was a little over 41,500,000 only about one in six of them received incomes high enough to come within the reporting provisions of the federal statute, namely, \$1,000 for single and \$2,000 for married persons.

The number of persons with a yearly income of \$1,000,000 or more, which was 21 in 1921 and jumped to 67 in 1922, increased still further to 74 in 1923, and maintained that level in 1924. Between 1922 and 1923 the number in almost every income-group rose. Between 1923 and 1924, incomes above \$5,000 increased both in absolute number and relatively to the whole number of incomes, while those below \$5,000 decreased.

**Table 21—Number of Personal Incomes Reported, 1920-1924 <sup>2</sup>**

<i>Income Group</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>	<i>1924</i>
Under \$1,000.....		401,849	402,076	368,502	344,281
\$1,000-\$2,000 .....	2,671,950	2,440,544	2,471,181	2,515,324	2,350,494
\$2,000-\$3,000 .....	2,569,316	2,222,031	2,129,898	2,470,970	2,308,862
\$3,000-\$5,000 .....	1,387,116	1,072,146	1,190,115	1,717,628	1,604,442
\$5,000-\$10,000 .....	455,442	353,247	391,373	397,630	433,902
\$10,000-\$25,000 .....	171,830	132,344	151,329	171,801	188,648
\$25,000-\$50,000 .....	38,548	28,946	35,478	39,832	46,524
\$50,000-\$100,000 .....	12,093	8,717	12,000	12,452	15,634
\$100,000-\$150,000 .....	2,191	1,367	2,171	2,339	3,054
\$150,000-\$300,000 .....	1,063	739	1,323	1,301	1,867
\$300,000-\$500,000 .....	239	162	309	327	459
\$500,000-\$1,000,000 ...	123	63	161	141	240
\$1,000,000 and over...	33	21	67	74	74
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>7,259,944</b>	<b>6,662,176</b>	<b>6,787,481</b>	<b>7,698,321</b>	<b>7,298,481</b>

More than a third of those reporting, both in 1923 and 1924, received less than \$2,000 a year, or about \$40 a week. More

<sup>1</sup> National Bureau of Economic Research, *Income in the Various States*, Maurice Leven.

<sup>2</sup> United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income, 1924, Preliminary Report*.

than two-thirds received less than \$3,000 a year, or about \$60 a week. More than nine-tenths received less than \$5,000 a year, or about \$100 a week.

On the other hand, there were, in 1923, 74 incomes of \$1,000,000 or more. Of these, 39 were between \$1,000,000 and \$1,500,000; 12 were between \$1,500,000 and \$2,000,000; 12 were between \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000; six were between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000; one was between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000; and four were \$5,000,000 or over. In 1924 the number of incomes \$1,000,000 or more was again 74. Of these 36 ranged from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000; 13 ranged from \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000; 15 ranged from \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000; four ranged from \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000; three ranged from \$4,000,000 to \$5,000,000; and three were \$5,000,000 or more.

Table 22—Personal Incomes and Tax Paid, 1923 <sup>1</sup>

Income Group	Returns		Incomes Amount	Per Cent of Tax Paid	
	Number	Per Cent		Per Cent	
Under \$1,000.....	368,502	4.79	\$ 252,513,019	1.02	0.05
\$1,000-\$2,000 .....	2,515,324	32.67	3,683,428,617	14.83	2.74
\$2,000-\$3,000 .....	2,470,970	32.09	6,069,132,445	24.43	2.50
\$3,000-\$5,000 .....	1,717,628	22.32	6,461,142,951	26.01	6.92
\$5,000-\$10,000 .....	397,630	5.164	2,717,991,529	10.94	8.36
\$10,000-\$25,000 ....	171,801	2.232	2,558,361,589	10.30	15.65
\$25,000-\$50,000 ....	39,832	.516	1,350,680,468	5.44	15.61
\$50,000-\$100,000 ...	12,452	.162	833,898,237	3.36	16.41
\$100,000-\$150,000 ..	2,339	.031	280,656,213	1.13	8.40
\$150,000-\$300,000 ..	1,301	.018	260,584,012	1.05	9.36
\$300,000-\$500,000 ..	327	.004	124,569,194	.50	4.77
\$500,000-\$1,000,000..	141	.002	95,107,209	.38	3.84
\$1,000,000 and over.	74	.001	152,071,881	.61	5.39
	7,698,321	100.00	\$24,840,137,364	100.00	100.00

More than two-thirds of the income received by those in the \$1,000 to \$3,000 groups, and almost half the income received by those in the \$3,000 to \$10,000 groups, was earned as wages and salaries, in both 1923 and 1924. In the higher income groups the income is less and less derived from wages and salaries and more and more from dividends, profits from sales of real estate, stocks and bonds, and interest and investment.

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income*, 1923.

Table 23—Personal Incomes and Tax Paid, 1924 <sup>1</sup>

Income Group	Returns		Incomes		Per Cent of Tax Paid
	Number	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	
Under \$1,000.....	344,281	4.718	\$ 236,051,857	0.94	0.02
\$1,000-\$2,000 .....	2,350,494	32.205	3,441,614,242	13.75	1.28
\$2,000-\$3,000 .....	2,308,862	31.635	5,671,134,658	22.66	1.12
\$3,000-\$5,000 .....	1,604,442	21.983	6,035,045,426	24.12	3.10
\$5,000-\$10,000 .....	433,902	5.945	2,965,766,075	11.85	4.22
\$10,000-\$25,000 ....	188,648	2.585	2,816,129,782	11.25	11.18
\$25,000-\$50,000 ....	46,524	.637	1,580,506,393	6.32	15.80
\$50,000-\$100,000 ...	15,634	.214	1,053,650,186	4.21	19.72
\$100,000-\$150,000 ..	3,054	.042	367,049,390	1.47	10.67
\$150,000-\$300,000 ..	1,867	.026	372,576,119	1.49	13.33
\$300,000-\$500,000 ..	459	.006	171,482,809	.69	6.63
\$500,000-\$1,000,000..	240	.003	157,351,247	.63	6.17
\$1,000,000 and over..	74	.001	154,852,709	.62	6.76
	7,298,481	100.00	\$25,023,210,893	100.00	100.00

Table 24—Percentage of Personal Income Secured from Each Specified Source, 1923 <sup>2</sup>

Income Group	Wages and Salaries	Business	Partnerships	Sales of Real Estate, Stocks, Bonds	Sale of Assets Held for More Than 2 Years	Rents and Royalties	Interest and Investment Income	Government Obligations	Dividends	Fiduciary
Under \$1,000	37.49	23.13	3.44	2.13	....	15.10	12.16	0.22	5.67	0.66
\$1,000-\$2,000	68.29	13.62	2.37	.84	....	6.22	6.25	.05	1.97	.36
\$2,000-\$3,000	63.98	16.55	3.07	1.83	....	6.36	5.65	.04	2.15	.37
\$3,000-\$5,000	45.97	24.12	5.61	3.08	....	7.03	7.82	.10	5.61	.66
\$5,000-\$10,000	44.30	15.52	8.18	4.53	....	6.15	8.46	.17	10.87	1.82
\$10,000-\$25,000	34.27	11.19	9.72	6.09	....	5.21	9.14	.29	21.62	2.47
\$25,000-\$50,000	25.16	8.40	10.92	5.18	1.37	4.74	9.31	.44	31.94	2.54
\$50,000-\$100,000	18.81	6.12	10.69	3.07	6.10	3.73	8.80	.47	39.34	2.87
\$100,000-\$150,000	14.09	3.76	11.04	2.12	10.08	3.84	8.00	.37	44.06	2.64
\$150,000-\$300,000	10.49	3.24	9.13	1.65	15.66	2.84	7.91	.44	45.32	3.32
\$300,000-\$500,000	8.14	2.80	6.49	1.12	21.84	2.50	7.11	.54	46.03	3.43
\$500,000-\$1,000,000	5.43	2.46	4.33	1.39	23.91	3.18	6.43	.46	47.90	4.51
\$1,000,000 and over .....	2.47	1.78	.62	.19	40.51	.43	4.93	.33	47.71	1.03
Total .....	48.53	16.14	5.47	2.96	1.04	6.20	7.45	.15	10.66	1.13

<sup>1</sup>United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income, 1924, Preliminary Report.*<sup>2</sup>United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income, 1923.*

Table 25—Percentage of Personal Income Secured from Each Specified Source, 1924 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Income Group</i>	<i>Wages and Salaries</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Partnerships</i>	<i>Sales of Real Estate, Stocks, Bonds</i>	<i>Sale of Assets Held for More Than 2 Years</i>	<i>Rents and Royalties</i>	<i>Interest and Investment Income</i>	<i>Government Obligations</i>	<i>Dividends</i>	<i>Fiduciary</i>
Under \$1,000	37.52	23.10	3.45	2.09	....	15.10	12.36	....	5.68	0.70
\$1,000-\$2,000	68.28	13.59	2.38	.85	....	6.20	6.35	....	1.97	.38
\$2,000-\$3,000	63.98	16.65	3.07	1.82	....	6.35	5.61	....	2.15	.37
\$3,000-\$5,000	45.96	24.12	5.60	3.08	....	7.03	7.93	....	5.62	.66
\$5,000-\$10,000	43.82	18.36	9.22	5.80	....	6.70	6.98	....	8.04	1.08
\$10,000-\$25,000	33.68	11.97	9.90	8.33	....	5.64	8.72	0.29	19.63	1.84
\$25,000-\$50,000	24.90	8.36	10.10	8.36	1.93	4.43	9.16	.44	30.00	2.32
\$50,000-\$100,000	18.91	5.45	10.41	5.52	6.63	3.53	9.08	.48	37.50	2.49
\$100,000-\$150,000	14.74	3.16	10.66	4.45	11.22	3.18	7.79	.38	42.15	2.27
\$150,000-\$300,000	11.34	2.92	10.11	4.38	16.31	3.12	7.38	.52	41.64	2.28
\$300,000-\$500,000	8.53	1.22	7.76	3.33	22.99	2.55	6.19	.33	44.92	2.18
\$500,000-\$1,000,000	6.79	.84	4.40	1.80	29.42	1.51	5.45	.49	46.18	3.12
\$1,000,000 and over	2.13	.67	4.89	1.56	26.49	2.43	5.89	.35	54.27	1.32
Total	47.12	16.05	6.09	3.83	1.32	6.17	7.34	.10	10.98	1.00

Table 26—Personal Incomes Reported from Various Industrial Groups, 1923 <sup>2</sup>

<i>Industrial Group</i>	<i>Number of Businesses Reported</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total Net Incomes</i>
Agriculture and related industries	185,446	7.53
Mining and quarrying	5,859	.39
Manufacturing	129,767	7.74
Construction	90,677	5.65
Transportation and other public utilities	35,150	1.73
Trade	647,569	34.18
Public service—professional, amusements, hotels, etc.	481,779	32.34
Finance, banking, insurance, etc.	54,771	4.16
Special cases, business not sufficiently defined to be classed with any other division	115,126	6.28
Grand total	1,746,144	100.00

More than a third of the total personal income reported in 1923 was made in trade. Public and professional service income was

<sup>1</sup>United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income, 1924, Preliminary Report.*

<sup>2</sup>United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income, 1923.*

nearly as large. Manufacturing and agriculture came third and fourth.

**Corporation Income.**—In comparison with 1922, when a total net income of \$4,770,034,787 was reported by corporations, 1923 showed a total of \$6,307,974,147. As against an income of \$1,681,892,856 in 1922 for corporations reporting an income of \$5,000,000 and over, the same group in 1923 showed a total of \$2,294,954,330. In 1923 1,026 corporations receiving \$1,000,000 and over in net income reported a total income of \$3,990,671,042, which was twice as much as that received by all other corporations together, 397,907 in number. Nearly 41.5 per cent of all corporations reported no net income.

Table 27—Corporation Incomes, 1923 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Income Group</i> Reporting Net Income:	<i>Number</i>	<i>Net Income</i>
Under \$2,000.....	99,240	\$ 87,992,887
\$2,000-\$5,000 .....	48,269	153,069,832
\$5,000-\$10,000 .....	27,602	199,336,286
\$10,000-\$50,000 .....	39,764	891,426,019
\$50,000-\$100,000 .....	8,258	577,435,489
\$100,000-\$250,000 .....	5,942	923,065,165
\$250,000-\$500,000 .....	2,149	745,679,327
\$500,000-\$1,000,000 .....	1,089	752,853,087
\$1,000,000-\$5,000,000 .....	858	1,695,716,712
\$5,000,000 and over.....	168	2,294,954,330
Total .....	233,339	\$8,321,529,134
Reporting no net income.....	165,594	—2,013,554,987
Grand total.....	398,933	\$6,307,974,147

Table 28—Incomes of Corporations Reporting a Net Income, by Industrial Groups, 1923 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Industrial Group</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>No. of Cor-</i> <i>porations</i>	<i>Gross Income</i>	<i>Net Income</i>
Agriculture and related industries	9,360	\$ 605,393,833	\$ 92,201,206
Mining and quarrying.....	18,509	2,676,072,256	283,565,648
Manufacturing .....	85,199	48,686,639,790	4,271,899,449
Construction .....	12,551	1,753,796,470	112,003,914
Transportation and other public utilities .....	21,113	9,280,705,456	1,257,409,896
Trade .....	100,646	26,441,517,568	1,197,926,069
Public service—professional, amusements, hotels, etc.....	25,114	1,917,929,099	188,368,460
Finance—banking, insurance, related business, etc.....	96,772	5,488,238,992	868,083,415
Combinations—predominant industry not ascertainable.....	3,419	607,185,982	50,071,077
Inactive concerns.....	26,250	.....	.....
Total .....	398,933	\$97,457,479,446	\$8,321,529,134

<sup>1</sup>United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income*, 1923.

The largest amount of corporation net income was gained in manufacturing, with trade second, and transportation and other public utilities third. Every industrial group showed a larger net income in 1923 than in 1922. An extraordinary increase was registered in manufacturing.

Total deductions allowed from corporation gross incomes in order to compute net income amounted to \$89,135,950,312, or 93.59 per cent. This left a net income of 6.41 per cent in 1923, as against 5.88 in 1922. Further deductions for tax-exempt interest and dividends received, and for losses in the preceding year, left taxable net profits amounting to 5.63 per cent of corporation gross incomes. Corporation net profits, after deducting the tax, totalled \$6,697,156,645.

Table 29—Deductions from Corporation Gross Incomes, 1923, in Percentages of Gross Income <sup>1</sup>

<i>Industrial Group</i>	<i>Cost of Goods Sold</i>	<i>Compensation of Officers</i>	<i>Interest Paid</i>	<i>Taxes Other Than Income and Profit Taxes</i>	<i>Depreciation, Amortization, and Depletion</i>	<i>Miscellaneous Expense</i>	<i>Total Disbursements</i>
Agriculture and related industries .....	51.35	2.38	4.08	2.47	4.74	29.00	94.02
Mining and quarrying....	54.67	1.28	2.59	2.04	13.66	24.94	99.18
Food products, beverages, and tobacco.....	76.75	1.11	1.11	.71	1.68	14.49	95.85
Textiles and textile products .....	77.78	2.12	1.03	.80	1.68	10.09	93.50
Leather and leather products .....	81.45	2.09	1.04	.63	1.07	11.27	97.55
Rubber and rubber goods.	73.56	.83	2.60	1.35	2.22	17.04	97.60
Lumber and wood products	70.39	2.43	1.36	1.28	4.33	10.84	90.63
Paper, pulp and products.	73.71	2.09	1.32	1.23	3.20	11.53	93.08
Printing and publishing...	47.91	4.38	.72	.65	2.04	36.64	92.34
Chemicals and allied substances .....	67.26	1.17	1.06	.91	4.76	17.45	92.61
Aggregate .....	61.93	2.17	2.75	1.37	2.62	22.75	93.59

**The Workers' Share.**—The only field of economic activity in which figures are readily available for estimating the share the workers receive of the values produced, is manufacturing. To

<sup>1</sup>United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income*, 1923.

determine the share which wage and salaried workers in manufacturing receive of the new values created in their places of employment, the cost of materials must first be deducted from the value of the finished product. This gives the new value added by manufacture. About one-third of the amount paid as salaries (\$960,714,165 out of \$2,805,450,000 in 1923) goes as compensation to officers of corporations. Probably enough more of this amount goes to proprietors and firm members to make it a reasonable estimate that not more than half of the total salary bill can properly be considered as part of the share of wage or salaried workers. On this basis, in every year except one in which a census of manufactures was taken during the last quarter-century the workers received less than half the new values created, and that year they received only 1.6 per cent more than half. The amount of new values created in manufacturing which went to others than the workers ranged in these 25 years from 93.8 to 118.8 per cent as large as that portion which the workers received. In other words, of every \$1,000 produced in manufactures the workers received in the most favorable year \$516, while other income-takers received as profit, dividends, interest, rent, or in other ways, the remainder, or \$484. In the least favorable years the workers received \$457, while other income-takers received \$543.

Table 30—Percentage Ratio of Wages and Workers' Salaries to New Values Added by Manufacture, 1899-1923 <sup>1</sup>

Year	Wages	All Salaries	Workers' Salaries <sup>2</sup>	Ratio of New Values Received by Other Total Income-Takers, to Workers Those Received Share <sup>3</sup> by Workers	
				Workers Share <sup>3</sup>	by Workers
1899.....	41.5	8.5	4.2	45.7	118.8
1904.....	41.5	9.0	4.5	46.0	117.4
1909.....	40.2	11.0	5.5	45.7	118.8
1914.....	41.3	13.0	6.5	47.8	109.2
1919.....	42.1	11.5	5.7	47.8	109.2
1921.....	44.7	13.9	6.9	51.6	93.8
1923.....	42.1	10.8	5.4	47.5	110.5

<sup>1</sup> Based on United States Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. VIII, *Manufactures*, 1919; United States Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures*, 1923; United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, *Statistics of Income*, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Half of preceding column.

<sup>3</sup> Sum of columns 1 and 3.

## CONCENTRATION OF INDUSTRY

**Growth of Manufactures.**—The development of manufactures in the United States from 1919 to 1923 was:

Table 31—Manufactures in the United States, 1919-1923<sup>1</sup>

	1919	1921	1923	Per Cent Increase or Decrease 1921 to 1923
Number of establishments .....	214,383	196,267	196,309	...
Persons engaged....	10,688,849	8,265,821	10,282,306	+24.4
Proprietors and firm members...	250,571	172,871	148,421	—14.1
Salariéd officers & employees .....	1,438,219	1,146,380	1,355,729	+18.3
Wage-earners (av'ge number)	9,000,059	6,946,570	8,778,156	+26.4
Primary horse power .....	29,327,669	..... <sup>2</sup>	33,094,228	...
Capital .....	\$44,325,470,000	..... <sup>2</sup>	..... <sup>3</sup>	...
Rent and taxes....	2,281,757,000	..... <sup>2</sup>	..... <sup>3</sup>	...
Salaries and wages.	13,342,655,000	10,765,427,000	14,023,544,000	+30.3
Salaries .....	2,880,868,000	2,563,103,000	3,014,246,000	+17.6
Wages .....	10,461,787,000	8,202,324,000	11,009,298,000	+34.2
Paid for contract work .....	462,994,000	450,996,000	625,144,000	+38.6
Cost of materials...	37,232,702,000	25,321,056,000	34,705,698,000	+37.1
Value of products.	62,041,795,000	43,653,283,000	60,555,998,000	+38.7
Value added by manufacture .....	24,809,093,000	18,332,227,000	25,850,300,000	+41.0

**Increased Size of Establishments.**—The number of manufacturing establishments in 1923 was but slightly larger than in 1921, and was still much below the number in 1919. Yet the number of persons engaged increased nearly 2,000,000, or almost 25 per cent above the 1921 figures, and nearly equalled the number in 1919. The volume of output increased tremendously. In value it was more than 40 per cent above 1921, and nearly 5 per cent above 1919. When it is considered that wholesale prices have dropped 20 per cent since 1919, the large increase in physical volume of product becomes apparent.

In 1914 only 3,819 establishments out of a total of 275,791 reported value of products of \$1,000,000 and over, their output constituting 48.6 per cent of the total. In 1923 there were 10,327 such manufacturing establishments out of a total of 196,309, the value of their products equalling 66.4 per cent of the whole. The

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures*, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Not called for on schedule for 1921.

<sup>3</sup> Not called for on schedule for 1923.

largest establishments thus rose from contributing half of the total value, to contributing two-thirds.

## WASTE IN INDUSTRY

**Fifty Per Cent Waste.**—Through idleness, and through wastes in production, distribution, and consumption, it is estimated that at least 20,500,000 man-years, or about 50 per cent of the available labor-power of the United States, are wasted annually. The main lines of waste are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

- I. The waste of idleness; minimum loss, 6,000,000 man-years.
  1. Intermittent unemployment.
  2. Seasonal unemployment.
  3. Cyclical unemployment.
  4. Turnover losses (moving from job to job).
  5. Strikes and lockouts.
  6. Absenteeism.
  7. Preventable accidents.
  8. Preventable sickness.
  9. Idle rich.
  10. Hoboes.
- II. Wastes in consumption; minimum loss, 8,000,000 man-years.
  1. The military establishment.
  2. The opium and cocaine traffic.
  3. The patent medicine and drug traffic.
  4. Distilled spirits.
  5. Prostitution.
  6. Crime.
  7. Adulteration.
  8. Speculation and gambling.
  9. Quackery.
  10. Super-luxuries and fashions.
  11. Advertising.
- III. Wastes in production; minimum loss, 4,000,000 man-years.  
 The absence of adequate plant control and cost control; failure to utilize research; standardization and simplification; failures; excess plant capacity involving a staggering burden of overhead costs on idle plant; restriction of output—including dumping and destruction of crops and goods; the haphazard arrangement of the industrial structure without regard to regional planning or the location of manufacturing plants near their logical raw material supplies; failure to utilize by-products; commercial bankruptcies; tariff and trade barriers; trade secrecy, the suppression of inventions—the “profitable obstruction of technical knowledge.”
- IV. Wastes in distribution; minimum loss, 2,500,000 man-years.

## NUMBER OF WAGE-EARNERS

**Number Gainfully Occupied.**—Of the total population of more than 105,710,620 in the United States at the 1920 Census, 41,614,248 persons 10 years of age or over, or half the total population of those ages, were gainfully occupied. The num-

<sup>1</sup> Stuart Chase, *The Challenge of Waste*.

ber both of males and of females gainfully occupied increased since 1910. The proportion of gainfully employed persons to the total population, however, declined slightly from its high point of 1910.

**Table 32—Persons 10 Years of Age and Over Gainfully Occupied in the United States, 1900-1920**

<i>Year and Sex</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Number Gainfully Occupied</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>	<i>Per Cent of Population 10 Years of Age and Over</i>
<i>Male</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Occupied</i>	<i>Population</i>	
1900.....	38,816,448	23,753,836	61.2	80.0
1910.....	47,332,277	30,091,564	63.6	81.3
1920.....	53,900,431	33,064,737	61.3	78.2
<i>Female</i>				
1900.....	37,178,127	5,319,397	14.3	18.8
1910.....	44,639,989	8,075,772	18.1	23.4
1920.....	51,810,189	8,549,511	16.5	21.1
<i>Both Sexes</i>				
1900.....	75,994,575	29,073,233	38.3	50.2
1910.....	91,972,266	38,167,336	41.5	53.3
1920.....	105,710,620	41,614,248	39.4	50.3

**Occupations.**—Manufacturing and mechanical industries lead in number of persons occupied. Farming comes second, trade third, transportation fourth, and domestic and personal service fifth.

**Table 33—Industrial Grouping of Gainfully Occupied Persons, 1920 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>—Total—</i>	
			<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
<i>Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry—</i>				
Proprietors, officials and managers .....	5,338,047	163,695	5,501,742	50.2
Laborers .....	4,528,953	920,379	5,449,332	49.8
Total .....	9,867,000	1,084,074	10,951,074	100.0
<i>Extraction of minerals—</i>				
Proprietors, officials and managers .....	28,271	339	28,610	2.6
Semi-skilled workers....	507,796	1,245	509,041	46.7
Laborers .....	551,290	1,913	553,203	50.7
Total .....	1,087,357	3,497	1,090,854	100.0

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1922. Slight discrepancy in totals between this table and the preceding is due to revisions in Census reports.

Occupation	Males	Females	—Total—	
			Number	Per Cent
Manufacturing and mechanical industries—				
Proprietors, officials and managers .....	652,898	7,724	660,622	5.2
Skilled workers.....	4,613,814	75,312	4,689,126	36.6
Semi-skilled workers....	2,491,895	1,755,337	4,247,232	33.1
Laborers .....	3,123,030	92,691	3,215,721	25.1
Total .....	10,881,637	1,931,064	12,812,701	100.0
Transportation—				
Proprietors, officials and managers .....	202,495	3,857	206,352	6.7
Clerks and kindred workers .....	256,684	198,621	455,305	14.8
Skilled workers.....	225,311	214	225,525	7.4
Semi-skilled workers....	644,562	3,857	648,419	21.2
Laborers .....	1,522,991	7,713	1,530,704	49.9
Total .....	2,852,043	214,262	3,066,305	100.0
Trade—				
Proprietors, officials and managers .....	1,511,986	103,837	1,615,823	38.1
Clerks and kindred workers .....	1,515,560	547,324	2,062,884	48.6
Semi-skilled workers....	343,146	12,059	355,205	8.4
Laborers .....	203,743	6,699	210,442	4.9
Total .....	3,574,435	669,919	4,244,354	100.0
Public service (not elsewhere classified)—				
Public officials.....	195,415	20,656	216,071	28.0
Semi-public officials (not elsewhere classified)...	441,742	538	442,280	57.4
Laborers .....	111,559	1,210	112,769	14.6
Total .....	748,716	22,404	771,120	100.0
Professional service—				
Professional persons....	1,123,659	1,005,128	2,128,787	98.9
Semi-skilled workers....	12,498	11,179	23,677	1.1
Total .....	1,136,157	1,016,307	2,152,464	100.0
Domestic and personal service—				
Proprietors, officials and managers .....	218,907	146,342	365,249	10.7
Semi-skilled workers....	260,256	340,737	600,993	17.7
Servants .....	736,988	1,697,135	2,434,123	71.6
Total .....	1,216,151	2,184,214	3,400,365	100.0
Clerical occupations—				
Clerks and kindred workers .....	1,696,297	1,423,658	3,119,955	100.0
All occupations.....	33,059,793	8,549,399	41,609,192	100.0

**Wage and Salaried Workers.**—Of the 41,609,192 persons whose occupations have just been given, approximately 32,710,495 were wage or salaried workers, 520,299 were independent professionals, and 8,378,398 were proprietors or managers. The largest proportion of proprietors or managers was found in agriculture,

where over 5,000,000 persons, or more than half of the total number in the industry, were in that class, either as land-owning or as tenant farmers.

**Table 34—Wage and Salaried Workers in the United States, 1920<sup>1</sup>**

	—Males—		—Females—		—Total—	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Wage and salaried workers—						
Skilled workers...	4,839,125	14.6	75,526	.9	4,914,651	11.8
Semi - skilled workers .....	4,260,153	12.9	2,124,414	24.8	6,384,567	15.3
Clerks and kindred workers .....	3,468,541	10.5	2,169,603	25.4	5,638,144	13.6
Professionally trained workers	669,237	2.1	939,251	11.0	1,608,488	3.9
Public service....	637,157	1.9	21,194	.2	658,351	1.6
Laborers .....	10,041,566	30.4	1,030,605	12.1	11,072,171	26.6
Servants .....	736,988	2.2	1,697,135	19.8	2,434,123	5.9
Total .....	24,652,767	74.6	8,057,728	94.2	32,710,495	78.7
Independent professionals .....	454,422	1.3	65,887	.8	520,299	1.2
Proprietors, officials, and managers....	7,952,604	24.1	425,794	5.0	8,378,398	20.1
All occupations...	33,059,793	100.0	8,549,399	100.0	41,609,192	100.0

In making the above estimate, the status of the individual as employee, self-employer, or employer, has been taken as the basis of division, instead of size of income, period of payment, or class loyalty, which are often used. Hence county, state and United States officials, marshals, sheriffs, detectives, policemen, soldiers, sailors, and marines have been included in the public service group of wage or salaried workers, along with life savers, fire fighters, and garbage men, because they are definitely employees. On the other hand, tenant farmers are included among the self-employers, along with small shopkeepers, although the economic condition of many in both groups is worse than the condition of many wage-earners. Among the professionals, actors, musicians, editors and reporters, clergymen, technical engineers, architects, librarians, college professors, and the large class of school teachers have been listed as employees, while physicians, dentists, lawyers and authors are counted as independent professionals.

In most occupations there were increases in number of workers between 1910 and 1920; in many cases the gains were very large.

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from United States *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1922, and *Abstract of Occupation Statistics*, 1923.

Decreases occurred among agricultural workers, building and general laborers, hostlers and stable hands, deliverymen, and servants.

**Table 35—Wage-Earners, 10 Years and Over, Engaged in Specified Occupations, 1910 and 1920 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>
<b>Agriculture, Forestry, and Animal Husbandry—</b>		
Dairy farm, farm, and stock farm laborers.....	6,069,321	4,041,627
Dairy farm laborers.....	35,014	63,367
Farm laborers (home farm).....	3,310,534	1,850,119
Farm laborers (working out).....	2,636,966	2,055,276
Farm laborers (turpentine farm).....	27,557	16,099
Stock herders, drovers, and feeders.....	59,250	56,766
Dairy farm, farm, garden, orchard, etc., foremen	51,195	93,048
Garden, greenhouse, orchard, and nursery laborers	133,927	137,010
Lumbermen, raftsmen, and woodchoppers.....	161,268	205,315
Poultry yard laborers.....	3,233	4,599
<b>Extraction of Minerals—</b>		
Foremen, overseers and inspectors.....	23,338	36,931
Coal mine operatives.....	613,924	733,936
Copper mine operatives.....	39,270	36,054
Gold and silver mine operatives.....	55,436	32,700
Iron mine operatives.....	49,948	38,704
Operatives in other and not specified mines.....	47,252	41,389
Quarry operatives.....	80,840	45,162
Oil, gas, and salt well operatives.....	29,927	91,022
<b>Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries—</b>		
Foremen and overseers.....	175,098	307,413
Apprentices to building and hand trades.....	.....	73,953
Apprentices to dressmakers and milliners.....	12,011	4,326
Apprentices, other.....	.....	65,898
Bakers.....	89,531	97,940
Blacksmiths, forgemen and hammermen.....	240,174	221,421
Boiler makers.....	44,761	74,088
Brick and stone masons.....	169,402	131,264
Cabinet makers.....	41,892	45,511
Carpenters.....	817,120	887,379
Compositors, linotypers, and typesetters.....	127,589	140,165
Coopers.....	25,299	19,066
Dyers.....	14,050	15,109
Electricians.....	120,241	212,964
Electrotypers, stereotypers, and lithographers....	12,506	13,716
Engineers (stationary), cranemen, hoistmen, etc....	.....	279,984
Engravers.....	13,967	15,053
Filers, grinders, buffers, and polishers (metal)...	49,525	59,785
Firemen (except locomotive and fire department)	111,248	143,875
Furnacemen, smeltermen, heaters, pourers, etc....	36,251	40,806
Glass blowers.....	15,564	9,144
Jewelers, watchmakers, etc.....	32,574	39,592
<b>Laborers:</b>		
Building, general, and not specified.....	869,478	623,203
Chemical and allied industries.....	41,741	74,289
Cigar and tobacco factories.....	16,392	35,157
Clay, glass, and stone industries.....	154,826	124,544
Clothing industries.....	10,240	12,766

<sup>1</sup> Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Occupations*.

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>
Food industries.....	82,015	159,535
Harness and saddle industries.....	1,298	1,885
Helpers in building and hand trades.....	66,303	63,519
Iron and steel industries.....	482,941	729,613
Agricultural implement factories.....	11,067	11,409
Automobile factories.....	15,783	83,341
Blast furnaces and steel rolling.....	202,392	258,830
Car and railroad shops.....	48,342	53,643
Ship and boat building.....	11,983	69,196
Wagon and carriage factories.....	12,391	9,817
Other iron and steel factories.....	138,059	179,607
Not specified metal industries.....	42,924	63,770
Other metal industries.....	44,773	67,887
Lumber and furniture industries.....	317,244	320,613
Paper and pulp mills.....	31,388	52,263
Printing and publishing.....	7,041	11,436
Shoe factories.....	10,277	19,210
Tanneries.....	20,798	27,480
Textile industries:		
Carpet mills.....	3,769	3,953
Cotton mills.....	37,804	76,315
Knitting mills.....	7,804	11,943
Lace and embroidery mills.....	705	944
Silk mills.....	3,798	10,080
Textile dyeing, finishing, and printing mills.....	9,958	10,605
Woolen and worsted mills.....	12,290	22,227
Other textile mills.....	11,018	17,243
Loomfixers.....	13,254	15,961
Machinists, millwrights, and toolmakers.....	488,049	894,662
Machinists.....	461,344	801,901
Millwrights.....	17,442	37,669
Toolmakers, diesetters, sinkers.....	9,263	55,092
Mechanics, not otherwise specified.....	.....	281,741
Molders, founders, and casters (metal).....	120,900	123,681
Oilers of machinery.....	14,013	24,612
Painters, glaziers, varnishers, enamelers.....	337,355	323,032
Enamelers, lacquerers, japanners.....	2,999	4,137
Painters, glaziers, varnishers (building).....	273,441	248,497
Painters, glaziers, varnishers (factory).....	60,915	70,398
Paper hangers.....	25,577	18,746
Pattern and model makers.....	23,559	27,720
Plasterers and cement finishers.....	47,682	45,876
Plumbers, gas and steam fitters.....	148,304	206,718
Pressmen and plate printers (printing).....	20,084	18,683
Rollers and roll hands (metal).....	18,407	25,061
Roofers and slaters.....	14,078	11,378
Sawyers.....	43,276	33,809
Semi-skilled operatives:		
Chemical and allied industries.....	30,705	50,341
Cigar and tobacco factories.....	151,801	145,222
Clay, glass, and stone industries.....	88,691	85,434
Clothing industries.....	386,136	409,361
Corset factories.....	13,073	12,642
Glove factories.....	19,339	23,357
Hat factories (felt).....	33,020	21,178
Shirt, collar, and cuff factories.....	60,169	52,377
Suit, coat, cloak, overall factories.....	138,042	143,872
Other clothing factories.....	122,493	155,935
Food industries.....	105,283	188,895
Harness and saddle industries.....	22,650	18,835
Iron and steel industries.....	369,040	689,980
Other metal industries.....	69,815	91,291
Lumber and furniture industries.....	168,271	168,719

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>
Paper and pulp mills.....	36,383	54,669
Printing and publishing.....	68,790	80,443
Shoe factories.....	181,010	206,225
Tanneries.....	33,652	32,226
Textile industries.....	872,391	756,781
Other industries.....	346,430	622,662
Skilled occupations, not otherwise specified.....	16,808	19,395
Stonecutters.....	35,731	22,099
Structural iron workers (building).....	11,427	18,836
Tinsmiths and coppersmiths.....	59,833	74,968
Upholsterers.....	20,221	29,605
<b>Transportation—</b>		
Water transportation (selected occupations):		
Boatmen, canal men, and lock keepers.....	5,304	6,319
Captains, masters, mates, and pilots.....	24,242	26,320
Longshoremen and stevedores.....	62,857	85,928
Sailors and deck hands.....	46,510	54,832
Road and street transportation:		
Chauffeurs.....	45,785	285,045
Draymen, teamsters, expressmen.....	408,469	411,132
Hostlers and stable hands.....	63,388	18,976
Laborers (garage, road, and street).....	194,882	158,482
Railroad transportation (selected occupations):		
Baggagemen and freight agents.....	17,033	16,819
Boiler washers and engine hostlers.....	10,409	25,305
Brakemen.....	92,572	114,107
Conductors (steam railroad).....	65,604	74,539
Conductors (street railroad).....	56,932	63,760
Foremen and overseers.....	69,933	79,294
Laborers (steam and street railroads).....	570,975	495,713
Locomotive engineers.....	96,229	109,899
Locomotive firemen.....	76,381	91,345
Motormen (steam and street railroads).....	58,705	66,519
Switchmen, flagmen, and yardmen.....	85,147	111,565
Ticket and station agents.....	24,138	26,585
Express, post, telegraph, and telephone:		
Agents (express companies).....	5,875	5,293
Express messengers and railway mail clerks....	22,021	25,005
Mail carriers.....	80,678	91,451
Telegraph and telephone linemen.....	28,350	37,917
Telegraph messengers.....	9,152	9,403
Telegraph operators.....	69,953	79,434
Telephone operators.....	97,893	190,160
Other transportation pursuits.....	14,738	25,995
Inspectors.....	33,237	50,233
Laborers, not otherwise specified.....	26,555	33,432
Other occupations (semi-skilled).....	38,742	48,124
<b>Trade—</b>		
Clerks in stores.....	387,183	413,918
Commercial travellers.....	163,620	179,320
Decorators, drapers, and window dressers.....	5,341	8,853
Deliverymen.....	229,619	170,235
Bakeries and laundries.....	24,030	20,888
Stores.....	205,589	149,347
Floorwalkers, foremen and overseers.....	20,724	26,437
Inspectors, gaugers and samplers.....	13,446	13,714
Laborers, coal and lumber yards, etc.....	81,123	125,609
Insurance agents.....	88,463	119,918
Salesmen and saleswomen (stores).....	877,238	1,125,782
Other pursuits (semi-skilled).....	41,640	67,611
Laborers, porters, helpers in stores.....	102,333	125,007
Newsboys.....	29,708	27,961

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>
<b>Public Service (not elsewhere classified)—</b>		
Firemen (fire department).....	35,606	50,771
Guards, watchmen, and doorkeepers.....	78,271	115,553
Laborers (public service).....	67,234	106,915
Marshals, sheriffs, detectives, etc.....	23,599	32,214
Officials and inspectors (city, county).....	52,254	55,597
Officials and inspectors (state and United States)	52,926	80,334
Policemen .....	61,980	82,120
Soldiers, sailors and marines.....	77,153	225,503
Other pursuits.....	10,268	21,453
<b>Professional Pursuits—</b>		
Actors and showmen.....	48,393	48,172
Architects .....	16,613	18,185
Chemists, etc.....	16,273	32,941
Clergymen .....	118,018	127,270
College presidents and professors.....	15,668	33,407
Designers, draftsmen, and inventors.....	47,449	70,651
Musicians and teachers of music.....	139,310	130,265
Teachers .....	599,237	761,766
Technical engineers.....	88,755	136,121
Trained nurses.....	82,327	149,128
Other professional pursuits.....	15,677	35,018
Attendants and helpers.....	.....	31,712
<b>Domestic and Personal Service—</b>		
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	195,275	216,211
Bootblacks .....	14,020	15,175
Charwomen and cleaners.....	34,034	36,803
Elevator tenders.....	25,035	40,713
Housekeepers and stewards.....	189,273	221,612
Janitors and sextons.....	113,081	178,628
Laborers .....	53,480	32,893
Laundrerers and laundresses (not in laundry)....	533,697	396,756
Laundry operatives.....	112,264	120,715
Nurses (not trained).....	126,838	151,996
Porters (except in stores).....	84,128	88,168
Servants .....	1,572,225	1,270,946
Waiters .....	188,293	228,985
<b>Other pursuits:</b>		
Bartenders .....	101,234	26,085
Hunters, trappers, and guides.....	3,887	7,332
<b>Clerical Occupations—</b>		
Agents, canvassers, and collectors.....	105,127	175,772
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants.....	486,700	734,688
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	720,498	1,487,905
Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls.....	108,035	113,022
Stenographers and typists.....	316,693	615,154

## WAGES

**Wage Rates.**—In general, money wages rose somewhat during 1925, continuing the tendency of the previous two or three years. They have not yet, however, regained the level which they held in 1920.

Table 36—Average Weekly Earnings in New York State  
Factories <sup>1</sup>

Industry	July 1914	Sept. 1920	Sept. 1922	Sept. 1923	Sept. 1924	Sept. 1925
Stone, clay, and glass.....	\$13.04	\$31.74	\$26.23	\$29.63	\$28.93	\$30.00
Lime, cement, plaster.....	13.72	35.53	29.28	33.38	32.39	32.88
Brick, tile, pottery.....	11.28	28.01	22.83	26.85	25.03	25.70
Glass .....	12.75	30.56	25.59	26.61	28.42	28.42
Metals and machinery.....	14.26	32.38	27.77	20.37	30.02	30.40
Brass, copper, aluminum..	12.24	30.43	24.12	27.25	27.74	27.99
Iron and steel.....	16.20	42.68	29.77	35.16	32.12	32.74
Sheet metal, hardware....	12.31	27.47	24.34	26.97	27.47	28.32
Firearms, tools, cutlery...	13.42	27.65	22.96	25.41	25.96	26.58
Cooking, ventil. appliances	13.57	35.27	26.82	32.73	32.12	30.23
Mach'y, elect. appliances..	14.85	30.74	26.56	30.72	30.53	30.63
Elect. mach. and appl. ....	....	....	....	31.83	30.50	31.33
Foundries, mach. shops..	....	....	....	30.40	31.20	30.83
Automobiles, etc.....	16.40	29.62	25.89	31.08	32.85	33.35
R. R. equipment, repair..	14.40	38.21	36.39	32.65	31.30	31.54
Locomotive equipment..	....	....	....	34.52	32.28	31.43
Railway repair shops....	....	....	....	31.16	30.77	31.59
Instruments, appliances...	12.82	27.22	24.33	25.53	26.04	26.91
Wood manufactures.....	12.03	27.94	25.12	27.12	28.41	28.81
Saw and planing mills....	13.03	28.21	25.64	28.28	28.34	29.14
Furniture, cabinet work..	12.31	27.70	25.31	27.10	28.23	29.63
Pianos, musical instr....	12.31	28.49	26.78	29.21	31.26	30.49
Misc. wood, etc.....	10.21	27.46	22.70	23.56	24.66	25.01
Furs, leather, rubber.....	11.66	26.73	24.63	24.68	26.15	26.24
Shoes .....	12.20	27.69	24.69	24.42	25.79	25.88
Chemicals, oils, paints....	13.17	27.95	25.49	27.34	28.54	28.64
Drugs, chemicals.....	13.46	27.28	24.09	26.56	28.25	27.17
Oil products.....	12.43	27.77	25.41	27.26	28.39	28.30
Miscellaneous chemicals...	13.42	29.08	26.66	28.23	29.37	30.60
Paper .....	13.44	33.61	26.25	28.46	28.08	28.88
Printing and paper goods...	15.59	29.69	31.41	32.34	33.15	34.52
Misc. paper goods.....	12.29	23.80	23.39	24.52	25.85	27.08
Printing, bookmaking....	16.87	31.97	34.21	35.31	35.95	37.29
Newspapers .....	....	....	....	37.86	39.61	42.41
Book and job.....	....	....	....	35.63	35.45	36.27
Textiles .....	9.40	23.20	20.26	22.30	22.03	22.19
Silk, silk goods.....	9.42	20.86	18.14	19.83	19.73	21.02
Wool manufactures.....	9.97	25.80	23.56	25.34	24.83	25.54
Carpets, rugs.....	....	....	....	27.11	25.15	26.54
Cotton goods.....	9.26	22.88	19.96	22.26	21.99	20.15
Knit goods.....	8.64	21.31	17.01	19.46	18.37	18.08
Other textiles.....	9.68	24.79	21.16	22.97	23.46	23.51
Clothing and millinery....	10.55	23.14	24.10	23.07	26.51	25.71
Men's clothing.....	11.78	24.73	26.68	25.76	29.23	28.73
Men's furnishings.....	9.02	17.43	16.56	17.15	18.56	17.99
Shirts, collars.....	....	....	....	15.94	15.71	15.25
Women's clothing.....	12.95	30.15	32.85	28.16	35.03	33.70
Food and tobacco.....	11.50	26.07	23.35	25.09	25.43	26.22
Canning, preserving.....	8.28	22.14	18.74	21.86	20.04	23.00
Other groceries.....	13.42	30.57	26.03	30.42	29.45	30.45
Meat, dairy products.....	14.52	31.24	27.41	30.10	29.13	29.69
Bakery products.....	11.22	26.48	24.01	25.10	26.34	26.67
Candy, ice cream.....	8.83	19.40	19.33	19.75	21.04	21.36
Tobacco .....	9.18	20.92	19.16	19.76	20.08	20.93
Water, light, power.....	15.48	35.22	32.36	33.37	34.17	34.40
Total .....	12.54	28.73	25.71	27.41	28.05	28.33

<sup>1</sup> New York State Department of Labor, *The Labor Market Bulletin*, July, 1920; *The Industrial Bulletin*, October, 1921; October, 1922; November, 1923; October, 1924; October, 1925.

Table 37—Average Weekly Earnings in Illinois <sup>1</sup>

Industry	—Payroll Nearest to—			
	Dec. 15, 1922	Dec. 15, 1923	Dec. 15, 1924	Dec. 15, 1925
Stone, clay, and glass products.....	\$24.63	\$28.80	\$28.22	\$28.34
Brick, tile, and pottery.....	25.85	32.29	32.03	33.90
Glass .....	23.15	24.96	24.23	21.17
Metals, machinery, and conveyances...	26.93	29.53	28.98	24.86
Iron and steel.....	24.75	30.09	31.26	30.79
Sheet metal work and hardware....	22.69	26.44	24.59	26.01
Cooking, heating, ventilating appar..	26.12	30.20	27.73	28.97
Brass, copper, zinc, babbitt metal...	26.20	28.97	28.05	31.18
Cars and locomotives.....	31.37	32.86	33.41	32.77
Automobiles and accessories.....	27.45	29.56	29.43	30.16
Machinery .....	28.02	30.87	29.96	31.84
Electrical apparatus.....	25.75	25.23	26.53	28.37
Agricultural implements.....	25.11	28.11	27.34	29.90
Instruments and appliances.....	24.50	28.46	27.87	31.18
Watches, w'tch cases, clocks, jew'lry	22.93	24.75	21.57	24.42
Wood products.....	25.74	27.61	28.39	28.66
Saw mill and planing mill products.	28.63	30.60	31.07	31.11
Furniture and cabinet work.....	26.16	27.36	27.48	27.93
Pianos, organs, other musical instr..	27.71	32.03	33.52	34.36
Miscellaneous wood products.....	21.91	20.85	23.03	22.33
Furs and leather goods.....	21.69	21.37	21.03	21.35
Leather .....	25.87	29.53	28.29	29.31
Boots and shoes.....	40.33	46.81	19.96	20.09
Chemicals, oils, paints, etc.....	24.74	27.22	27.48	27.84
Paints, dyes, colors.....	26.76	28.52	29.13	29.47
Mineral and vegetable oil.....	26.62	26.22	28.43	28.82
Miscellaneous chemical products....	26.53	30.28	27.09	27.95
Printing and paper goods.....	31.47	33.74	34.26	35.11
Paper boxes, bags, and tubes.....	22.05	26.42	25.60	24.97
Job printing.....	34.11	35.88	36.48	38.51
Newspapers and periodicals.....	34.90	38.11	39.79	41.29
Edition bookbinding.....	....	....	35.61	35.97
Textiles .....	16.44	19.84	19.47	19.91
Clothing, millinery, and laundering...	24.52	25.31	25.10	24.72
Men's clothing.....	29.19	27.30	27.35	26.95
Laundrying, cleaning, and dyeing...	21.28	24.03	21.91	22.60
Food, beverages, and tobacco.....	22.56	27.46	29.09	28.41
Fruit and vegetable canning.....	16.13	19.99	18.55	19.92
Groceries not elsewhere classified...	20.85	29.35	29.67	29.38
Slaughtering and meat packing.....	21.94	26.57	28.01	26.42
Dairy products.....	27.33	35.94	40.39	40.09
Bread and other bakery products...	25.93	28.09	27.95	28.29
Confectionery .....	22.31	24.87	24.00	24.07
All manufacturing industries.....	21.69	28.25	28.35	28.75
Trade—wholesale and retail.....	....	24.47	22.18	22.67
Department stores.....	....	19.38	19.47	21.41
Mail order houses.....	....	25.47	21.17	22.85
Public utilities.....	29.21	29.89	30.56	30.66
Water, light, and power.....	30.34	32.01	34.04	33.62
Telephone .....	24.55	24.67	25.59	25.67
Street railways.....	32.71	34.45	33.82	34.39
Railway car repair shops.....	30.61	28.68	29.89	30.23
Coal mining.....	37.96	36.18	37.08	37.25
Building and contracting.....	32.55	37.98	36.71	38.80
Building construction.....	....	39.28	39.19	39.97
Miscellaneous contracting.....	....	34.61	29.18	35.14
All industries.....	\$27.07	\$28.93	\$28.96	\$29.41

<sup>1</sup> Illinois Department of Labor, *The Labor Bulletin*, December, 1923; January, 1925; January, 1926.

Table 38—Railroad Employees' Average Daily Wages, August, 1925<sup>1</sup>

Group	Daily Rate	Group	Daily Rate
Clerks .....	\$4.78	Freight engineers and motor-men—through .....	\$7.58
Freight handlers and truckers .....	3.51	Freight engineers and motor-men—local .....	7.80
Section men .....	2.84	Freight firemen and helpers—through .....	5.66
Other unskilled laborers.....	3.21	Freight firemen and helpers—local .....	5.72
Crossing flagmen and gatemen .....	2.45	Yard engineers and motormen .....	7.00
Machinists .....	6.07	Yard firemen and helpers....	5.37
Boilermakers .....	6.14	Hostlers .....	5.48
Blacksmiths .....	6.18	Hostler helpers.....	4.61
Sheet metal workers.....	6.07	Passenger conductors.....	6.72
Electrical workers.....	5.77	Passenger baggagemen.....	4.79
Carmen .....	5.56	Passenger flagmen and brakemen .....	4.62
Molders .....	6.45	Freight conductors—through..	6.21
Helpers—all crafts.....	4.19	Freight conductors—local....	6.69
Helper apprentices.....	4.46	Freight brakemen and flagmen—through .....	4.82
Regular apprentices.....	3.19	Freight brakemen and flagmen—local .....	5.20
Car cleaners.....	3.17	Yard foremen.....	6.66
Telegraphers, telephoners, and block operators.....	5.07	Yard helpers.....	6.16
Agent-telegraphers .....	4.95	Switchtenders .....	4.63
Station agents—non-telegraphers .....	6.07		
Station agents (small non-telegraph stations).....	3.69		
Passenger engineers and motormen .....	6.30		
Passenger firemen and helpers .....	4.73		

Table 39—Anthracite Miners' Wages, 1924<sup>2</sup>

Occupation	Hourly Earnings	Daily Earnings	Weekly Earnings
Laborers:			
Company miners' laborers.....	\$0.686	\$5.72	\$29.28
Consideration miners' laborers.....	.765	6.21	32.99
Contract miners' laborers.....	....	6.47	32.69
Miners:			
Company miners.....	.757	6.49	33.57
Consideration miners.....	.861	7.26	39.49
Contract miners.....	....	9.07	49.03

Table 40—Iron and Steel Workers' Average Earnings, All Occupations Combined, 1924<sup>3</sup>

District	Blast Furnaces	Bessemer Converters	Open Hearth Furnaces	Puddling Mills	Bar Mills	Sheet Mills	Tin Plate Mills
Eastern .....	\$0.496	....	\$0.533	\$0.652	\$0.583	....	....
Pittsburgh .....	.561	\$0.636	.642	.897	.626	\$0.829	\$0.843
Great Lakes and Middle West.....	.576	.610	.671	.717	.613	.784	.697
Southern .....	.380	....	.572	.506	.428	....	....
Total .....	\$0.520	\$0.624	\$0.635	\$0.721	\$0.585	\$0.809	\$0.795

<sup>1</sup> United States Railroad Labor Board.<sup>2</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1925.<sup>3</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Wages and Hours of Labor in the Iron and Steel Industry; 1907 to 1924*.

**Table 41—Iron and Steel Common Laborers' Average Hourly Earnings, 1924 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>District</i>	<i>All De- part- ments</i>	<i>Blast Fur- naces</i>	<i>Besse- mer Con- verters</i>	<i>Open Hearth Fur- naces</i>	<i>Pud- dling Mills</i>	<i>Tin Plate Mills</i>	<i>Bar Mills</i>
Eastern .....	\$0.386	\$0.394	....	\$0.388	\$0.410	....	\$0.374
Pittsburgh .....	.451	.451	\$0.459	.448	.423	\$0.445	.451
Great Lakes and Mid- dle West.....	.443	.456	.436	.450	.399	.432	.420
Southern .....	.282	.269	....	.342	.278	....	.262
All districts.....	\$0.417	\$0.401	\$0.448	\$0.434	\$0.355	\$0.439	\$0.392

**Table 42—Teachers' Average Wages, 1924 <sup>2</sup>**

<i>Type of School</i>	<i>Wages</i>	<i>Type of School</i>	<i>Wages</i>
<i>Elementary Schools</i>		<i>Cities, 10,000-29,999.....</i>	
One-teacher schools.....	\$ 735	Cities, 30,000-99,999.....	1,528
Two-teacher schools.....	742	Cities, 100,000 and over.....	1,968
Three or more teacher schools, not consolidated.....	820	<i>High Schools</i>	
Consolidated .....	1,017	Cities, 2,500-4,999.....	1,491
Village and town schools, not consolidated .....	1,142	Cities, 5,000-9,999.....	1,617
Cities, 2,500-4,999.....	1,129	Cities, 10,000-29,999.....	1,737
Cities, 5,000-9,999.....	1,231	Cities, 30,000-99,999.....	2,000
		Cities, 100,000 and over.....	2,536

**Table 43—Farm Hands' Average Prevailing Wage Rates, 1910-1925 <sup>3</sup>**

<i>Year</i>	<i>By the Month</i>		<i>By the Day</i>	
	<i>With Board</i>	<i>Without Board</i>	<i>With Board</i>	<i>Without Board</i>
1910.....	\$19.58	\$28.04	\$1.07	\$1.40
1915.....	21.08	29.97	1.12	1.45
1920.....	47.24	65.05	2.84	3.56
1921.....	30.25	43.58	1.66	2.17
1922.....	29.31	42.09	1.64	2.14
1923.....	33.09	46.74	1.91	2.45
1924.....	33.34	47.22	1.88	2.44
1925 (July 1).....	34.94	48.55	1.89	2.40

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Wages and Hours of Labor in the Iron and Steel Industry; 1907 to 1924*.

<sup>2</sup> United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1925, No. 25, *Constructive Tendencies in Rural Education*, Katherine M. Cook.

<sup>3</sup> United States Department of Agriculture, Monthly Supplement to *Crops and Markets*, July, 1925.

Table 44—Average Earnings of Wage and Salaried Workers in Each State, All Occupations, 1919-1921 <sup>1</sup>

State	1919	1920	1921
Alabama .....	\$ 796	\$ 916	\$ 748
Arizona .....	1,272	1,479	1,044
Arkansas .....	793	891	767
California .....	1,239	1,532	1,383
Colorado .....	1,187	1,433	1,284
Connecticut .....	1,192	1,443	977
Delaware .....	1,157	1,236	920
District of Columbia.....	1,258	1,499	1,525
Florida .....	736	807	672
Georgia .....	743	852	721
Idaho .....	1,135	1,246	1,079
Illinois .....	1,261	1,572	1,341
Indiana .....	1,101	1,423	1,095
Iowa .....	1,085	1,311	1,140
Kansas .....	1,192	1,402	1,246
Kentucky .....	900	1,157	1,017
Louisiana .....	782	968	808
Maine .....	979	1,224	1,015
Maryland .....	1,069	1,284	1,077
Massachusetts .....	1,192	1,561	1,203
Michigan .....	1,305	1,595	1,061
Minnesota .....	1,071	1,264	1,080
Mississippi .....	660	737	613
Missouri .....	1,053	1,296	1,167
Montana .....	1,363	1,496	1,120
Nebraska .....	1,121	1,310	1,153
Nevada .....	1,344	1,647	1,313
New Hampshire.....	1,012	1,257	1,006
New Jersey.....	1,256	1,490	1,156
New Mexico.....	1,031	1,213	1,077
New York.....	1,290	1,609	1,380
North Carolina.....	757	894	721
North Dakota.....	1,118	1,292	1,138
Ohio .....	1,286	1,529	1,095
Oklahoma .....	1,105	1,262	1,068
Oregon .....	1,156	1,295	1,095
Pennsylvania .....	1,234	1,517	1,162
Rhode Island.....	1,126	1,378	1,116
South Carolina.....	676	813	667
South Dakota.....	1,109	1,271	1,096
Tennessee .....	829	987	867
Texas .....	978	1,160	1,064
Utah .....	1,185	1,397	1,165
Vermont .....	951	1,157	953
Virginia .....	890	991	851
Washington .....	1,236	1,323	1,013
West Virginia.....	1,104	1,477	1,041
Wisconsin .....	1,071	1,281	999
Wyoming .....	1,325	1,699	1,479

<sup>1</sup> National Bureau of Economic Research, *Income in the Various States*, Maurice Leven; as indicated on p. 35, these figures probably average about 10 per cent too high, as they include among "earnings of wage and salaried workers" the entire salary bill in the state, instead of only half of it.

Table 45—City Employees' Wages, Boston, 1924 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Daily Wage</i>	<i>Weekly Wage</i>	<i>Overtime Rate</i>	<i>Sunday and Holiday Rate</i>
<b>Mechanics:</b>				
Carpenters .....	\$5.50	.....	1½	1½
Machinists .....	6.00	.....	1½	1½
Masons .....	7.00	.....	1½	1½
Mechanics .....	\$5.00- 5.50	.....	1½	1½
Meter installers....	4.75- 5.50	.....	1½	1½
Meter repairers....	4.75- 5.50	.....	1½	1½
Painters .....	5.00- 6.00	.....	1½	1½
Plumbers .....	4.75- 5.50	.....	1½	1½
<b>Teamsters and chauffeurs:</b>				
Chauffeurs .....	.....	\$30.00-\$33.00	1½	1½
Stablemen .....	4.50	.....	1½	1½
Teamsters .....	4.50	.....	1½	1½
Helpers .....	4.50	.....	1½	1½
<b>Road workers:</b>				
Curb setters.....	5.00- 5.50	.....	1½	1½
Flagstone layers....	5.00- 5.50	.....	1½	1½
Pavers .....	5.00- 5.50	.....	1½	1½
Rammer men.....	5.00- 5.50	.....	1½	1½
Stone cutters.....	5.00- 5.50	.....	1½	1½
<b>Laborers:</b>				
Laborers (skilled and unskilled) .....	4.50	.....	1½	1½
Ash collectors.....	4.50	.....	1½	1½
Street sweepers....	4.50	.....	1½	1½
Tree men.....	4.50	.....	1½	1½
<b>Engineers:</b>				
In charge.....	.....	45.00	1½	2
First class.....	.....	40.00	1½	2
Second class.....	.....	38.00	1½	2
Third class.....	.....	36.00	1½	2
Road roller.....	.....	36.00	1½	2
<b>Firemen:</b>				
Firemen, stationary .....	.....	36.00	1½	2
Oilers .....	.....	36.00	1½	2
<b>Janitors (public buildings) .....</b>	<b>.....</b>	<b>27.00</b>	<b>1½</b>	<b>2 2</b>
<b>Ferry employees:</b>				
Deckhands .....	4.75	.....	1½	2 2
Gate men .....	5.30	.....	1½	2 2
Scrub women.....	.....	18.00	1½	2 2
Tollmen .....	5.62½	.....	1½	2 2

**Men's and Women's Wages.**—Women's wages are lower than men's. In Illinois in December, 1925, average weekly earnings for men were \$32.39 and for women \$18.83. In New York state factories in September, 1925, men's wages were \$30.75 and women's \$15.14.

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Holidays only.

**Table 46—Median Women's Earnings in 10 States <sup>1</sup>**

(Half of the women studied in each state earned less than amounts shown)

<i>State</i>	<i>Wages</i>	<i>No. of Women Studied</i>	<i>Year of Study</i>
Rhode Island.....	\$16.85	7,780	1920
New Jersey.....	14.95	34,655	1922
Ohio .....	13.80	30,568	1922
Georgia .....	12.95	6,666	1920
Missouri .....	12.65	15,364	1922
Kansas .....	11.95	4,138	1920
Arkansas .....	11.60	1,793	1922
Kentucky .....	10.75	7,426	1921
South Carolina.....	9.50	8,595	1921
Alabama .....	8.80	4,868	1922

**Union and Non-Union Wages.**—Hourly wages of trade unionists in various industries, including the highest and the lowest paid, averaged \$1.031 on May 15, 1924. Workers in the granite and stone trades were the highest paid; chauffeurs, teamsters, and drivers, the lowest. Anthracite miners, excluding those working on contract, received in 1924 from \$0.861 to \$0.757 an hour. Average earnings in the iron and steel industry, which is unorganized, show the great difference between union and non-union wages. This difference is particularly striking in the wage paid non-union common labor in the steel industry, compared with that paid the laborer in a union mine, building, or factory. The unionized building laborer gets about double the hourly rate of that of a common laborer in a steel plant, and works eight hours a day, and six days, 44 hours, a week.

**Table 47—Unionists' Average Hourly Wages, 1924 <sup>2</sup>**

<i>Trade</i>	<i>Average Hourly Wages</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Average Hourly Wages</i>
Bakers .....	\$0.946	Motormen and conductors....	.650
Building laborers.....	.809	Longshoremen .....	.823
All building trades.....	1.154	Granite and stone trades....	1.169
Chauffeurs, teamsters and		Laundry workers.....	.414
drivers .....	.622	Linemen .....	.932
Millworkers .....	1.036	Metal trades.....	.887
Printing and publishing:			
Book and job.....	.965	Average for all trades	
Newspaper .....	1.111	covered .....	\$1.031

<sup>1</sup> Figures from chart issued by United States Women's Bureau.<sup>2</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Union Scale of Wages and Hours of Labor, May 15, 1924.*

## COST OF LIVING

**Changes in Cost of Living.**—The cost of living index for 32 cities in the United States, compiled by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, shows for June, 1925, an advance over December, 1924, and a much larger increase over June, 1924. Between June, 1924, and June, 1925, there was a considerable increase in food prices, and a drop in clothing, while the cost of housing, fuel and light, furniture and furnishings, and miscellaneous necessities remained about the same.

Table 48—Changes in Cost of Living, 1922-1925 <sup>1</sup>

(Average for 1913 = 100)

Item	—1922—		—1923—		—1924—		—1925—	
	June	Dec.	June	Dec.	June	Dec.	June	Dec.
Food .....	140.7	146.6	144.3 <sup>1</sup>	150.3	142.4	151.5	155.0	165.5
Clothing .....	172.3	171.5	174.9	176.3	174.2	171.3	170.6	169.4
Housing .....	160.9	161.9	163.4	166.5	168.0	168.2	167.4	167.1
Fuel and light.....	174.2	186.4	186.2	184.0	177.3	179.1	176.7	186.9
House furnishings..	202.9	208.2	222.2	222.4	216.0	216.0	214.3	214.3
Miscellaneous .....	201.5	200.5	200.3	201.7	201.1	201.7	202.7	203.5
All items.....	166.6	169.5	169.7	173.2	169.1	172.5	173.5	177.9

In the total cost of living the Bureau apportions 38.2 per cent of the total expenditures for food, 16.6 for clothing, 13.4 for housing, 5.3 for fuel and light, 5.1 for furniture and furnishings, and 21.3 for miscellaneous.

**Budget Estimates.**—In 1919 the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated the minimum amount of food, clothing, housing, and other essentials necessary for a family of a father, mother, and three children. The estimate was intended to establish a "bottom level of health and decency below which a family cannot go without danger of physical or moral deterioration." The family living wage would consist of sufficient money to purchase the required articles and services. This "minimum health and decency quantity budget" has been priced in many cities as a basis for wage demands. On the basis of the cost of living index, the quantity budget would have cost in various cities in December, 1925:

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1926.

**Table 49—Estimated Cost of Health and Decency Budget, December, 1925**

<i>City</i>	<i>Budget</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Budget</i>
Brooklyn .....	\$2,383.86	Philadelphia .....	\$2,401.65
Chicago .....	2,543.97	Reading .....	2,188.17
Los Angeles.....	2,704.08	Rochester .....	2,294.91
Minneapolis .....	2,668.50	San Francisco.....	2,650.71
New York.....	2,366.07	Schenectady .....	2,099.22

## HOURS

**Reduction.**—Between 1914 and 1923 the percentage of those in all manufacturing industries in the United States who were working 48 hours a week or less rose from 11.8 to 46.1. In 1921, however, the percentage was 51.5, the loss since then being due no doubt to the weakened position of union labor and to the widespread depression of 1921-1922. Between 1914 and 1923, also, there was a sharp decline in the number working very long hours, particularly 60 and over.

**Table 50—Working Hours in Manufacturing Industries, 1914-1923 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Weekly Hours</i>	<i>1914</i>	<i>Number of Workers</i>			<i>Per Cent</i>			
		<i>1919</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1923</i>	<i>1914</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1923</i>
44 and under.. }	831,723	1,107,991	954,908	865,687	11.8	12.3	13.7	9.9
Bet. 44 & 48 .. }		345,897	293,111	395,691		3.8	4.2	4.5
48 .....		2,948,393	2,334,256	2,780,803		32.6	33.6	31.7
Bet. 48 & 54 ....	944,685	1,490,150	1,262,071	1,925,029	13.5	16.5	18.2	21.9
54 .....	1,812,560	811,302	542,581	768,524	25.8	9.0	7.8	8.8
Bet. 54 & 60 ....	1,541,798	1,245,916	871,961	1,231,521	22.0	13.8	12.6	14.0
60 .....	1,485,324	816,003	516,520	642,837	21.0	9.0	7.4	7.3
Over 60.....	407,595	275,659	171,162	168,064	5.8	3.0	2.5	1.9
Total .....	7,023,685	9,041,311	6,946,570	8,778,156	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Union and Non-Union Labor.**—Whereas in all manufacturing, only 46.1 per cent worked as short a week as 48 hours or less, union labor in all lines in 1924 averaged as low as 45.9 hours a week. Of the union workers, 70.1 per cent worked 44 or less hours. The bulk of iron and steel workers, who are unorganized, worked over 48 hours, some even as many as 84 or more a week.

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures*, 1923.

**Table 51—Per Cent of Trade Union Members in the United States Working Each Classified Number of Hours a Week, May 15, 1924 <sup>1</sup>**

Trade or Occupation	Average Hours Weekly	Per Cent of Members whose Weekly Hours Were							
		44 or under	Over 44 and under 48 Hours	48 Hours	Over 48 and under 54 Hours	54 Hours	Over 54 and under 60 Hours	60 Hours	Over 60 Hours
Bakers .....	47.6	3.4	7.6	85.0	0.6	3.5	...	...	...
Bldg. trades workers.	43.9	96.9	1.8	0.8	0.5	<sup>2</sup> ...	...	<sup>2</sup> ...	...
Chauffeurs .....	57.7	1.5	...	4.9	6.6	22.6	27.6	22.3	14.5
Teamsters and drivers	56.5	1.9	...	14.7	1.3	24.9	12.8	36.4	7.9
Longshoremen .....	48.3	...	0.1	91.7	6.9	...	...	1.2	...
Granite & stone trades	44.0	99.8	...	...	0.2	...	...	...	...
Metal trades.....	46.7	36.2	0.5	55.2	7.3	0.8	...	...	...
Laundry workers.....	48.1	...	...	96.0	3.2	0.7	...	...	...
Linemen .....	46.9	40.3	...	45.7	8.9	3.1	2.0	...	0.1
Mill workers.....	44.8	75.5	2.1	19.8	1.9	0.7	...	...	...
Printing and publishing:									
Book and job.....	44.8	90.0	0.1	9.9	...	...	<sup>2</sup> ...	...	...
Newspaper .....	45.4	24.5	37.7	37.8	0.1	...	<sup>2</sup> ...	...	...
Grand average for all trades covered.	45.9	70.1	2.5	17.0	1.8	2.6	1.9	3.0	1.1

**Weekly Rest Day.**—In steel and other industries a large number are still compelled to work seven days a week. The situation in the blast and open-hearth furnaces, instead of improving, has grown worse between 1922 and 1924. Over half of the men in these two departments, which employ a large proportion of all steel employees, have no regular weekly rest day.

**Table 52—Per Cent of Iron and Steel Employees Working Each Specified Number of Days a Week, 1914-1924 <sup>3</sup>**

Department and Year	Per Cent of Employees Whose Customary Working Days a Week Were				
	5 and 6 Alternately	6	6 and 7 Alternately	6, 7, and 7 in Rotation	7
Blast furnaces:					
1914.....	..	42	5	..	53
1922.....	..	57	14	..	29
1924.....	..	20	5	30	45
Bessemer converters:					
1914.....	..	80	3	<sup>4</sup> ..	13
1922.....	..	81	2	3	10
1924.....	..	71	4	10	8

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Union Scale of Wages and Hours of Labor*, May 15, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

<sup>3</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Wages and Hours of Labor in the Iron and Steel Industry, 1907 to 1924*.

<sup>4</sup> Less than 1 per cent.

<i>Department and Year</i>	<i>Per Cent of Employees Whose Customary Working Days a Week Were</i>				
	<i>5 and 6 Alternately</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>6 and 7 Al- ternately</i>	<i>6, 7, and 7 in Rotation</i>	<i>7</i>
Open-hearth furnaces:					
1914.....	..	39	26	2..	34
1922.....	2..	50	16	2	27
1924.....	..	16	6	14	52
Puddling mills:					
1914.....	63	15	1	..	1
1922.....	47	19	2..	..	2
1924.....	62	26	2..	..	2
Blooming mills:					
1914.....	2	74	7	2..	11
1922.....	5	56	14	1	18
1924.....	6	38	4	12	21
Plate mills:					
1914.....	34	57	3	2..	6
1922.....	28	60	3	..	9
1924.....	12	66	8	3	11
Standard rail mills:					
1924.....	..	44	17	29	10
Bar mills:					
1914.....	47	38	1	2..	1
1922.....	35	47	2	2..	1
1924.....	25	48	1	2..	2
Sheet mills:					
1914.....	2	32	1	..	4
1922.....	2	31	1	..	4
1924.....	4	30	2..	..	4
Tin-plate mills:					
1914.....	4	37	2..	..	1
1922.....	5	38	2	..	1
1924.....	2	44	1	..	2

**Women's Hours.**—About a dozen states prohibit women from working more than eight hours a day. A study by the United States Women's Bureau in the states where such laws do not exist showed a large number of women employed 10 hours a day. Of the total, 34.2 per cent had a nine-hour day from Monday to Friday, inclusive. About one-fourth were expected to work regularly more than nine hours a day. In South Carolina nearly 85 per cent worked 10 hours daily.

**Table 53—Distribution of Working Women According to Length of Working Day, 1922<sup>1</sup>**

<i>State</i>	<i>Number of Women Studied</i>	<i>Per Cent Having Scheduled Day of 10 Hours</i>	<i>8 Hours or Less</i>
South Carolina.....	8,453	84.3	5.1
Virginia .....	11,001	45.4	2.4
Alabama .....	4,220	40.4	7.7
Georgia .....	7,433	34.1	3.3
Kentucky .....	8,399	29.9	15.8
Indiana .....	8,785	14.1	6.3
Iowa .....	7,878	6.7	36.8
New Jersey.....	34,629	5.4	19.0
Maryland .....	11,148	3.5	33.5
Ohio .....	30,464	...	29.9
Missouri .....	18,834	...	27.2

<sup>1</sup> United States Women's Bureau, Bulletin 43, *Standard and Scheduled Hours of Work for Women in Industry*.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

**Over-development of Industry.**—According to United States Secretary of Labor James J. Davis:

the greatest source of unemployment in this country is the over-development of industry. The fact is that our productive machinery and equipment can not run 300 days in the year without producing a stock so large that it can not all be sold in this country nor in any and all other countries.<sup>1</sup>

Davis pointed out the boot and shoe industry, where 14½ per cent of the establishments, employing 60.4 per cent of the wage-earners in the industry, could, if run full time, turn out 95 per cent of the shoes produced and sold. He stated that in Illinois 24.9 per cent of the mines, employing 51.5 per cent of the miners

**Table 54—Index of Employment**  
(Monthly average, 1919 = 100)

	—Metals and Products—			—Textiles and Products—			Lum- ber and Prod- ucts	Rail- road Vehi- cles
	Gen'l Index	Group Index	Iron and Steel	Group Index	Fabrics	Prod- ucts		
1919 avg. ....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1920 avg. ....	103	110	110	100	98	103	96	107
1921 avg. ....	82	67	66	96	97	94	81	78
1922 avg. ....	90	77	77	100	98	102	102	77
1923 avg. ....	104	99	98	107	110	104	108	106
1924 avg. ....	95	87	87	95	96	95	103	90
1924								
January .....	100	94	93	104	104	104	103	94
February .....	101	96	95	105	104	106	106	91
March .....	101	97	96	104	102	105	105	91
April .....	99	95	95	99	98	100	106	91
May .....	96	90	89	95	95	95	105	91
June .....	93	85	85	92	92	92	102	90
July .....	89	80	80	86	86	85	100	89
August .....	90	79	79	87	87	87	100	88
September .....	91	80	80	90	91	90	101	89
October .....	93	82	82	94	95	91	102	90
November .....	93	83	82	93	96	89	101	89
December .....	94	86	85	96	100	91	101	90
1925								
January .....	94	87	87	97	101	93	100	89
February .....	96	90	89	100	101	98	100	90
March .....	96	90	89	100	101	99	100	90
April .....	96	89	89	99	101	96	101	89
May .....	95	88	87	96	99	93	100	85
June .....	94	87	86	95	97	93	100	85
July .....	93	86	85	93	93	93	99	84
August .....	94	86	85	94	94	94	100	84
September .....	95	87	87	94	93	95	102	84
October .....	97	89	88	97	98	96	103	83
November .....	97	91	90	97	99	95	102	83
December .....	97	93	92	97	99	95	101	85

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, October, 1925.

in the state, had they operated 300 days, could have produced more than was actually produced by all the mines together; thus out of the 338 principal mines, 254 could be dispensed with.

**Per Cent Permanently Out of Work.**—According to a report issued by the Russell Sage Foundation after a five-year study, from 10 to 12 per cent of the workers in the United States are continuously out of work, when good and bad years are averaged.<sup>1</sup>

**Situation in 1925.**—Employment in 1925 was lower than in 1924, when in turn it was much lower than in 1923. In no month of 1925 was the general amount of employment as large as in 1919. Metals, textile products, food, leather, and chemicals reached low ebbs. There were sharp increases in automobile manufacture, and in stone, clay, and glass products due to the building boom.

### in Manufacturing Industries <sup>2</sup>

(Monthly average, 1919 = 100)

		<i>Auto- mobiles</i>	<i>Paper and Printing</i>	<i>Foods and Prod- ucts</i>	<i>Leather and Prod- ucts</i>	<i>Stone, Clay, and Glass</i>	<i>To- bacco Prod- ucts</i>	<i>Chem- icals and Products</i>
1919 avg. ....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1920 avg. ....	102	110	96	92	104	99	101	
1921 avg. ....	62	96	87	82	88	98	76	
1922 avg. ....	83	99	88	91	105	95	73	
1923 avg. ....	116	105	95	99	122	94	81	
1924 avg. ....	108	104	92	88	119	89	74	
1924								
January .....	124	106	95	93	114	91	80	
February .....	126	105	95	94	114	92	80	
March .....	129	105	93	94	120	90	79	
April .....	123	105	90	89	125	87	78	
May .....	112	104	89	85	126	87	75	
June .....	100	103	91	80	124	87	69	
July .....	95	101	91	81	118	88	68	
August .....	96	101	91	85	121	87	69	
September .....	97	104	93	88	119	90	70	
October .....	99	104	94	89	119	83	72	
November .....	96	105	93	89	118	92	72	
December .....	99	106	93	88	116	91	74	
1925								
January .....	104	105	88	91	110	87	74	
February .....	105	105	88	92	111	88	75	
March .....	113	106	86	92	117	88	75	
April .....	122	105	83	89	123	82	75	
May .....	128	104	83	87	125	87	73	
June .....	123	103	86	83	126	86	73	
July .....	122	103	85	86	121	86	73	
August .....	124	103	86	90	125	85	73	
September .....	129	104	88	92	125	87	75	
October .....	138	106	91	92	125	90	76	
November .....	136	107	90	89	123	90	77	
December .....	130	108	88	86	121	90	78	

<sup>1</sup> Shelby M. Harrison, *Public Employment Offices*.

<sup>2</sup> United States Federal Reserve Board, *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, May, 1925; February, 1926.

## INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

**Number and Cost of Industrial Accidents.**—Nearly 2,500,000 industrial accidents occur annually in the United States, with a loss of over 225,000,000 working days, and a wage loss of more than \$1,000,000,000, according to estimates of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

**Table 55—Estimated Annual Number of Industrial Accidents in the United States <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Injury Resulting in</i>	<i>Number of Accidents</i>	<i>Days Lost per Accident</i>	<i>Total Working Days Lost</i>	<i>Total Wage Loss (\$4.50 Day)</i>
Death .....	21,232	6,000	127,392,000	\$573,264,000
Permanent total disability..	1,728	6,000	10,368,000	46,656,000
Permanent partial disability: dismemberment or complete loss of use of—				
Arm .....	1,699	2,550	4,332,450	19,496,025
Hand .....	2,399	2,010	4,821,990	21,698,955
Thumb or 1 phalange....	6,900	415	2,872,500	12,926,250
Finger or 1 phalange....	35,055	190	6,669,840	30,014,280
2 or more thumbs or fingers .....	14,820	600	8,892,000	40,014,000
Leg .....	1,720	2,550	4,386,000	19,737,000
Foot .....	1,189	1,500	1,783,500	8,025,750
Great toe or 1 phalange..	1,486	360	533,160	2,414,400
Other toe or 1 phalange..	849	90	76,410	343,845
Two or more toes.....	977	120	117,240	527,580
Hearing, 1 ear.....	149	300	44,700	201,150
Hearing, both ears.....	21	2,010	42,210	189,945
Eye .....	8,089	1,200	9,706,800	43,680,600
Subtotal (dismemberments, etc.).....	75,353	....	44,014,380	198,064,710
Disfigurement .....	1,401	300	420,300	1,891,350
Other permanent partial disability .....	28,875	....	7,059,677	31,768,547
Total (permanent partial disability).....	105,629	....	51,494,357	231,724,607
Temporary total disability of—				
1 week and under.....	918,762	3.5	2,756,286	12,403,287
Over 1 to 2 weeks.....	493,856	9	4,531,321	20,354,913
Over 2 to 3 weeks.....	304,467	17	4,436,519	19,964,335
Over 3 to 4 weeks.....	174,739	24	3,594,631	16,175,840
Over 4 to 8 weeks.....	283,659	32	9,276,120	41,742,539
Over 8 to 13 weeks.....	85,459	60	5,093,648	22,921,417
Over 13 to 26 weeks....	48,027	104	4,972,459	22,376,067
Over 26 weeks.....	15,860	240	3,262,629	14,681,831
Total (temporary total disability) .....	2,324,829	....	37,915,613	170,620,259
Grand total.....	2,453,418	....	227,169,970	\$1,022,264,866

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1923.

Table 56—Estimated Annual Number of Industrial Fatalities in the United States, by Industry <sup>1</sup>

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Number of Fatalities</i>	<i>Number of Employees</i>	<i>Fatality Rate per 1000 300 Day Workers</i>
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry:			
General farming.....	2,359	2,335,761	1.02
Gardening, fruit growing, etc....	30	160,083	.20
Lumbermen, woodchoppers, etc....	903	205,315	5.00
Extraction of minerals:			
Coal mining.....	2,370	780,837	4.08
Metal mining.....	524	151,792	3.66
Quarrying .....	135	77,960	2.04
Oil and gas production.....	177	91,022	2.05
Manufacturing:			
Food .....	247	494,523	.67
Tobacco .....	2	191,526	.01
Liquors and beverages.....	24	27,857	1.02
Printing and publishing.....	31	308,141	.13
Wood products.....	467	753,806	.70
Glass, clay, and stone products...	178	257,942	.78
Leather products.....	113	388,209	.32
Paper and pulp products.....	187	113,620	1.76
Paper goods (boxes).....	2	25,508	.08
Chemical and allied products....	324	198,996	1.76
Textiles .....	137	1,021,864	.20
Laundries, cleaning and dyeing..	44	137,320	.34
Clothing .....	43	719,109	.07
Rubber and composition goods...	32	161,530	.23
Iron and steel.....	571	497,330	1.35
Shipbuilding .....	200	166,862	1.33
Metal working.....	1,532	2,393,957	.72
Metal products (not iron and steel)	106	459,201	.26
Miscellaneous industries.....	773	1,309,909	.66
Construction:			
Road and street building.....	170	129,829	1.54
Building erection.....	1,773	2,162,268	1.46
Transportation:			
Water (all occupations except long-shoremen) .....	384	96,067	4.00
Stevedoring .....	113	85,928	1.76
Road and street (chauffeurs, deliverymen, etc.).....	1,625	878,669	2.05
Steam railroads.....	2,591	1,280,137	2.25
Street railroads.....	303	177,146	1.90
Telegraph and telephone companies .....	229	343,879	.74
Other, including pipe lines.....	13	29,414	.50
Public utilities:			
Electric light and power.....	160	31,366	5.73
Gas and waterworks and miscellaneous .....	104	146,418	.79
Trade:			
Stores, etc.....	453	1,968,373	.26
Warehouses, etc.....	333	131,442	2.84

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1923.

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Number of Fatalities</i>	<i>Number of Employees</i>	<i>Fatality Rate per 1000 300 Day Workers</i>
Clerical and professional service:			
Agents, inspectors, etc. (outside) .	99	708,167	.18
Office employees.....	89	2,950,769	.04
Professional employments.....	99	1,655,337	.08
Care and custody of buildings and grounds .....	250	373,160	.74
Domestic and personal service...	178	2,546,739	.08
Firemen .....	80	50,771	1.76
Policemen, sheriffs, etc.....	431	116,621	4.10
Miscellaneous occupations.....	244	387,283	.66
Total .....	21,232	29,679,763	....

**Iron and Steel Industry.**—There has been a decrease in the frequency of accidents in the iron and steel industry. In the decrease the sheet mills have not kept pace with the other departments, and there has been an increase in foundries.

**Table 57—Accident Frequency Rates in the Iron and Steel Industry <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Five Year Period Ending</i>	<i>All Departments</i>	<i>Foundries</i>	<i>Sheet Mills</i>
1911 .....	69.2	60.1	44.1
1916 .....	51.3	57.8	47.4
1921 .....	39.5	63.1	33.4
1924 .....	33.6	62.7	35.1

**Steam Railroads.**—According to the Interstate Commerce Commission reports, nearly 1,000 railroad employees were killed in 1924, and more than 30,000 injured.

**Table 58—Accidents to Railroad Workers, 1924 <sup>2</sup>**

<i>Cause</i>	<i>Killed</i>	<i>Injured</i>
Coupling or uncoupling locomotives or cars.....	72	1,592
Coupling or uncoupling air or steam hose or safety chains..	21	430
Operating locomotives.....	20	5,877
Operating hand brakes.....	34	2,042
Operating switches.....	3	1,050
Coming in contact with fixed structures.....	36	730
Getting on or off cars or locomotives.....	62	6,564
Highway grade-crossing accidents.....	30	97
Struck or run over elsewhere.....	388	707
Miscellaneous .....	310	11,608
Total .....	976	30,697

**Woodworking Factories.**—The New York State Department of Labor made an analysis of 300 accidents in woodworking factories in 1925 and found that 259 occurred on machines or tools as follows:

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, December, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Interstate Commerce Commission, *Accident Bulletin* 93.

Table 59—Accidents in Woodworking Factories, New York State, 1925 <sup>1</sup>

Circular saws.....	113	Sanders .....	8
Jointers .....	55	Saws (various).....	6
Machines (miscellaneous)....	26	Lathes .....	6
Shapers .....	18	Swingsaws .....	5
Bandsaws .....	12		
Hand tools.....	10	Total .....	259

**Coal Mines.**—There were slightly fewer men killed in the coal mines in 1924 than in 1923. Since 1911 there has been a decrease of about one-quarter in number of men killed, but a drop of only one-fifth in the death rate per 1,000 300-day workers.

Table 60—Coal Mine Deaths and Production in the United States, 1907-1924 <sup>2</sup>

Year	Men Employed	Average Days Active	Men Killed	Rate of Deaths per 1,000 300-Day Workers	Short Tons per Day Per Man	Short Tons per Death
1907	674,613	231	3,242	6.24	3.07	147,407
1908	678,873	195	2,445	5.54	3.09	167,407
1909	666,535	...	2,642	...	...	174,416
1910	725,030	220	2,821	5.31	3.14	177,808
1911	728,348	220	2,656	4.97	3.10	186,887
1912	722,662	225	2,419	4.46	3.29	220,945
1913	747,644	238	2,785	4.70	3.20	204,685
1914	763,185	207	2,454	4.66	3.25	209,261
1915	734,008	209	2,269	4.44	3.46	234,297
1916	720,971	235	2,226	3.93	3.48	265,094
1917	757,317	251	2,696	4.25	3.42	241,618
1918	762,426	258	2,580	3.94	3.45	262,873
1919	776,569	209	2,317	4.27	3.41	239,082
1920	784,621	230	2,271	3.78	3.65	289,857
1921	823,253	173	1,987	4.19	3.56	254,854
1922	844,807	144	1,979	4.89	3.92	241,006
1923	860,560	195	2,458	4.39	3.91	267,492
1924	828,237	...	2,381	...	...	241,000

During 1925, four mine disasters were added to those which have killed 25 or more men, making 17 since the beginning of 1916.

<sup>1</sup> New York State Department of Labor, *An Analysis of Three Hundred Accidents in Woodworking Factories, 1925.*

<sup>2</sup> United States Bureau of Mines, Bulletin 251, *Fatal Accidents in Coal Mines in the United States, 1924.*

Table 61—Principal Coal Mine Disasters

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location of Mine</i>	<i>Nature of Accident</i>	<i>Killed</i>
1869 Sept.	6....Plymouth, Pa. ....	Mine fire .....	179
1884 Mar.	13....Pocahontas, Va. ....	Explosion .....	112
1891 Jan.	27....Mount Pleasant, Pa.....	Gas explosion .....	112
1892 Jan.	7....Krebs, Okla. ....	Explosion .....	100
1900 May	1....Scofield, Utah .....	Coal-dust explosion ....	200
1902 May	19....Coal Creek, Tenn.....	Coal-dust explosion ....	184
July	10....Johnstown, Pa. ....	Gas explosion .....	112
1903 June	30....Hanna, Wyo. ....	Mine explosion and fire.	169
1904 Jan.	25....Cheswick, Pa. ....	Coal-dust explosion ....	179
1905 Feb.	20....Virginia City, Ala.....	Coal-dust explosion ....	108
1907 Dec.	6....Monongah, W. Va.....	Coal-dust explosion ....	361
Dec.	19....Jacobs Creek, Pa.....	Coal-dust explosion ....	239
1908 Nov.	28....Marianna, Pa. ....	Coal-dust explosion ....	154
1909 Nov.	13....Cherry, Ill. ....	Mine fire .....	259
1911 Apr.	8....Littleton, Ala. ....	Coal-dust explosion ....	128
1913 Oct.	22....Dawson, N. Mex.....	Coal-dust explosion ....	263
1914 Apr.	28....Eccles, W. Va.....	Gas explosion .....	181
1915 Mar.	2....Layland, W. Va.....	Coal-dust explosion ....	112
1916 Feb.	11....Ernest, Pa. ....	Gas explosion .....	27
Nov.	4....Palos, Ala. ....	Gas explosion .....	30
1917 Apr.	27....Hastings, Colo. ....	Coal-dust explosion ....	121
Aug.	4....Clay, Ky. ....	Gas explosion .....	62
1919 June	5....Wilkes-Barre, Pa. ....	Powder explosion .....	92
1922 Feb.	2....Brownsville, Pa. ....	Coal-dust explosion ....	25
Nov.	6....Spangler, Pa. ....	Gas explosion .....	77
Nov.	22....Dolomite, Ala. ....	Coal-dust explosion ....	90
1923 Feb.	8....Dawson, N. M.....	Coal-dust explosion ....	120
Aug.	14....Kemmerer, Wyo. ....	Gas explosion .....	97
Nov.	7....Glen Rogers, W. Va.....	Coal-dust explosion ....	27
1924 Jan.	25....Johnson City, Ill.....	Explosion .....	32
Jan.	26....Shanktown, Pa. ....	Gas explosion .....	36
Mar.	8....Castlegate, Utah .....	Coal-dust explosion ....	171
Apr.	28....Benwood, W. Va.....	Fire and explosion ....	27
Sept.	16....Sublet, Wyo. ....	Explosion .....	35
1925 Feb.	20....Sullivan, Ind. ....	Gas and dust explosion.	51
Mar.	17....Barrackville, W. Va.....	Gas explosion .....	34
May	27....Coal Glen, N. C.....	Explosion .....	53
Dec.	10....Cahaba fields, Ala.....	Gas explosion .....	61

**Industrial Accidents to Children.**—For the year ending June 30, 1924, in Massachusetts alone 2,965 industrial accidents were reported for children under 18. Ten were fatal and 86 resulted in permanent partial disability. All of the fatal accidents were preventable. The total number of children between 14 and 18 employed in the state was about 30,000.

Table 62—Accidents to Working Children in Massachusetts, 1917-1924 <sup>1</sup>

Year	Children 14 and 15 Years			Children 16 and 17 Years		
	Total	Fatal	Permanent Partial Disability	Total	Fatal	Permanent Partial Disability
1917-18 .....	1,717	5	56	3,966	5	161
1918-19 .....	1,716	9	61	3,806	6	105
1919-20 .....	1,579	4	39	3,147	4	85
1920-21 .....	818	5	13	2,128	3	59
1921-22 .....	514	..	14	1,792	1	34
1922-23 .....	679	2	18	2,484	2	73
1923-24 .....	657	3	14	2,308	7	72

## OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE

**Industrial Health Hazards.**—Among the health hazards in industry are abnormalities of temperature, air pressure, humidity, or light; infections; repeated motions and jars; and no fewer than 52 common poisons.

Table 63—Industrial Health Hazards <sup>2</sup>

Hazard	Industries Which Offer Such Exposure
<i>Temperature:</i>	
1. Extreme dry heat....	Iron, steel, smelting, glass, enameling
2. Variations of temperature .....	Artificial ice, baking, laundries, paper, rubber
<i>Air pressure:</i>	
1. Compressed air.....	Caissons, tunnels, diving
<i>Humidity:</i>	
1. Dampness .....	Acid dipping, tanning, laundries, textiles, dyeing
<i>Dust:</i>	
1. Inorganic dust.....	Stone cutting, mining, buffing, grinding, sand blasting, sandpapering auto bodies
2. Organic dust .....	Baking, flour, tobacco, fur, textiles
<i>Light:</i>	
1. Extreme light .....	Blacksmithing, foundries, glass, welding
2. Poor illumination....	Buffing, caissons, typesetting, embroidery, printing
<i>Infections:</i>	
1. Anthrax .....	Tanning, brushes, fur, wool, longshore work
2. Hookworm .....	Mines, quarries, bricks, trench digging
3. Septic infections....	Butchering, fertilizer, feathers, shoddy, soap
<i>Motion, Jar:</i>	
1. Repeated motion, jar.	Writing, telegraphing, use of pneumatic tools, mining
<i>Poisons:</i>	
1. Acetaldehyde .....	Celluloid, dyes, explosives, mirrors
2. Acridine .....	Dyes
3. Acrolein .....	Bone and fat rendering, linoleum, soap, varnish
4. Ammonia .....	Artificial ice, artificial silk, dyes, gas
5. Amyl acetate.....	Alcohol, dry batteries, polishing, explosives
6. Amyl alcohol.....	Alcohol, dyes, flavoring

<sup>1</sup> Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, *Analysis of Industrial Accidents to Children under 18*, June 30, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 306, *Occupation Hazards and Diagnostic Signs*.

*Hazard  
Poisons:**Industries Which Offer Such Exposure*

7. Aniline .....Dyes, explosives, feather work, rubber
8. Antimony .....Brass, colors, fireworks, rubber, glazing
9. Arsenic .....Artif'l flowers, felt hats, colors, wall paper, rubber
10. Arseniureted hydrogen Dyes, enamel, fertilizer, lime
11. Benzene .....Buffing, celluloid, decorating, paints, rubber
12. Benzol .....Artificial leather, coal tar, colors, vulcanizing
13. Brass (zinc).....Smelting, galvanizing, junk metal refining
14. Carbon dioxide ....Boiler rooms, foundries, charcoal, starch
15. Carbon disulphide...Asphalt, artificial silk, glue, matches, tallow
16. Carbon monoxide...Bakeries, pottery, calico printing, mining, garages
17. Chloride of lime....Bleaching, disinfectants, dyes, laundries, tanning
18. Chlorine .....Paper and pulp, bleaching, disinfectants, dyes
19. Chlorodinitrobenzol ..See nitrobenzol
20. Chloronitrobenzol ...See nitrobenzol
21. Chromium compounds.Artificial flowers, colored candles, glass, ink
22. Cyanogen compounds.Calico printing, case hardening, celluloid, dyes, gas
23. Dimethyl sulphate...Dyes, perfumes
24. Dinitrobenzol .....See nitrobenzol
25. Gasoline .....See naphtha
26. Hydrochloric acid...Acid dipping, camphor, glass, rubber, glue
27. Hydrofluoric acid...Art glass, bleaching, dyeing
28. Lead .....Painting, smelting, plumbing, typesetting
29. Mercury .....Hats, mirrors, storage batteries, fur
30. Methyl alcohol.....Dry cleaning, rubber shoes, paints, varnish
31. Methyl bromide....Dyes, fire extinguishers
32. Naphtha .....Cleaning, waterproofing, painting
33. Nitraniline .....See aniline
34. Nitrobenzol .....Dyes, explosives, perfume, soap
35. Nitroglycerine .....Explosives
36. Nitronaphthalene ...See nitrobenzol
37. Nitrous gases, nitric acid .....Bleaching, fur, explosives, photo-engraving
38. Petroleum .....Feathers, oil, paraffin
39. Phenol (carbolic acid) Calico printing, etching, dyes, gas
40. Phenyl hydrazine...Dyes, fire extinguishers
41. Phosgene .....Dyes
42. Phosphorus .....Boneblack, fertilizer, matches, insecticides
43. Phosphuretted hydro-  
gen .....Acetylene, phosphorus
44. Picric acid.....Dyes, explosives, photography
45. Sulphur chloride....Rubber substitutes, vulcanizing
46. Sulphur dioxide....Salt, brass, bricks, brooms, preserves, smelting
47. Sulphuretted hydro-  
gen. ....Smelting, celluloid, fertilizer, gas, glue
49. Sulphuric acid.....Burnishing, dyes, explosives, felt hats, salt
49. Tar .....Brush making, chimney sweeping, gas, tar
50. Tetrachlorethane ....Airplane wing varnishing, artificial silk
51. Trinitrotoluol .....Explosives
52. Turpentine .....Camphor, enamel, linoleum, paint, patent leather

**Radio-Active Substances.**—A number of deaths occurred during 1925 from the use of radio-active substances in the painting of luminous dials for clocks and watches. To eight grams of zinc sulphite one milligram of mesothorium is used. The workers, usually girls, were accustomed to point their brushes with their tongues. In the course of five or six years this would cause the accumulation of about one milligram of mesothorium in the body. Decay of the jaw-bones followed, and, in most instances, death.

**Paraphenylene Diamine.**—Hair-goods and fur workers in New York were found to be frequent sufferers from asthma, eczema, and skin diseases as a result of contact with paraphenylene diamine, a material used in dyeing hair.

**Tetra-Ethyl Lead.**—Investigation into the deaths of several workers engaged in the manufacture of ethyl-gasoline showed that exposure to tetra-ethyl lead in considerable quantities frequently produced acute diseases of the brain, persistent insomnia, low systolic blood-pressure, anemia, and acute delirium. Death usually followed from exhaustion. New York City and the state of New Jersey temporarily ordered the sale of ethyl-gasoline discontinued because of possible danger to autoists. The New Jersey prohibition was removed early in 1925. Surgeon General H. S. Cumming, of the United States Public Health Service appointed a special committee in May, 1925, to study the effect upon chauffeurs, garage employees, and the public, of the use of ethyl-gasoline.<sup>1</sup>

**Garage Workers.**—Garage workers were found to be exposed to carbon monoxide poisoning, which may result fatally, or which may leave the victim subject to paralysis, pneumonia, and loss of memory; to benzol poisoning, which destroys the red blood corpuscles; and to gasoline poisoning, which is rarely fatal.<sup>2</sup>

**Laundry Workers.**—A study of 110 laundry workers in New York showed that 52 had abnormally high blood-pressure, and that many suffered from flat feet and varicose veins. Seven workers using gas-heated ironing machines were all found to have carbon-monoxide in their blood.

**Tanners.**—A study of the tanning industry showed that tanners were subject to anthrax and other bacterial infections, to poisoning from the use of sulphuretted hydrogen, cyanide, arsenic, and mercury, and to dermatitis or salt-burns.<sup>3</sup>

**Printing Trades.**—An investigation of about 1,000 printing shops in 21 cities was conducted by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Detailed reports were made on 536 shops, with 81,314 workers. Medium-sized shops were found to have the worst sanitary conditions. Fourteen cases of lead poisoning were found to have occurred in five years, and 15 cases of other occu-

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<sup>1</sup> This committee reported, January 19, 1926, that there was no danger in the use of ethyl-gasoline, but said nothing of its manufacture.

<sup>2</sup> Workers' Health Bureau, New York, *Health Hazards in Garages*, Grace M. Burnham.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, July, 1925.

pational diseases. Nine of these were chromium poisoning; four, carbon monoxide poisoning; and two, eczema.<sup>1</sup>

**Ohio.**—A total of 3,241 cases of industrial disease were reported in Ohio from July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1925. Of these, 2,829 were among men, and 412, or about 12.7 per cent, were among women. The largest number, 2,604, were cases of dermatitis in the rubber industry; 456 were cases of lead poisoning.<sup>2</sup>

## WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

**Increase of Gainfully Occupied Women.**—A total of 8,549,511 women 10 years of age and over were gainfully occupied in 1920. This is nearly 500,000 more than in 1910. If, however, the increase of population is taken into consideration, the proportion of women 10 years of age and over gainfully occupied dropped from 23.4 per cent in 1910 to 21.1 per cent in 1920. In all industries except farming and domestic service the number of women increased. In those two there was an absolute as well as a relative decrease in the number of women; 723,373 women dropping out of farming, and 344,297 out of domestic service, in the course of the decade. In the case of farming the decrease is reported to be largely apparent, due to a change in instructions to the census enumerators.

Table 64—Women Over 10 Years of Age Gainfully Occupied <sup>3</sup>

Occupation	—1910—		—1920—	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry .....	1,807,501	5.2	1,084,128	2.7
Extraction of minerals.....	1,094	... <sup>4</sup>	2,864	... <sup>4</sup>
Manufacturing and mechanical industries .....	1,820,570	5.3	1,930,341	4.8
Transportation .....	106,625	.3	213,054	.5
Trade .....	469,088	1.4	667,792	1.7
Public service .....	13,558	... <sup>4</sup>	21,794	.1
Professional service.....	733,891	2.1	1,016,498	2.5
Domestic and personal service.....	2,531,221	7.3	2,186,924	5.4
Clerical occupations.....	593,224	1.7	1,426,116	3.5
All occupations.....	8,075,772	23.4	8,549,511	21.1
Population 10 years of age and over..	34,552,712	100.0	40,449,346	100.0

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 392, *Survey of Hygienic Conditions in the Printing Trades*, S. Kjaer.

<sup>2</sup> Ohio State Department of Health, *Ohio Health News*, August 1, 1925.

<sup>3</sup> United States Women's Bureau, *The Occupational Progress of Women*, 1922.

<sup>4</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

In 11 manufacturing industries, including clothing, silk, linen, knitting, lace and embroidery, candy, paper boxes, and blank books and paper bags, women predominate over men. Occupations in which 1,000 or more women were employed increased from 203 in 1910 to 232 in 1920. The 30 occupational groups each employing 50,000 or more women comprise 85.7 per cent of those gainfully occupied.

**Table 65—Occupations Employing 50,000 or More Women<sup>1</sup>**

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>
Farmers, general farms.....	257,703	247,253
Farm laborers, general farms.....	1,514,107	788,611
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory)...	447,760	335,519
Milliners and millinery dealers.....	122,447	69,598
Semi-skilled operatives:		
Cigar and tobacco factories.....	71,845	83,960
Clothing industries.....	237,270	265,643
Food industries.....	36,600	72,402
Iron and steel industries.....	23,557	57,819
Shoe factories.....	59,266	73,412
Cotton mills.....	140,666	149,185
Knitting mills.....	65,338	80,682
Silk mills.....	50,360	72,768
Woolen and worsted mills.....	52,056	61,715
Telephone operators.....	88,262	178,379
Clerks in stores.....	111,594	170,397
Retail dealers.....	67,103	78,980
Saleswomen (stores).....	250,487	356,321
Musicians and teachers of music.....	84,478	72,678
Teachers (school).....	476,864	635,207
Trained nurses.....	76,508	143,664
Boarding and lodging house keepers.....	142,400	114,740
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	173,333	204,350
Laundresses (not in laundry).....	520,004	385,874
Laundry operatives.....	76,355	80,747
Nurses (not trained).....	110,912	132,658
Servants.....	1,309,549	1,012,133
Waitresses.....	85,798	116,921
Bookkeepers and cashiers.....	183,569	345,746
Clerks (except clerks in stores).....	122,665	472,163
Stenographers and typists.....	263,315	564,744

**Married Women Workers.**—Approximately 2,000,000 married women are working at breadwinning occupations. Their number has grown steadily since 1890, although in the last decade they have decreased relatively to the whole number of women at work.

The largest single group of married women is in domestic and personal service, with manufacturing and mechanical industries second, and farming third.

<sup>1</sup> United States Women's Bureau, *The Occupational Progress of Women*, 1922.

Table 66—Married Women at Work

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Women</i>	<i>Percentage of Women at Work</i>
1890 .....	515,260	4.6	13.9
1900 .....	769,477	5.6	15.4
1910 .....	1,890,661	10.7	24.7
1920 .....	1,920,281	9.0	23.0

## CHILD LABOR

**Age of Going to Work.**—Reports to the United States Children's Bureau, from 27 city offices issuing working permits and from 12 state labor or educational departments, show that in 1924, 43 per cent of the 80,000 children to whom permits were issued went to work at 14 years of age. Exclusive of New York City, where 32,163 children received their first working papers, 54 per cent went to work at 14.

Table 67—Cities and States in Which More Than Half the Children Going to Work Received Work Permits at 14 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Place</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
<i>Cities</i>			
Passaic, N. J.....	75.0	Norfolk, Va. ....	57.3
Baltimore, Md. ....	70.5	Little Rock, Ark.....	56.4
St. Louis, Mo.....	70.4	New Britain, Conn.....	54.3
New Orleans, La.....	68.0	Chicago, Ill. ....	54.1
Washington, D. C.....	61.9	Waterbury, Conn. ....	54.1
New Haven, Conn.....	60.7	Pittsburgh, Pa. ....	50.5
Jersey City, N. J.....	59.9	Trenton, N. J.....	50.4
Richmond, Va. ....	59.1	<i>States</i>	
Somerville, Mass. ....	58.5	Maryland .....	69.2
Newark, N. J.....	58.0	New Jersey .....	61.0
Bridgeport, Conn. ....	57.7	Virginia .....	57.3
		Alabama .....	53.1

**Child Labor in Shrimp and Oyster Canneries.**—Sixty-five shrimp and oyster canneries in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina were inspected by the federal Children's Bureau in February and March, 1925. In the 37 canneries which were in operation, 220 children under 16 years of age were found, of whom 31 per cent were under 14. In every state where the inspection was conducted, employment of children under 14 in oyster and shrimp canneries is illegal.

<sup>1</sup> United States Children's Bureau, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 1925.

The great majority of the children under 16 were working more than nine hours a day. More than half of them worked 10 hours or more. Of the difficulties of inspection, the Bureau reports:

The open construction of the shucking shed and the presence of steam make it easy for children to slip out unobserved. One superintendent accompanying the agent to the shucking shed was heard to ask the shucking foreman if all the children were out. Children were seen leaving many establishments, and cups for which no owners could be located were attached to the sides of shucking cars. In one cannery all the electric lights went out and remained out during the agent's entire stay in the cannery, and torches at the cars, though they gave sufficient light for the shuckers, did not illuminate the shed sufficiently for inspection.<sup>1</sup>

**Increase of Child Labor.**—The following data on child labor are from the Census of 1920. Since then, authorities agree, there has been an increase in the number of children employed. Reasons for the increase are the annulment of the federal child labor law in 1922, and the consequent tendency in the sugar, fruit and vegetable canning, fish packing, textile, and other industries to use children instead of adult workers.

**Table 68—Children 10 to 15 Years of Age in Gainful Occupations, 1910-1920**

<i>Year and Sex</i>	<i>Total Number of Children</i>	<i>Engaged in Gainful Occupations Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
1900:			
Male .....	4,852,427	1,264,411	26.1
Female .....	4,760,825	485,767	10.2
Both sexes.....	9,613,252	1,750,178	18.2
1910:			
Male .....	5,464,228	1,353,139	24.8
Female .....	5,364,137	637,086	11.9
Both sexes.....	10,828,365	1,990,225	18.4
1920:			
Male .....	6,294,985	714,248	11.3
Female .....	6,207,597	346,610	5.6
Both sexes.....	12,502,582	1,060,858	8.5

<sup>1</sup> United States Children's Bureau, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 1925.

Table 69—Children 10 to 15 Years of Age in Gainful Occupations, by States, 1920 <sup>1</sup>

<i>State</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of Children 10 to 15 Years of Age at Work</i>
Alabama .....	53,844	30,553	84,397	24.1
Arizona .....	1,810	901	2,711	7.1
Arkansas .....	32,092	16,048	48,140	18.5
California .....	7,229	1,828	9,057	3.0
Colorado .....	3,615	943	4,558	4.3
Connecticut .....	6,488	5,071	11,559	8.1
Delaware .....	952	454	1,406	5.9
District of Columbia.....	1,272	599	1,871	5.3
Florida .....	7,924	2,940	10,864	8.8
Georgia .....	58,761	30,173	88,934	20.8
Idaho .....	1,421	187	1,608	2.9
Illinois .....	23,870	13,063	36,933	5.3
Indiana .....	12,428	4,483	16,911	5.2
Iowa .....	7,481	1,640	9,121	3.4
Kansas .....	6,224	1,046	7,270	3.4
Kentucky .....	22,550	4,204	26,754	8.4
Louisiana .....	21,928	10,346	32,274	12.5
Maine .....	1,853	732	2,585	3.0
Maryland .....	8,255	4,045	12,300	7.5
Massachusetts .....	19,714	14,009	33,723	8.5
Michigan .....	9,891	3,263	13,154	3.4
Minnesota .....	6,528	1,743	8,271	2.9
Mississippi .....	44,711	25,643	70,354	25.9
Missouri .....	16,893	5,694	22,587	5.7
Montana .....	1,165	237	1,402	2.3
Nebraska .....	4,366	920	5,286	3.4
Nevada .....	136	33	169	2.5
New Hampshire .....	1,002	524	1,526	3.4
New Jersey .....	14,196	11,828	26,024	7.6
New Mexico .....	1,729	466	2,195	4.6
New York .....	29,382	20,464	49,846	4.7
North Carolina .....	40,945	21,217	62,162	16.6
North Dakota .....	2,215	601	2,816	3.2
Ohio .....	15,230	2,889	18,119	3.0
Oklahoma .....	17,079	5,902	22,981	7.9
Oregon .....	2,088	374	2,462	3.0
Pennsylvania .....	33,453	22,218	55,671	5.6
Rhode Island .....	4,476	4,093	8,569	13.4
South Carolina .....	37,411	26,109	63,520	24.4
South Dakota.....	2,138	417	2,555	3.2
Tennessee .....	30,670	9,167	39,837	12.3
Texas .....	54,531	26,341	80,872	12.6
Utah .....	2,126	235	2,361	3.9
Vermont .....	935	342	1,277	3.3
Virginia .....	19,931	5,562	25,493	8.2
Washington .....	3,836	814	4,650	3.3
West Virginia .....	5,979	1,452	7,431	3.9
Wisconsin .....	10,982	4,702	15,684	5.1
Wyoming .....	513	95	608	3.0
United States.....	714,248	346,610	1,060,858	8.5

<sup>1</sup> Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Occupations*, 1920.

**Occupations of Working Children.**—The largest number of children are employed in farming. Manufacturing comes second, clerical occupations third, and trade fourth. Most of the children engaged in extraction of minerals work around coal mines, and most of those listed as in public service are newsboys or street vendors.

Table 70—Occupations of Children, 1920 <sup>1</sup>

Occupation	10 to 15 Years		10 to 13 Years	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Agriculture, forestry, etc.....	647,309	61.0	328,958	87.0
Farm laborers (home farm).....	569,824	53.7	.....	.... <sup>2</sup>
Farm laborers (working out)....	63,990	6.0	.....	.... <sup>2</sup>
Extraction of minerals.....	7,191	.7	647	.2
Mfg. and mechanical industries..	185,337	17.5	9,473	2.5
Transportation .....	18,912	1.8	1,899	.5
Trade .....	63,368	6.0	17,213	4.6
Public service.....	1,130	.1	153	.... <sup>3</sup>
Professional service.....	3,465	.3	621	.2
Domestic and personal service...	54,006	5.1	12,172	3.2
Clerical occupations.....	80,140	7.6	6,927	1.8
Total .....	1,060,858	100.0	378,063	100.0

## IMMIGRATION

**Large Decrease.**—There was a large decrease in the number of immigrants admitted to the United States in 1925 as compared with 1924. The new immigration law, which took 1890 instead of 1910 as the basic year, and admitted only 2 instead of 3 per cent of the number of persons born in the respective countries living in the United States at the earlier date, was responsible for the decline. The new immigration law not only cut down the amount but changed the nationality of the immigration.

Table 71—Immigration to the United States, 1914-1925 <sup>4</sup>

1914.....	1,218,480	1920.....	430,001
1915.....	326,700	1921.....	805,228
1916.....	298,826	1922.....	309,556
1917.....	295,403	1923.....	522,919
1918.....	110,618	1924.....	706,896
1919.....	141,132	1925.....	294,314

<sup>1</sup> United States Children's Bureau, *Child Labor in the United States*, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Figures not yet available.

<sup>3</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

<sup>4</sup> United States Commissioner General of Immigration, *Annual Report*, 1925.

Table 72—Immigration from Northern and Western Europe, and from Southern and Eastern Europe, 1907-1925 <sup>1</sup>

Fiscal Year	Total Admitted	From			—Per Cent of Total—		
		Northern and Western Europe	Southern and Eastern Europe	Other Countries	North'n and Western Europe	South'n and Eastern Europe	Other Countries
1907.	1,285,349	281,322	956,019	48,008	21.9	74.4	3.7
1914.	1,218,480	253,855	921,160	43,465	20.8	75.6	3.6
1921.	805,228	206,995	537,144	61,089	25.7	66.7	7.6
1922.	309,556	129,434	141,621	38,501	41.8	45.8	12.4
1923.	522,919	274,507	162,695	85,717	52.5	31.1	16.4
1924.	706,896	393,342	192,599	120,955	55.6	27.3	17.1
1925.	294,314	222,701	31,883	39,730	75.7	10.8	13.5

**Occupations of Immigrants.**—Despite the decline in the number and the change in nationality of immigrants admitted in 1925, unskilled laborers, servants, farm laborers, and clerks constituted the four largest single occupations, as in the previous year. The percentage loss of laborers, and of iron and steel workers, between 1924 and 1925 was greater than the total loss in the number of immigrants admitted.

Table 73—Occupations of Immigrants, Fiscal Years 1924 and 1925 <sup>2</sup>

Occupations	1924	1925	Occupations	1924	1925
<i>Skilled Workers:</i>					
Bakers .....	3,521	1,175	Locksmiths .....	3,701	1,575
Barbers, hairdress'rs .....	2,621	802	Machinists .....	6,616	2,022
Blacksmiths .....	3,233	1,037	Mariners .....	8,571	722
Bookbinders .....	275	95	Masons .....	5,452	1,361
Brewers .....	34	23	Mechanics .....	8,388	2,840
Butchers .....	2,795	912	Metal w'kers (other than iron, steel, and tin).....	1,123	327
Cabinetmakers .....	487	224	Millers .....	525	177
Carpenters, joiners. ....	16,420	5,548	Milliners .....	662	344
Cigarette makers....	48	24	Miners .....	7,001	2,241
Cigar makers.....	267	115	Painters, glaziers... ..	3,937	1,467
Cigar packers.....	20	16	Pattern makers....	339	103
Clerks, accountants. ....	25,194	13,637	Photographers ....	478	170
Dressmakers .....	3,904	1,437	Plasterers .....	769	408
Engineers (locomotive, marine, and stationary) .....	3,421	795	Plumbers .....	2,080	670
Furriers .....	320	127	Printers .....	1,740	676
Gardeners .....	1,230	687	Saddlers, harness makers .....	322	132
Hat and cap makers .....	303	59	Seamstresses .....	2,579	739
Iron and steel w'krs .....	7,308	1,317	Shoemakers .....	4,694	860
Jewelers .....	482	166	Stokers .....	968	287

<sup>1</sup> United States Commissioner General of Immigration, *Annual Report*, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> United States Commissioner General of Immigration, *Annual Reports*, 1924, 1925.

<i>Occupations</i>	1924	1925	<i>Occupations</i>	1924	1925
Stonecutters .....	560	167	Physicians .....	1,391	540
Tailors .....	6,754	1,394	Sculptors, artists...	429	105
Tanners, curriers..	182	49	Teachers .....	3,460	1,815
Textile workers....	482	288	Other professional..	4,266	2,322
Tinners .....	739	296			
Tobacco workers...	30	12	Total .....	24,778	10,481
Upholsterers .....	374	90	<i>Miscellaneous:</i>		
Watch and clock makers .....	528	157	Agents .....	2,179	1,726
Weavers and spinners .....	2,713	863	Bankers .....	180	90
Wheelwrights .....	130	26	Draymen, hackmen, and teamsters....	1,770	551
Woodworkers .....	498	118	Farm laborers....	27,492	16,022
Other skilled.....	5,876	2,501	Farmers .....	20,320	13,875
			Fishermen .....	3,113	1,139
Total skilled.....	150,694	51,278	Hotel keepers.....	225	101
<i>Professional:</i>			Laborers .....	108,001	34,784
Actors .....	1,012	188	Manufacturers ....	525	265
Architects .....	447	244	Merchants and dealers .....	11,390	3,737
Clergy .....	2,093	913	Servants .....	51,680	26,924
Editors .....	56	33	Other miscellaneous	26,640	14,597
Electricians .....	3,777	1,306			
Engineers (prof.)..	4,870	1,813	Total .....	253,515	113,811
Lawyers .....	233	116	No occupation (including women and children)....	277,909	118,744
Literary and scientific .....	712	187			
Musicians .....	1,479	496	Grand total....	706,896	294,314
Officials (govt.)....	553	403			

## NEGRO IN INDUSTRY

**Occupational Distribution.**—The total Negro population in continental United States in 1920 was 10,463,131, an increase over the 9,827,763 in 1910. Of this number 4,824,151 aged 10 years and over were engaged in gainful occupations in 1920, a decrease from 5,192,535 in 1910. The percentage of Negro population gainfully occupied was considerably larger than that of the white population. With the exception of the foreign born, a larger percentage of Negro men are engaged in gainful occupations than of any other group. The percentage of Negro women who are gainfully occupied is almost twice as large as for any other group.

**Table 74—Percentage of Persons 10 Years of Age and Over in Gainful Occupations, in Total Population and Among Negroes, 1900-1920<sup>1</sup>**

<i>Population Group</i>	1900	1910	1920
Total population.....	50.2	53.3	50.3
All males.....	80.0	81.3	78.2
All females.....	18.8	23.4	21.1
Total Negroes.....	62.2	71.0	59.9
Negro males.....	84.1	87.4	81.1
Negro females.....	40.7	54.7	38.9

<sup>1</sup> *Negro Year Book*, 1925.

Between 1890 and 1920 the number of Negroes in agriculture decreased. The number in professional service and in trade and transportation increased slightly. The number in domestic and personal service grew by about half, and those in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits nearly doubled.

**Table 75—Occupations Employing 20,000 or More Negroes, 1920 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Dairy farmers, farmers, and stock raisers.....	845,299	79,893
Farmers, general farms.....	844,536	79,773
Dairy farm, farm, and stock farm laborers.....	664,567	527,937
Farm laborers (home farm).....	288,339	364,878
Farm laborers (working out).....	359,108	162,443
Lumbermen, raftsmen, and woodchoppers.....	25,400	87
Coal mine operatives.....	54,432	165
Carpenters .....	34,217	26
Building, general and not specified laborers.....	127,870	6,968
Food industries laborers.....	24,638	3,092
Iron and steel industries laborers.....	104,518	1,123
Blast furnaces and steel rolling mills.....	42,011	.....
Lumber and furniture industries laborers.....	103,154	3,122
Saw and planing mills.....	94,039	2,000
Iron and steel industries, semi-skilled operatives.....	22,916	700
Longshoremen and stevedores.....	27,206	131
Chauffeurs .....	38,460	113
Draymen, teamsters, expressmen.....	56,556	158
Garage, road, and street laborers.....	35,673	156
Railroad laborers.....	99,967	2,176
Steam railroad.....	95,921	.....
Deliverymen .....	24,352	46
Coal and lumber yard, warehouse laborers.....	27,197	282
Store laborers, porters, helpers.....	39,446	1,439
Public service laborers.....	29,591	739
Janitors and sextons.....	38,662	5,448
Launderers and laundresses (not in laundry).....	5,206	283,557
Laundry operatives.....	4,248	21,084
Porters (except in stores).....	59,197	234
Steam railroad porters.....	20,201	.....
Servants .....	80,209	401,381
Cooks .....	33,725	168,710
Waiters .....	31,681	14,155

<sup>1</sup> Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Occupations*, 1920.

Table 76—Negroes in Main Occupation Groups, 1910 and 1920

Occupation	—Male—		—Female—	
	1910	1920	1910	1920
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry .....	1,842,238	1,566,627	1,051,137	612,261
Extraction of minerals.....	61,048	72,892	81	337
Manufacturing and mechanical industries .....	563,343	781,827	67,937	104,983
Transportation .....	254,659	308,896	1,286	3,525
Trade .....	112,464	129,309	7,027	11,158
Public service (not elsewhere classified) .....	22,033	49,586	349	966
Professional service.....	37,690	41,056	29,645	39,127
Domestic and personal service..	268,875	273,959	853,387	790,631
Clerical occupations.....	16,204	28,710	3,132	8,301
All occupations.....	3,178,554	3,252,862	2,013,981	1,571,289

Table 77—Percentage Which Negroes Form of Total Persons in Main Occupational Groups, 1890-1920 <sup>1</sup>

Occupation Group	1890	1900	1910	1920
Agricultural pursuits.....	21.7	20.6	23.4	19.9
Professional service.....	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.7
Domestic and personal service.....	22.6	23.6	20.5	31.2
Trade and transportation.....	4.3	4.4	5.5	4.8
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	3.6	3.9	6.5	6.9

## PRISON LABOR

**Farming Out Federal Prisoners.**—The Committee on Jails of the American Prison Association reported in 1925 that approximately 60,000 federal prisoners are farmed out to city, county, and state jails. Bad conditions, indiscriminate mixing of prisoners, and exploitation result. Sheriffs and prison authorities are paid a *per diem* rate for feeding these prisoners; the amount of the sheriff's income depends upon the amount he can save out of this allowance.

Except in a few reformatories, prison industries are nowhere used for educational ends:

There is nothing for the prisoner—neither training, nor income, nor self-respect—and only shame for the state, in the convict labor system.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Negro Year Book*, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> National Society of Penal Information, *Handbook of American Prisons*.

**Joint Committee on Prison Labor.**—To study conditions, to create sentiment against the use of, and to obtain legislation abolishing all contract-labor systems, the Union-Made Garment Manufacturers' Association and the United Garment Workers of America organized in 1925 a Joint Committee on Prison Labor. Kate Richards O'Hare was engaged by the committee to investigate prison conditions and the extent to which prison-made goods are being sold, and to address labor conventions. Mrs. O'Hare found that prisoners are set tasks that would strain the productive capacity of the strongest and most capable workers. The work-day is longer than that of free workers, and conditions are extremely bad. Prisoners who object to these conditions are sometimes starved and tortured. Next to the garment workers, those who have been most affected by the competition of prison labor are the shoe workers and broom makers.

Mrs. O'Hare spoke before 18 conventions of state federations of labor and international unions and persuaded them to go on record against the use of prison-made goods. The joint campaign resulted in abolition of the contract labor system and the substitution of the state-use system in Iowa. The Reliance Manufacturing Company, the largest garment firm using prison labor, was driven out of the prison shops. The Sterling Company was compelled to cover-brand its goods, although it still uses prison labor.

## FARMERS' CONDITIONS

**Farms Abandoned.**—A total of 6,372,263 farms were operated in the United States in 1925, compared with 6,448,343 in 1920, a decrease of 76,080 in five years. Among the causes for the decrease were: ravages of the cotton boll weevil; migration northward of Negro farm workers; a succession of dry seasons in parts of the Northwest; consolidation of farms into larger units; general drop from war-time expansion. The states showing the chief decreases were:

**Table 78—States Showing Chief Decreases in Number of Farms, 1920-1925 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>State</i>	<i>Decrease</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Decrease</i>
Georgia .....	61,631	Kentucky .....	12,115
South Carolina.....	19,927	Ohio .....	11,993
Alabama .....	18,535	Illinois .....	11,584
Mississippi .....	14,874	Montana .....	10,781

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of the Census. *Number of Farms by States and Counties, 1925, 1920, 1910, and 1900* (preliminary figures for 1925).

The chief increases occurred in Texas, California, and North Carolina.

**Crop Decrease.**—Value of 26 main crops in 1925 was \$8,227,529,000, a decrease of about 7 per cent from the value of \$8,816,688,000 in 1924. In part the decrease is attributable to a fall in prices, as well as to a reduction of crop volume.

Volume of crops in relation to population has been much reduced in recent years. Up to 1900 the acreage of harvested crops increased faster than population, but since then it has dropped about 8 per cent per capita of population. The yield for each acre of principal crops also increased rapidly up to about 1900, but has dropped 4 per cent since then. Farm production in proportion to city population has been decreasing since 1880, and has dropped 20 per cent since 1900.<sup>1</sup>

**Low Income.**—The reason for the decline in farming is largely to be found in the low incomes which farmers secure. According to the United States Department of Agriculture:

Income from agriculture has not in any year since the price decline of 1920 sufficed to allow both a commercial return on capital and adequate rewards for the farmers' labor, risk, and management.<sup>2</sup>

A gradual increase in the percentage of net income on capital invested is not as large as it seems, as the percentages are reckoned on a scaled-down valuation of capital.

**Table 79—Farmers' Net Income, in Percentages of Values of Agricultural Capital<sup>2</sup>**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Before Paying Interest on Debts</i>	<i>After Paying Interest on Borrowed Capital and Rent on Rented Farms</i>
1920 .....	0.6	3.1 (loss)
1921 .....	1.4	1.4 (loss)
1922 .....	3.1	1.5
1923 .....	3.1	1.4
1924 .....	3.8	2.0 (approximate)

The Department of Agriculture reported in July that the farmers' gross income for the year ending June 30, 1925, was nearly \$1,000,000,000 larger than in the previous year, and that the net income was about \$725,000,000 larger. The analysis continued:

<sup>1</sup> National Industrial Conference Board, *The Agricultural Problem*.

<sup>2</sup> United States Department of Agriculture, *Agriculture Yearbook*, 1924.

The average income per operator, including all farmers, amounted to only \$876 in 1924-25, compared with \$764 the preceding year, and covers the farmer's equity in his farm.

If a conservative rate (4.5 per cent, and what investor is content with that rate today?) of return for the operator's net capital investment is deducted from the net income, the return for the operator's labor and management and for the labor of his family was only \$649 in 1924-25, and only \$531 in 1923-24.

**Bankruptcies.**—Since 1910 the number of bankruptcies among farmers has almost steadily increased, rising from 849 in 1910 to 7,772 in 1924. Farmers' bankruptcies have also formed a larger proportion of the total number of bankruptcies, the percentage being 5.7 in 1910 and 18.7 in 1924. According to Representative Dickinson of Iowa:

It is not the new or untried . . . farmer who is losing his all. In many cases it is the old, tried, and dependable man, who has made a go of his job for 40 years, who is now facing ruin. Many of them have seen life savings and homes taken from them.

Most of the farms that were foreclosed passed into the hands of non-farmers.

Table 80—Bankruptcies of Farmers, 1910-1924 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Farmers' Bankruptcies</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Farmers' Bankruptcies</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
1910.....	849	5.7	1918.....	1,632	7.0
1911.....	679	4.8	1919.....	1,207	6.3
1912.....	837	5.4	1920.....	997	6.4
1913.....	942	5.4	1921.....	1,363	9.0
1914.....	1,045	5.6	1922.....	3,236	14.4
1915.....	1,246	5.9	1923.....	5,940	17.4
1916.....	1,658	6.9	1924.....	7,772	18.7
1917.....	1,906	7.5			

**Increase of Tenancy.**—The proportionate decrease of farm ownership and increase of farm tenancy, due to the difficulty of making a living on the land, has continued. In the United States as a whole, in 1920, 60.9 per cent of all farms were operated by their owners. Tenants constituted 38.1 per cent of the total number of farmers. In 1880 the percentage of tenant farmers was 25.6; in 1890, 28.4; in 1900, 35.3; and in 1910, 37.0. Detailed figures for the last three decades are:

<sup>1</sup> United States Department of Agriculture, *Agriculture Year Book*, 1923, 1924.

Table 81—Farm Tenure in the United States, 1900-1920 <sup>1</sup>

	1900	1910	1920	Percentage, 1920
Owners .....	3,653,323	3,948,722	3,925,090	60.9
Owning entire farm....	3,201,947	3,354,897	3,366,510	52.2
Renting additional land.	451,376	593,825	558,580	8.7
Managers .....	59,085	58,104	68,449	1.0
Tenants .....	2,024,964	2,354,676	2,454,804	38.1
Share .....	1,273,299	1,399,923	1,678,812	26.0
Share-cash .....		128,466	127,822	2.0
Cash .....	751,665	712,294	585,005	9.1
Not reported.....		113,993	63,165	1.0
Total .....	5,737,372	6,361,502	6,448,343	100.0

**Mortgages.**—Of the 3,925,090 farms operated by owners in 1920, 2,074,325, or 52.8 per cent, were free of mortgages, while 1,461,306, or 37.2 per cent were mortgaged. On the remaining 10 per cent no report was received. The average farm mortgage amounted to \$3,356. In 1910 the average farm mortgage was \$1,715, making an increase in the decade of 95.7 per cent. The ratio of encumbrance to value of owner-operated farms rose between 1920 and 1924 from 29.1 per cent to about 40 per cent. Part of the increase represents new investments in land and improvements. For the most part the money has been borrowed to refund short-time loans, to pay interest, taxes, and current expenses.

## HOUSING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

**Housing Shortage.**—In spite of the building boom of the past three or four years, there is still in the leading cities a serious shortage of houses or apartments at rentals which the ordinary wage-working family can pay.

**New York.**—In New York City, for instance, the total new building in 1925 amounted to 85,000 apartments, 51,380 of which were in tenements. These new tenements rent for \$15 a month and upward for each room. The average working-class family in New York can afford only about \$7 a month a room. The rents charged for the new tenements, therefore, make it impossible for ordinary workers to live in them, with the result that the old-law tenements, of a type now prohibited for new building, are becoming more and more crowded. Demolition of the old-law tenements has almost ceased, there being only 461 fewer in use in 1925 than there were in 1916. Taking advantage of the demand

<sup>1</sup> Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Volume V, *Agriculture*.

for these tenements, landlords fail to make necessary repairs, so that complaints filed with the tenement house department have increased from about 35,000 a year before 1919 to about 100,000 a year. Rents have increased enormously, especially those for the cheaper tenements. Between May, 1914, and October, 1924, rents for apartments costing from \$15 to \$30 a room monthly increased 63 per cent. In the same period rents for apartments costing less than \$15 a room increased 91 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

**Philadelphia.**—A survey of eight industrial sections of Philadelphia, yielding complete information on 1,745 dwellings, showed that during 1924 rents had been raised in 56 per cent of the dwellings, had remained unchanged in 41.3 per cent, and had been lowered in 2.7 per cent. This was the highest record of rent increase noted since 1913, except during 1923, and was considered "evidence of the continuance of profiteering not justifiable in the face of present commodity prices." As in New York, the lower rents showed the greater proportional increases. Those ranging from \$20 to \$29 were 15 per cent higher. Those ranging from \$10 to \$19 were 22 per cent higher than in 1923. Landlords were unwilling to make repairs. When they did so, they often increased the rent out of all proportion to the cost of the work done. In some cases the tenants were forced to make necessary repairs themselves.<sup>2</sup>

**Ownership of Homes.**—The total number of homes reported in the United States in 1920 was 24,351,676. During the last 30 years the proportion of rented homes increased, and the percentage of owned homes decreased. Of the homes which were owned, the percentage of those owned free decreased, while the percentage of those which were encumbered increased. Though the changes were slight, the trend shows a decrease in economic independence of the American population.

Table 82—Ownership of Homes, 1890-1920 <sup>3</sup>

Year	—Per Cent of All Homes—			—Of Owned Homes—		
	Rented	Owned	Free	Owned Encumbered	Free	Encumbered
1890.....	52.2	47.8	34.4	13.4	72.0	28.0
1900.....	53.9	46.1	31.7	14.5	68.7	31.3
1910.....	54.2	45.8	30.8	15.0	67.2	32.8
1920.....	54.4	45.6	28.2	17.5	61.7	38.3

<sup>1</sup> New York State Commission of Housing and Regional Planning, *Report to the Governor*, March 6, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Philadelphia Housing Association, *Report*, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States*, 1920.

**Families and Dwellings.**—The 105,710,620 persons recorded in the United States in 1920 were grouped in 24,351,676 families, inhabiting 20,697,204 dwellings. The number of persons in the American family has been gradually decreasing. The number of persons to a dwelling is decreasing less rapidly, indicating an increase of unattached persons and a growth of the practice of taking in roomers.

**Table 83—Persons to a Family and to a Dwelling,  
1880-1920 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Persons to a Family</i>	<i>Persons to a Dwelling</i>
1880.....	5.0	5.6
1890.....	4.9	5.5
1900.....	4.7	5.3
1910.....	4.5	5.2
1920.....	4.3	5.1

## EDUCATION AND LITERACY

**School Attendance.**—Of the 33,250,870 persons of both sexes five to 20 years of age, inclusive, in the United States in 1920, 21,763,275, or 65.4 per cent, were attending school. The percentage of both boys and girls attending school has, with occasional setbacks been on the increase.

**Table 84—Percentage of Population 5 to 20 Years Old,  
Inclusive, Attending School, 1900-1920 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Both Sexes</i>
1900.....	51.1	51.6	51.3
1910.....	60.4	60.5	60.5
1920.....	65.4	65.5	65.5

**Illiteracy.**—The percentage of illiteracy among all groups of the population of the United States 10 years of age or over has steadily decreased. In 1870 it was 20.0 per cent; in 1880, 17.0; in 1890, 13.3; in 1900, 10.7; in 1910, 7.7; and in 1920, 6.0 per cent.

<sup>1</sup> Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920.

Table 85—Illiteracy in Population 10 Years of Age and Over, 1920 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Group of Population</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>—Illiterate—</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
White .....	74,359,749	3,006,312	4.0
Colored .....	8,379,566	1,925,593	23.0
Negro .....	8,053,225	1,842,161	22.9
Native white.....	60,861,863	1,242,572	2.0
Native parentage.....	44,077,564	1,109,875	2.5
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	16,784,299	132,697	0.8
Foreign parentage.....	11,462,926	98,076	0.9
Mixed parentage.....	5,321,373	34,621	0.7
Foreign-born white.....	13,497,886	1,763,740	13.1
All groups.....	82,739,315	4,931,905	6.0

**Children Leaving School.**—Probably not more than one-half of the young people between the ages of 14 and 16, and not more than one-quarter of those between 16 and 18 are in school. From one-fifth to one-fourth of those 14 to 15 years of age, and three-fourths of those 16 years of age, are estimated to leave school to go to work. Of those entering school, it was found:

Table 86—Percentage of Pupils Reaching Each School Grade <sup>2</sup>

86 per cent reach 5th grade
73 per cent reach 6th grade
64 per cent reach 7th grade
58 per cent reach 8th grade
32 per cent reach 1st year high school
23 per cent reach 2nd year high school
17 per cent reach 3rd year high school
14 per cent reach 4th year high school
13 per cent are graduated from high school

<sup>1</sup> *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920.*

<sup>2</sup> United States Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1920, No. 11.

## II. TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION

### GENERAL DATA

**Percentage of Organization.**—Recent studies by the National Bureau of Economic Research into the extent of trade union organization in America indicate considerable variance in different industrial groups. The studies, according to the Bureau, bear out the general belief

that labor organizations receive their first impetus and make their most striking headway among the so-called manual workers, those who work in factories and mines, on railroads and buildings; and that they have their most retarded development among persons, sometimes described as white-collar workers, who embrace unionism late and slowly.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 87—Percentage of Wage Workers Organized in Major Divisions of Industry, 1910 and 1920<sup>1</sup>**

<i>Division of Industry</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>
Extraction of minerals.....	27.3	41.0
Manufacturing industries .....	11.6	23.2
Transportation .....	17.1	37.3
Building trades .....	16.4	25.5
Stationary engineers .....	4.6	12.4
Stationary firemen .....	9.6	19.9
Trade .....	1.0	1.1
Professional service .....	4.6	5.4
Clerical occupations .....	1.8	8.3
Domestic and personal service.....	2.0	3.8
Public service .....	2.5	7.3

**Organization of Women.**—The number and percentage of working women in trade unions are lower than for men. While about one-fifth of all wage-earners are organized, the proportion of women wage workers who are trade unionists is about one-fifteenth.

**Table 88—Percentage of Women Organized in Major Divisions of Industry, 1910 and 1920<sup>1</sup>**

<i>Division of Industry</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>
Total wage earners (except agriculture).....	1.5	6.6
Manufacturing industries .....	5.2	18.3
Transportation .....	0.9	6.5
Trade .....	0.5	0.5
Clerical occupations .....	0.1	2.7
Domestic service .....	0.1	0.6
Professional service .....	0.8	1.5

<sup>1</sup> National Bureau of Economic Research, *The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923*, by Leo Wolman.

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Organized 1881 as the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada; re-organized with present name, 1886. President, William Green, of the Mine Workers; secretary, Frank Morrison, of the Typographical Union; treasurer, Daniel J. Tobin, of the Teamsters. Executive Council: 1st vice-president, James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters; 2nd vice-president, Frank Duffy, of the Carpenters; 3rd vice-president, T. A. Rickert, of the United Garment Workers; 4th vice-president, Jacob Fischer, of the Barbers; 5th vice-president, Matthew Woll, of the Photo Engravers; 6th vice-president, Martin Ryan, of the Railway Carmen; 7th vice-president, James Wilson, of the Pattern Makers; 8th vice-president, James P. Noonan, of the Electrical Workers. Conventions yearly.

## General Activities

**Membership.**—The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the 45th convention at Atlantic City in 1925 showed an average paid-up membership of 2,878,297, an increase of 12,498 over 1924. Strikes and unemployment caused affiliated unions to default on the per capita tax for at least 500,000 other members.

**Table 89—Membership of the American Federation of Labor 1897-1925**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>
1897 .....	264,825	1907 .....	1,538,970	1917 .....	2,371,434
1898 .....	278,016	1908 .....	1,586,885	1918 .....	2,726,478
1899 .....	349,422	1909 .....	1,482,872	1919 .....	3,260,068
1900 .....	548,321	1910 .....	1,562,112	1920 .....	4,078,740
1901 .....	787,537	1911 .....	1,761,835	1921 .....	3,906,528
1902 .....	1,024,399	1912 .....	1,770,145	1922 .....	3,195,635
1903 .....	1,465,800	1913 .....	1,996,004	1923 .....	2,926,468
1904 .....	1,676,200	1914 .....	2,020,671	1924 .....	2,865,979
1905 .....	1,494,300	1915 .....	1,946,347	1925 .....	2,878,297
1906 .....	1,454,200	1916 .....	2,072,702		

The composition of the Federation during the last four years was as follows:

	1922	1923	1924	1925
Departments .....	5	4	4	4
National and international unions.	112	108	107	107
State federations.....	49	49	49	49
City central bodies.....	905	901	855	850
Local unions.....	35,277	35,534	32,157	31,261
Local trade and federal labor unions	666	523	458	436

**Organization.**—The national and international unions, the local trade and federal labor unions, the state federations of labor, the city central bodies, and the departments, are all chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The local unions and the local department councils are chartered by the national

and the international unions and by the four departments with which they are directly affiliated. The international unions include unions in Canada, while the national unions do not. The local trade unions are craft unions without any international or national affiliation, and the federal labor unions are mixed craft unions in localities where no national or local trade unions exist. The state federations and the city central bodies theoretically include all union groups in the city or state. Actually many local trade, federal labor and local unions do not affiliate with the state federations or the city central bodies. The departments are federations of national or international unions in an entire industry, such as the building trades or the railroad industry. The local department councils are local or district sub-divisions of these industrial federations.

The national or international unions are practically supreme in their jurisdiction. The departments and the local unions have limited power. The local trade and federal labor unions are supervised directly by the A. F. of L., much as are the local unions by their parent bodies. The city centrals and the state federations seek to influence legislation for the benefit of labor and serve as clearing houses for general union interests in their territory.

The following table is based on the average membership of the unions listed, as indicated by the per capita tax paid to the American Federation of Labor. During 1925 the International Steel and Copper Plate Engravers' League was amalgamated with the International Plate Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America. The Cloth Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers' International Union was re-instated.

**Table 90—Membership of National and International Unions Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 1920-1925**

<i>Organization</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>
Actors .....	6,900	11,800	9,400	7,700	7,400	10,100
Asbestos Workers.....	2,200	2,600	2,000	2,000	2,200	2,400
Bakery & Conf. Workers.	27,500	28,000	24,800	22,900	22,200	21,800
Barbers .....	44,200	47,000	45,200	43,200	45,300	48,000
Bill Posters.....	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600
Blacksmiths .....	48,300	50,000	36,700	5,000	5,000	5,000
Boil'r mks & Ir'n Shipbldrs	103,000	84,500	41,700	19,400	17,500	17,100
Bookbinders .....	20,700	24,700	16,300	12,900	13,400	13,600
Boot & Shoe Workers....	46,700	41,000	40,200	39,900	37,200	36,200
Brewery Workmen.....	34,100	27,300	19,000	16,600	16,000	16,000
Brick & Clay Workers....	5,200	5,400	4,100	4,800	4,800	5,000
Bricklyrs, Masons, Plast..	70,000	70,000	70,000	70,000	70,000	70,000
Bridge & Str'c. Ir'n Wkrs.	24,200	19,900	14,000	14,600	17,700	16,300
Broom & Whisk Makers..	1,400	1,200	800	700	700	700
Build'g Service Employees	....	800	9,400	7,800	6,200	6,200
Carpenters & Joiners.....	331,500	352,100	313,800	315,000	315,500	317,000

<i>Organization</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>
Carriage & Wagon Wkrs..	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>
Cigarmakers .....	38,800	34,200	32,000	30,900	27,700	23,500
Cloth Hat & Cap Makers.	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>
Conductors, Sleeping Car.	1,200	2,500	2,600	2,300	2,300	2,300
Coopers .....	4,300	4,400	2,800	1,700	1,500	1,300
Cutting Die & Cut'r Mkrs.	200	300	300	..... <sup>2</sup>	..... <sup>2</sup>	..... <sup>2</sup>
Diamond Workers.....	600	600	500	500	500	400
Elastic Goring Weavers...	100	100	100	100	100	100
Electrical Workers.....	139,200	142,000	142,000	142,000	142,000	142,000
Elevator Constructors....	3,100	3,800	3,800	5,200	8,100	8,100
Federal Employees.....	38,500	33,000	25,000	21,200	20,800	20,200
Fire Fighters.....	22,100	18,000	16,100	16,000	15,000	16,000
Firemen, Stationary.....	29,600	35,000	25,000	12,500	9,000	10,000
Foundry Employees.....	9,100	5,200	4,000	4,000	3,600	3,500
Fruit & Vegetable Workers	.....	.....	1,900	..... <sup>2</sup>	..... <sup>2</sup>	..... <sup>2</sup>
Fur Workers.....	12,100	4,500	4,700	9,200	8,900	11,400
Garment Workers, United	45,900	47,200	47,500	47,600	47,500	47,500
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	10,000	10,000	9,700	7,000	6,000	6,000
Glass Workers, Flint....	9,900	9,700	8,700	8,100	6,100	5,300
Glass Window Workers...	4,800	5,000	5,000	5,000	4,000	2,000
Glove Workers.....	1,000	700	400	200	200	300
Granite Cutters.....	10,500	10,500	10,000	9,500	8,600	8,500
Grinders & Finishers....	..... <sup>3</sup>	..... <sup>3</sup>	..... <sup>3</sup>	..... <sup>3</sup>	..... <sup>3</sup>	..... <sup>3</sup>
Hatters, United.....	10,500	11,500	11,500	11,500	11,500	11,500
Hodcar'rs & Com. Lab'rs.	42,000	46,000	46,000	47,500	49,000	61,500
Horseshoers .....	5,400	5,400	2,500	2,000	2,000	2,000
Hotel & Rest. Employees.	60,400	57,200	46,500	38,400	38,500	38,500
Iron, Steel & Tin Workers	31,500	25,400	15,900	11,700	11,100	11,400
Jewelry Workers.....	8,100	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	2,200	1,200	800
Lace Operatives.....	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>
Ladies' Garment Workers.	105,400	94,100	93,900	91,200	91,000	90,000
Lathers .....	5,900	8,000	8,000	8,000	8,000	8,900
Laundry Workers.....	6,700	7,000	6,500	5,500	5,500	5,500
Leather Workers, United.	11,700	8,000	3,400	2,000	2,000	2,000
Letter Carriers.....	32,500	32,500	32,500	32,500	32,500	32,500
Letter Carriers, Rural....	300	1,600	1,000	600	300	300
Lithographers .....	6,100	7,200	7,600	6,300	5,500	5,300
Longshoremen .....	74,000	64,100	46,300	34,300	30,500	31,800
Machinists .....	330,800	273,600	180,900	97,300	77,900	71,400
Maintenance of Way Emp.	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	..... <sup>1</sup>	37,700	38,300	37,400
Marble Workers.....	1,200	1,200	1,700	2,300	3,000	3,200
Marine Engineers.....	17,000	21,100	19,000	..... <sup>4</sup>	..... <sup>4</sup>	..... <sup>4</sup>
Masters, Mates & Pilots..	7,100	9,100	5,500	4,100	4,100	3,900
Meat Cutters & Butchers.	65,300	43,900	19,600	10,400	11,500	12,200
Metal Engravers.....	.....	.....	100	100	100	100
Metal Polishers.....	10,000	10,000	8,200	6,700	6,000	6,000
Mine, Mill, & Sm'l't'r Wkrs.	21,100	16,200	4,600	8,100	9,100	8,500
Mine Workers, United...	393,600	425,700	372,900	404,900	402,700	400,000
Molders .....	57,300	58,500	26,500	32,100	33,600	27,500
Musicians .....	70,000	74,600	75,000	75,000	77,100	80,000
Oil Field Workers.....	20,900	24,800	6,100	2,500	2,200	1,200
Painters .....	103,100	113,300	97,800	92,800	103,300	107,600
Papermakers .....	7,400	10,700	8,300	7,000	6,200	5,000
Patrolmen, Railroad.....	2,600	1,600	900	..... <sup>3</sup>	..... <sup>3</sup>	..... <sup>3</sup>
Patternmakers.....	9,000	9,000	8,000	8,000	7,000	7,000
Pavers & Rammermen....	1,900	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Paving Cutters.....	2,600	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,400
Photo Engravers.....	5,900	6,500	6,500	6,500	6,800	7,200
Piano and Organ Workers	3,200	2,700	900	700	600	600
Plasterers .....	19,400	23,900	24,600	25,200	30,000	30,000
Plumbers and Steamfitters	32,000	31,900	35,000	35,000	35,000	39,200
Post Office Clerks.....	16,200	17,000	17,800	18,000	20,000	23,700
Potters, Operative.....	8,000	9,100	9,200	9,100	8,300	8,100
Powd'r & High Exp. Wkrs.	300	200	200	300	200	200
Printers, Plate.....	1,400	1,500	1,500	1,200	1,200	1,200

Organization	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Printing Pressmen.....	35,000	37,000	37,000	37,000	38,700	40,000
Printers and Color Mixers	500	500	500	.... <sup>5</sup>	.... <sup>5</sup>	.... <sup>5</sup>
Print Cutters.....	400	400	300	.... <sup>5</sup>	.... <sup>5</sup>	.... <sup>5</sup>
Pulp & Paper Mill Wkrs..	9,500	11,300	6,800	4,600	5,000	5,000
Quarry Workers.....	3,000	3,000	3,000	2,400	2,900	3,000
Railroad Signalmen.....	12,300	11,300	10,500	8,900	8,000	8,000
Railroad Telegraphers....	48,700	50,000	50,000	50,000	43,300	39,200
Railway Carmen.....	182,100	200,000	171,700	160,000	137,500	125,000
Railway Clerks.....	186,000	169,600	137,800	96,100	88,400	91,200
Railway Mail Association.	14,400	15,000	16,600	16,700	17,900	19,100
Retail Clerks.....	20,800	21,200	16,700	10,300	10,000	10,000
Roofers .....	1,800	2,800	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Sawsmiths .....	100	100	100	100	.... <sup>6</sup>	.... <sup>6</sup>
Seamen .....	65,900	103,300	49,200	17,900	18,000	16,000
Sheet Metal Workers....	21,800	24,200	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,000
Siderographers .....	100	100	100	100	100	100
Steam Engineers.....	32,000	32,000	32,000	27,100	25,000	25,300
Steam Shov'l & Dredg'men	.... <sup>7</sup>	.... <sup>7</sup>	.... <sup>7</sup>	.... <sup>7</sup>	.... <sup>7</sup>	.... <sup>7</sup>
Stl. & Cop. Plate Engr'v'rs	200	400	300	200	100	.... <sup>8</sup>
Stereotypers & Elect'pers.	5,900	6,100	6,000	6,200	6,500	6,800
Stonecutters .....	4,000	4,400	4,600	6,900	5,000	5,100
Stove Mounters.....	1,900	2,000	2,000	1,800	1,600	1,600
Street Railway Employees	98,700	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	101,000
Switchmen .....	14,000	10,100	8,800	8,700	9,300	8,900
Tailors, Journeymen.....	12,000	12,000	12,000	11,900	10,000	9,300
Teachers .....	9,300	9,300	7,000	4,600	3,700	3,500
Teamsters, Chauffeurs....	110,800	105,700	76,400	72,700	75,000	78,900
Tech. Engin'rs, Draftsm'n	3,500	2,200	1,000	600	600	600
Telegraphers, Commercial.	2,200	3,200	3,400	2,600	3,700	4,100
Textile Workers, United..	104,900	82,900	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000
Theatrical Stage Employees	19,600	19,400	19,500	19,600	20,000	20,000
Tile Layers & Helpers...	.... <sup>7</sup>	.... <sup>7</sup>	.... <sup>7</sup>	.... <sup>7</sup>	.... <sup>7</sup>	.... <sup>7</sup>
Timber Workers.....	10,100	5,800	800	.... <sup>2</sup>	.... <sup>2</sup>	.... <sup>2</sup>
Tobacco Workers.....	15,200	12,300	3,400	1,900	1,500	1,400
Tunnel & Subway Constr's	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Typographical Union.....	70,500	74,800	68,900	68,100	68,800	71,000
Upholsterers .....	5,600	6,000	6,700	7,300	7,500	7,600
Wall Paper Crafts.....	....	....	....	700	600	600
Wire Weavers.....	400	400	400	400	400	400
Wood Carvers .....	1,200	1,200	1,100	900	1,000	1,000

The 436 local unions directly affiliated had a membership of 21,150.

### Executive Council Report

**Finances.**—The Executive Council reported to the 1925 Convention that receipts for the year totalled \$509,702.96; expenses amounted to \$533,294.63; there was a balance of \$213,053.80 on hand August 31, 1925.

<sup>1</sup> Suspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. <sup>2</sup> Disbanded. <sup>3</sup> Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. <sup>4</sup> Withdrawn from affiliation. <sup>5</sup> Amalgamation of both and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of North America. <sup>6</sup> Merged with Timber Workers. <sup>7</sup> Not recognized. <sup>8</sup> Merged with International Plate Printers' and Die Stampers' Union.

The per capita tax from the international unions, state and city central bodies, and directly affiliated local unions is practically the only source of income. Among the expenses listed, the largest items were for office employees at national headquarters, organizers' salaries and expenses, printing the *American Federationist*, and strike and lockout benefits for local unions directly affiliated.

The Woodrow Wilson Memorial College Fund had been initiated. An appeal for funds to furnish an A. F. of L. room in the International Labor Office at Geneva brought \$1,455.

National headquarters had determined to collect data on company unions, and to make this information available to its members. A survey of labor banks was also planned.

**Jurisdiction Disputes.**—Jurisdiction over marine engineers was given to the Steam and Operating Engineers after it became evident that the Marine Engineers' Association did not intend to renew its affiliation with the A. F. of L.

The Railway Clerks failed to carry out the decision of the El Paso Convention to turn all drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen and garage employees over to the Teamsters. President Green therefore recommended the suspension of the organization.

Although the El Paso Convention ordered arbitration of the dispute between the Teamsters and the Street and Electric Railway Employees within 90 days after adjournment, no progress was made toward a settlement. President Mahon of the Street Railway Employees refused to move before the convention of his organization had acted on the question.

A committee having power to negotiate agreements, but without power to make decisions, was appointed to investigate the dispute of the Machinists and the Blacksmiths against the Street and Electric Railway Employees. The difficulty between the Coopers over tank builders and erectors was referred back to the two organizations in the hope that an amicable settlement could be reached. The case of the Bricklayers and the Plasterers was still under discussion.<sup>1</sup>

**Coal River Collieries.**—A committee consisting of two men appointed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and two appointed by the Coal River Collieries investigated the dispute between the Collieries and the United Mine Workers. The committee failed to agree. The men appointed by the A. F. of L. reported that a strike was in progress at the Coal River mines, that strike breakers were being used, that strikers had been

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<sup>1</sup> Settled at a Building Trades Department Convention just previous to the A. F. of L. meeting. See p. 120.

evicted from their homes, and that the company, in which the Locomotive Engineers are majority stockholders, refused to settle.

**Legislation.**—Activities of the A. F. of L. at Washington helped in passing the postal salaries increase bill, a bill to pay \$1,600,000 in claims to employees of the Bethlehem Steel Company, and a bill to increase the compulsory school age in the District of Columbia from 14 to 16 years.

Among the laws favored that failed to pass were the Howell-Barkley bill to abolish the Railroad Labor Board; a law giving independence to the Philippine Islands; another giving Porto Rico civil government; a liberal civil service retirement law; a law establishing a Department of Education; a law providing for the undertaking of public works to relieve unemployment in times of industrial depression; and a law prohibiting transportation of laborers to points where strikes are in progress without advising the laborers of that fact.

The Federation helped to defeat laws providing for the registration of aliens; conscription of labor in war time; a Department of Education and Relief which would be dominated by war bureaus, and a Court of Conciliation with jurisdiction over labor disputes affecting interstate commerce. A proposed amendment making future amendments to the federal constitution more difficult, the blanket "equal rights" amendment which would destroy the special protective labor laws enacted for women, a Sunday blue-law for the District of Columbia, and an anti-picketing law for the District of Columbia, were also successfully opposed.

**History.**—The second volume of the *History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book*, covering the period from 1919 to 1923, was published.

**International Relations.**—President Green wrote to Secretary of State Kellogg asking him to cite specific instances of the loss of property in Mexico without indemnification, and especially for definite instances where such losses had been incurred at the instance of labor.

On August 27 a conference between representatives of American and Mexican labor met at Washington. The conference recommended voluntary restriction of immigration. A joint committee is to be appointed to study the immigration question and to recommend further measures. All immigrants into either country are urged to join the union of their trade.

President Green wrote to President Coolidge, July 10, asking for an international conference for the purpose of abolishing extra-territorial rights in China.

**Communism.**—The report of the Executive Council contains a warning against Communist activities, and lists the bodies and publications engaged in such activities in the unions.

### American Federation of Labor Convention, 1925

**Date and Place.**—The Forty-fifth Convention of the the American Federation of Labor was held at Atlantic City, N. J., October 5-16, 1925.

**Committees.**—The chairmen and secretaries of Convention committees were:

Committee on report of Executive Council: James Wilson, of the Pattern Makers, chairman; T. W. McCullough, of the Typographical Union, secretary.

Committee on resolutions: James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters, chairman; Matthew Woll, of the Photo Engravers, secretary.

Committee on laws: Daniel J. Tobin, of the Teamsters, chairman.

Committee on organization: Frank Duffy, of the Carpenters, chairman; Sara A. Conboy, of the Textile Workers, secretary.

Committee on labels: John J. Manning, of the Union Label Trades Department, chairman; Chauncey A. Weaver, of the Musicians, secretary.

Committee on adjustment: T. A. Rickert, of the United Garment Workers, chairman; H. B. Perham, of the Telegraphers, secretary.

Committee on local and federated bodies: Jacob Fischer of the Barbers, chairman; Adolph Hirschberg, of the Musicians, secretary.

Committee on education: James P. Noonan, of the Electrical Workers, chairman; Henry F. Schmal, of the Photo Engravers, secretary.

Committee on state organizations: Martin F. Ryan, of the Railway Carmen, chairman; John T. Mugavin, of the Letter Carriers, secretary.

Committee on boycotts: Frank Farrington, of the United Mine Workers, chairman.

Committee on building trades: George F. Hedrick, of the Painters, chairman.

Committee on shorter workday: M. J. Keough, of the Molders, chairman; John C. Harding, of the Typographical Union, secretary.

Committee on legislation: C. L. Balne, of the Boot and Shoe Workers, chairman; Thomas F. Flaherty, of the Post Office Clerks, secretary.

Committee on international labor relations: George W. Perkins, of the Cigarmakers, chairman; Matthew Woll, of the Photo Engravers, secretary.

Committee on credentials: Adolph Hirschberg, of the Musicians, chairman; Harry C. Griffin, of the Stage Employees, secretary.

Committee on rules and order of business: John Sullivan, of the Brewery Workers, chairman; G. H. Nicholson, of the Railway Clerks, secretary.

**A. F. of L. Laws.**—The laws were altered so that no local trade union, federal labor union, or state body shall disband if seven members wish to retain the charter; if such a body is dissolved or suspended its funds and property shall revert to the American Federation of Labor pending re-organization. Proposals to compel local unions to join central bodies, and to admit Women's Trade Union Leagues and women's auxiliaries to state federations, were defeated.

**State Organizations.**—In order to co-ordinate the legislative work of the state federations each federation was urged to submit reports of legislative hearings on labor measures. The international unions are to urge their local unions to affiliate with the state bodies. The state federations are to seek the establishment of Lincoln's Birthday as a legal holiday.

**General Organization Matters.**—In behalf of the building trades an investigation of labor conditions at West Point is to be requested. Any effort to destroy the principle of *per diem* pay on public work will be opposed. Government employees are to be helped to obtain a Saturday half-holiday. The eight-hour day is to be considered the maximum for all kinds of work, and a shorter work day is to be aimed at.

The effort to organize women wage workers is to be continued. Among the trades to be helped to organize are laundry workers, office workers, and bank clerks. Labor banks are urged, wherever possible, to employ union clerical workers. A resolution calling for a general organizing campaign was approved in principle, and referred to the Executive Council for action, as was a resolution calling for the organization of workers in Porto Rico. The organization of colored workers is to be pushed. The Convention directed that all affiliated unions remove from their constitutions any provisions that discriminate against colored workers. President Green is to appoint a representative of the A. F. of L. to be present at the Kansas City conference of the Railway Clerks at which the complaints of the colored freight handlers will be discussed. Special effort is to be made to organize Mexican workers in the United States.

The National Woolen Mills, the Crowell Publishing Company, the Holland Furnace Company, the Ward Baking Company, and the Cribben and Sexton Stove Works were declared unfair to labor. Local labor bodies were urged to help the Textile Workers in their struggle against the American Thread Company.

**Union Label.**—The campaign to popularize the union label is to be continued. Among the trades singled out for special attention are the wall-paper crafts, window-glass making and headgear.

**Jurisdiction Disputes.**—The Machinists and the Street Railway workers accepted the recommendation of the Executive Council that they hold a conference to adjust their differences. The controversy between the Blacksmiths and the Street Railway men was adjusted, and an agreement signed. The dispute between the Bricklayers and Masons, and the Plasterers, was settled by arbitration. The agreement of 1911 was restored; interchange-

able cards are to be issued; and a tribunal will be set up to settle existing questions.

In the struggle between the Teamsters and the Railway Clerks, failure on the part of the latter organization to obey the mandate of the El Paso Convention resulted in their conditional suspension. This order was to go into effect if the Railway Clerks did not yield within 90 days. The secession of those members of the Railway Clerks who have formed the American Federation of Express Workers was condemned.

The jurisdiction of the Steam and Operating Engineers over marine engineers was affirmed. An agreement was reached between the Teamsters and the Street Railway workers whereby the Street Railway union is given jurisdiction over bus-drivers working for street railway companies, while bus-drivers working for independent concerns must join the Teamsters.

No action was taken, at the request of the disputants, in the conflict between the Steam and Operative Engineers and the Machinists, and in that between the Steam and Operating Engineers and the Building Service Employees. The latter dispute is over the operation of boilers in buildings.

The Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers were told to confine themselves to workers covered by their charter. They are to leave the putting up of awnings to the Upholsterers. The Dyers and Cleaners are to limit their jurisdiction over workers in dye-houses; dyeing and cleaning in tailoring establishments may be done by tailors. The dispute between Bookkeepers' and Stenographers' Union 12646 of New York, and Local 22 of the Ladies' Garment Workers over the employment of union help by the local was referred to the Executive Council.

**International Relations.**—President Coolidge was asked to give the Pan-American Federation of Labor representation on the Pan-American Union, the Pan-American Financial Congress, and the Arbitration Board. An effort is to be made to increase the membership of the Pan-American Federation. The Convention expressed confidence in the Calles government. The joint commission set up to study immigration from Mexico was endorsed. A fraternal delegate is to be sent to the Mexican Federation of Labor. The Venezuelan labor delegates are to be given a hearing by the Pan-American Federation of Labor before the Federation publishes its report on labor conditions in that country. The killing of Nicaraguan workers is to be investigated, as is the entry of Panama City by troops of the United States. The international seamen's code of the League of Nations was condemned. President Green is to make the presentation of the

A. F. of L. room to the International Labor Office in person. A resolution opposing the World Court was referred to the Executive Council for further study. A resolution favoring the abolition of extra-territorial privileges in China was adopted.

Negotiations with the International Federation of Trade Unions in relation to re-affiliation are to be continued.

**Legislation.**—An extended legislation program was outlined. Laws will be sought to prevent transportation of strike-breakers, to compel the use of steel baggage and express cars, to make the "yellow dog" contract illegal, and to limit equity jurisdiction in injunction cases. The Howell-Barkley bill abolishing the present Railway Labor Board was again endorsed. The Convention approved a more liberal retirement law for the federal civil service, exclusion of Canal Zone workers from the provisions of a proposed uniform leave law, a Civil Service Court of Appeals, higher pay rates for night work in the government service, abolition of the United States Bureau of Efficiency, and transfer of the powers of the Personnel Classification Board to the United States Civil Service Commission. A proposed retirement law for Canal Zone employees was referred to the Executive Council for study. Resolutions favoring changes in the tariff on repairs to American ships in foreign ports and on linseed oil were referred to the Executive Council, as were proposals for a congressional investigation of the relation of the tariff to labor conditions and for re-enactment of the Pitman silver act. Reduction in the internal revenue tax on tobacco was favored. The immigration exclusion policy of the United States was approved, and the Convention repeated its position in favor of barring Asiatics. It asked a law prohibiting the entry as seamen of persons not admissible as immigrants, except on ships flying the flags of the country from which these persons come, or on vessels in distress, deportation of those who are not genuine seamen, and a law requiring vessels to carry away as many men in their crews as they bring to these shores. A law providing for the registration of aliens, and a more stringent deportation law, were opposed. The A. F. of L. is opposed to the sales tax, the ship subsidy, visa fees, tax exemptions on government securities, the women's blanket "equal rights" amendment, revision of the copyright law and American affiliation with the World Copyright Union, any amendment that will make further amendment of the federal constitution more difficult, and blue laws.

It favors the child labor amendment, a federal Department of Education, compulsory education in the District of Columbia to the age of 16, a Bureau of Child Aid in the District of Columbia,

a National Conservatory of Music, jury trial in contempt cases, citizenship for residents of the District of Columbia, farmers' relief, and the extension of the marine liability law to include longshoremen. The statement of the Portland Convention of 1923, opposing government aid for private power companies, was repeated with reference to the Muscle Shoals proposals. A federal prison labor law will be asked.

**Education.**—The Workers' Education Bureau was endorsed, and unions were urged to affiliate with that organization. The Convention favored the formation of workers' colleges, study classes, and forums, and urged establishment of educational committees and the employment of directors of education. It approved the observance of Education Week. Acceptance by the A. F. of L. of a place on the committee of the American Library Association was approved. Work on the Samuel Gompers Fellowship is to be continued. The International Summer Schools were endorsed. Records and archives are to be put at the disposal of students of labor affairs. The *Weekly News Letter*, and the changes in the make-up of the *American Federationist* were approved. The Convention appointed the fourth Sunday in May as Memorial Sunday. It asked that the first school hereafter to be built in the District of Columbia be called the Samuel Gompers school. It favored the framing of a model school law for the states, and submission of such a law to state and city central bodies.

A proposal to establish a broadcasting station was defeated. The Convention failed to endorse the Workers' Health Bureau, but made health education part of the work of the Permanent Committee on Education. This committee is to study and report on the work-study plan, intelligence tests, and the junior high school. A proposal to send educational attaches to American ministries abroad was referred to the Executive Council.

**Politics.**—The non-partisan political policy was re-affirmed. The Dawes movement to establish cloture in the Senate was condemned. A resolution to form a labor party on class lines, affiliated with other working class parties, was defeated.

The government is to be asked to give civil government to Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands. A conference is to be asked of the American Bar Association in order that labor may present its objections to an industrial court law. The Secretary of Commerce is to be asked to call a conference to remove the obstacles in the way of better organization of industry and agriculture.

Congress was asked to investigate the Bell Telephone Company. President Coolidge is urged to investigate the actions of public printer George H. Carter. The Executive Council is to look into alleged illegal immigration along the Canadian border. The campaign of government employees against speeding-up is to be assisted. The Convention urged the completion of a highway system by joint action of the states and the federal government.

**Communism.**—The anti-Communist attitude of the Executive Council was endorsed. A resolution to launch an amalgamation movement, in order to make the Federation class-conscious and militant, was defeated. Another resolution condemning class-collaboration, the B. & O. plan, and labor banking was defeated. The National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain was congratulated on its stand against radical influences. A resolution supporting the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee's world trade union conference was defeated, as was a resolution calling for recognition of Soviet Russia. The government was urged to maintain its policy of non-recognition.

**General Policy.**—The strikes of the anthracite coal miners and of the railway shopmen and the Pennsylvania System were approved. The principle of the B. & O. plan of co-operation between men and employers was approved. Any effort to force wage reductions will be opposed. Unions are urged to keep out of the equity courts. The formation of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company was approved. Unions were urged to observe caution in the formation of labor banks, and the convention pointed out the danger that undue absorption in social problems might lead to neglect of the fundamental duties of trade unions. Unions were urged to study waste in production.

**Civil Liberties.**—The El Paso resolution withholding approval of any law conferring self-government upon Porto Rico until freedom of speech and labor's rights are recognized, was reiterated.

A resolution asking for a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti was not adopted because of favorable action of former conventions. Pardons were asked for Abraham Cisneros, Jesus M. Rangel, Jesus Gonzales, L. M. Vasquez, Pedro Perales, Mexicans, and Charles Cline, American, in jail in Texas for political offenses.

Universal finger-printing was not approved.

**Militarism.**—A resolution opposing the Citizens' Military Training Camps was defeated. The Convention opposed conscription except in time of war. A resolution favoring disarmament was referred to the Executive Council with power to act.

**Relations with Other Organizations.**—Affiliation with the Personnel Research Bureau is continued. Organizations are urged to co-operate with the Veterans' Bureau, and with the National Fire Protection Association.

Friendship with the American Legion was endorsed. The work of the Playground Association was approved. The International Unions were asked to assist in building a memorial to labor in the cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York.

**Visitors.**—Among the speakers at the convention, other than delegates, were Thomas G. Reynolds, mayor of Atlantic City; Thomas B. Eames, vice-president of the New Jersey Federation of Labor; Fritz Tarnow, of the visiting German delegation; A. A. Purcell and Ben Smith, fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress; Roberto Haberman, fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor; Donald Dear, fraternal delegate of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress; Spencer Miller, jr., of the Workers' Education Bureau; Anna Fitzgerald, of the Women's International Union Label League; Thomas Johnson, of the Irish Trades Union Congress; and Elisabeth Christman, of the National Women's Trade Union League.

In his fraternal address A. A. Purcell declared that the policy of isolation was a mistaken one, and urged "one powerful trade union international." He continued:

I have been to Russia. There I have seen the workers assuming vast responsibilities and duties, carrying through the organization of society under frightful difficulties. As a workman I am proud of the genius for organization and the essential grip of things which my class in Russia has displayed. . . . I do hope that from now on, the organized workers of America will establish the closest fraternal relations with the organized workers of Russia. Just as the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, representative of the whole trade union movement of Britain, has sent delegations to Russia, so I hope and trust the American Federation of Labor will do the same.

Replying, President Green objected to the Communist influence on the ground that it is seeking "not to cooperate with us but to capture and control us," and declared:

We wish that our friend who has so kindly advised us and has offered us such frank suggestions might take back to the Russian Red International this message, that the American labor movement will not affiliate with an organization that preaches that doctrine or stands for that philosophy.

**After-Convention Activities.**—On November 20 the Executive Committee directed President Green to oppose all measures for peace-time conscription, and in no circumstance to favor legislation that provides conscription under any conditions short of defensive war.

In December President Green urged the presidents of countries in the Pan-American Union to appoint some representatives of labor as delegates to the forthcoming Pan-American centenary congress to be held in the Republic of Panama on June 26, 1926.

The Executive Committee favored America's entrance into the World Court.

President Green on December 27 issued a statement opposing the proposed labor mission to study conditions in Russia on the ground that the mission would present a prejudicial report. In his statement to international unions and central bodies he said:

Such a commission will not be representative of the labor movement, and will not be recognized by the American Federation of Labor. It will be organized in the interests of the Communists and against the interests of the American labor movement.

## BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Organized, 1908. General president, William J. McSorley; secretary-treasurer, William J. Tracy. Executive Council: George F. Hedrick, A. M. Huddell, John J. Hynes, James P. Noonan, Edward J. McGivern. Conventions yearly.

**Membership.**—There are 16 international unions affiliated with the department. An effort to induce the Carpenters to re-affiliate failed because the Carpenters demanded that the department withdraw from the national Board of Jurisdictional Awards. The Upholsterers' application for a charter was refused. No action was taken on the application of the Machinists.

Table 91—Membership of Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, 1924 and 1925

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Membership</i>		<i>Organization</i>	<i>Membership</i>	
	1924	1925		1924	1925
Asbestos Workers..	2,200	2,400	Plumbers & Steam-		
Bricklayers .....	70,000	70,000	fitters .....	35,000	39,200
Electrical Workers.	142,000	142,000	Roofers .....	3,000	3,000
Elevator Construc-			Sheet Metal Work-		
tors .....	8,100	8,100	ers .....	25,000	25,000
Granite Cutters....	8,600	8,500	Steam Engineers...	25,000	25,300
Hod Carriers.....	49,000	61,500	Stone Cutters.....	5,000	5,100
Lathers .....	8,000	8,900	Structural Iron		
Marble Workers....	3,000	3,200	Workers .....	17,700	16,300
Painters .....	103,300	107,600			
Plasterers .....	30,000	30,000	Total .....	534,900	556,100

**Organization.**—Efforts were made to organize building workers in the moving picture industry. The Carpenters complained that local Building Trades Councils were seating delegates from the International Union of Building Trades Carpenters, a dual organization. Local councils were advised that this was against

the rules. The Denver Building Trades Council was directed to unseat the delegate from the Carpenters' local of the American Union Workers.

In St. Paul and Minneapolis conditions in the building trades were chaotic. In Cleveland the executive council intervened in a local dispute, and supervised an election of officers. The Cleveland Council protested this action and did not participate in the election. The Cleveland Council is to lose its charter if it upholds the non-affiliated union of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

The California State Building Trades Council changed its laws to conform with those of the department. The Building Trades Councils in Sacramento were amalgamated, but no progress was made in the Los Angeles difficulty, where the Carpenters and the Elevator Constructors have formed a competing council.

In New York there are also two competing Building Trades Councils. On April 22 the executive council was informed that the two councils were engaged in an effort to solve the difficulty themselves.

Painter's Local 31 of Seattle protested to the department against the unseating of its delegate, W. H. Jones, by the Seattle Building Trades Council. The department decided that the council's action was in line with the ruling of the Portland (1923) Convention of the A. F. of L. that no avowed Communist could be seated in any state or local council or city central body. In spite of his exclusion, Jones has been repeatedly re-elected by his union.

**Philadelphia Ball Park.**—The department has an agreement with the American League of Baseball Clubs by which the League undertakes to use union labor in its construction work. The Philadelphia club employed non-union iron and steel workers and hoisting engineers. Other building trades, affiliated with the department, continued at work. The controversy was not settled.

**Jurisdiction Disputes.**—It was decided in the controversy between the Bricklayers and the Electricians<sup>1</sup> that the cutting of chases or channels in brick, tile, or masonry shall be done by the trade which requires them in its work. The controversy between the Granite Cutters and the Stone Cutters arose again and the previous award was affirmed.

On October 2, at a conference called at Atlantic City, N. J., by President Green of the American Federation of Labor, agreement was reached between the Operative Plasterers and the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *American Labor Year Book, 1925*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 120.

**Board of Jurisdictional Awards.**<sup>1</sup>—The Executive Council recommended that a president or secretary on salary be appointed to manage the affairs of the board. The Atlantic City convention referred this question back to the executive council so that it might be taken up with the employers' groups represented on the board. The executive council also reported that the awards of the board were not always carried out, and that this was often due to the owners or contractors. Present representatives of the Building Trades Department on the board are James P. Noonan, John Coefield, and George F. Hedrick.

**Convention.**—The 19th convention met in Atlantic City, October 1-3. It decided to increase the term of the president and the secretary from one to three years, and to give the executive council power to remove officers by majority vote after formal trial and conviction. Anti-strike clauses are to be removed from the constitutions of Building Trades Councils, and from agreements. All open-shop agreements were condemned.

## METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Organized 1908. General president, James O'Connell; secretary-treasurer, A. J. Berres. General Executive Board, James Kline, J. A. Franklin, John Coefield, John J. Hynes, M. J. Keough, W. W. Britton. Conventions yearly.

**Membership.**—Membership in the Metal Trades Department includes 16 unions.

Table 92—Membership of Metal Trades Department,  
American Federation of Labor, 1924 and 1925

<i>Organization</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>	<i>Organization</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>
Blacksmiths .....	5,000	5,000	Plumbers & Steam-		
Boilermakers .....	17,500	17,100	fitters .....	35,000	39,200
Electrical Workers. 142,000	142,000		Sheet Metal Work-		
Foundry Employees	3,600	.... <sup>2</sup>	ers .....	25,000	25,000
Iron & Steel Work-			Stationary Firemen	9,000	10,000
ers .....	11,100	11,400	Steam Engineers...	25,000	25,300
Machinists .....	77,900	71,400	Stove Mounters...	1,600	1,600
Metal Polishers....	6,000	6,000	Structural Iron		
Molders .....	33,600	27,500	Workers .....	17,700	16,300
Pattern Makers....	7,000	7,000	Technical Engineers	600	600
			Total .....	417,600	405,400

**Canal Zone.**—Questions still at issue in the Canal Zone include employment of colored aliens in jobs claimed by white Americans, and restoration of the 1921 conditions of employment.

<sup>1</sup> *American Labor Year Book, 1925*, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Paid no per capita tax in 1924.

**Navy Yards.**—Questions of wages and conditions in navy yards were handled satisfactorily by the Navy Wage Review Board, composed of an officer, a civilian representing the Navy Department, and a civilian representing the workers, which acts on recommendations made by local wage boards of men and officers. Decisions of the board are not binding on the Department. No such arrangement exists in the War Department, where poor conditions and piece work prevail.

**Federal Employees.**—The economy program of the federal government caused a large reduction in the number of men employed; tenure has grown uncertain. In the federal civil service the seven-hour day prevails. Navy yard men work 48 hours a week. An effort to introduce the 44-hour week was defeated by the men, who preferred to work 48 hours, with Saturday half-holiday on full pay for three months a year.

**Policy.**—The Whitehead, Hoag Company of Newark, N. J., and the Holland Furnace Company of Holland, Mich., were listed as unfair for continued anti-union tactics. The open shop, the labor spy, and the injunction continue to be sources of irritation.

**Legislation.**—The department worked for the child labor amendment, and for an adequate federal retirement law. It opposed the re-classification law.

**Foreign Relations.**—Although the department is not affiliated with the International Metal Workers' Federation, representatives of that organization were invited to attend the department's annual convention; circumstances prevented the International from accepting. Closer relations were formed with the Mexican metal workers.

**Convention.**—The 17th annual convention was held at Atlantic City, September 30-October 2. It decided to organize the workers in the automobile industry, the form of organization to be discussed at a conference of representatives of all metal trades employed in the industry. The convention discussed the possibility of the industrial form of organization, in view of the difficulty in defining craft jurisdiction in the industry, but preferred not to commit itself.

The secretary is to study the degree of organization in the navy yards, to discover whether participation in the Navy Wage Review Board has helped or harmed the organizations. Secretary A. J. Berres was re-appointed the department's representative on the board. Union men are not to participate in elections to shop committees if non-union men are allowed to vote. Company

unions are to be opposed, and a law is to be sought making the "yellow dog" contract illegal.

A resolution was adopted protesting against the attempts of organizations to obtain labor legislation except through A. F. of L. channels. Legislation is to be sought to prevent illegal immigration, and to provide for the branding and tagging of prison-made goods. The convention opposed the repeal of section 466 of the tariff act. If a uniform leave law for federal employees is adopted, the department wishes Canal Zone workers to be excluded as they have satisfactory leave privileges. A retirement law for Canal Zone workers is sought.

The convention protested against the use of foreign-built machines in United States gun-boats. Trade union insurance was endorsed, as was the non-partisan political program of the A. F. of L.

**Communism.**—In his presidential report James O'Connell urged the convention to make it clear that "membership in Communist or similar organizations means non-membership in the trade union movement."

## RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

Organized 1908. President, Bert M. Jewell; secretary-treasurer, John Scott. Executive Council: William H. Johnston, J. W. Kline, J. A. Franklin, J. J. Hynes, James P. Noonan, Martin F. Ryan, T. C. Cashen, Timothy Healy, F. H. Fljoldal. Conventions yearly.

**Membership.**—Nine out of the 13 railroad unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor belong to the Railway Employees' Department.

**Table 93—Membership of Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor, 1924 and 1925**

<i>Organization</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>	<i>Organization</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>
Blacksmiths .....	5,000	5,000	Railway Carmen...	137,500	125,000
Boilermakers .....	17,500	17,100	Sheet Metal Work-		
Electrical Workers.	142,000	142,000	ers .....	25,000	25,000
Machinists .....	77,900	71,400	Stationary Firemen	9,000	10,000
Maintenance o f			Switchmen .....	9,300	8,900
Way .....	38,300	37,400			
			Total .....	461,500	441,800

**Activities.**—All the shop strikes begun in 1922 have been declared off. Much of the time was spent in trying to persuade Congress to pass the Howell-Barkley bill abolishing the Railroad Labor Board. In this effort the department cooperated, as before, with the other railroad unions within and outside the American Federation of Labor. The department favors the system of cooperation between the union and the management now in force on

the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad System, and known as the B. & O. Plan. A railroad labor institute was held at Brookwood in July, at which railroad labor problems were discussed.

**Legislation.**—Since the establishment of the Railroad Labor Board in 1920 the railroad unions have been active in favor of legislation which would provide a more satisfactory method of fixing wages, hours, and conditions of labor. The chief objection to the Railroad Labor Board is the presence on it of three members appointed by the President of the United States to represent the interests of the public. These men, ignorant of both labor conditions and management problems, hold the balance of power in the board.

In December, 1925, the Association of Railway Executives and officers of the 20 railway unions, including the independent railway brotherhoods, approved legislation to provide for a new method of settling labor disputes. The proposed plan embodies the essential features of the Howell-Barkley bill, which was defeated in 1924 and 1925. Under its terms regional boards of adjustment and conciliation are to be set up, consisting of representatives of both the railways and the unions. If agreement is not reached, the dispute goes to a permanent Board of Mediation, composed of citizens who have no direct interest in the transportation industry. If this board fails to adjust the difficulty, machinery for voluntary arbitration is provided. Any decision reached is binding on both sides. The Railroad Labor Board is to be abolished.<sup>1</sup>

## UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Organized 1909. General president, John W. Hays; secretary-treasurer, John J. Manning. General Executive Board: Jacob Fischer, George W. Perkins, Matthew Woll, C. L. Baine, Joseph Obergfell. Conventions yearly.

**Label Campaign.**—On May 6 a conference was held at Washington, D. C., under the joint auspices of the department and the American Federation of Labor, at which a comprehensive label campaign lasting 40 weeks was mapped out. Representatives of 60 national and international unions were present. The country is to be divided into five districts. Each district is to be covered by four people: an advance agent, a moving picture machine operator, an entertainer, and a lecturer. Meetings are to be arranged by the advance agent in cooperation with state federations of labor, city central bodies, chambers of commerce, Kiwanis

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<sup>1</sup> A bill embodying these provisions was introduced in both houses of Congress on January 8, 1926.

clubs, and Rotary clubs. At these meetings lectures, illustrated by moving pictures, will be delivered explaining the benefits of the union label.

## MINERS AND QUARRYWORKERS

### United Mine Workers of America

Organized, 1890. Joined A. F. of L., 1890. General president, John L. Lewis; general secretary, Thomas Kennedy. General Executive Board: Vice-presidents: Alexander Campbell, John Ghizzoni, John O'Leary, A. R. Watkins, Philip Murray, N. J. Ferry, Ora Gasaway, John J. Mates, James Johnson, C. C. Webster, Edward Dobbins, D. W. Watkins, James Harvey, O. F. Nigro, Rod McDonald, G. E. Mikel, Tony Radalj, W. D. Duncan, William Stevenson, Andrew Steele, William Hayes, David McKee. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—There has been much unemployment among coal miners. During 1925 many union soft coal mines shut down, and re-opened as non-union mines paying the 1917 scale. In November 40 per cent of soft coal output was union mined, as against 70 per cent in 1919. During the first three months of 1925 accidents caused the death of 592 miners, or 3.92 men per 1,000,000 tons.

It is still difficult to send organizers into West Virginia.

**Coal River Collieries.**—The dispute with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers over non-union operation of the Coal River Collieries in West Virginia and Kentucky, in large measure owned by the Brotherhood and its members, continues. The A. F. of L. and some of its branches have endorsed the position of the United Mine Workers in this controversy.

**Convention Postponed.**—On a referendum initiated by the officers the convention was postponed from January, 1926, to January, 1927, as the agreement with the bituminous operators expires in that year.

**Scranton Conference.**—A convention of anthracite miners representing Districts 5, 7, and 9 was held at Scranton, Pa., on June 29, to formulate the terms to be presented to the operators in the negotiation for renewal of the anthracite agreement.<sup>1</sup>

**Left Wing.**—The left wing was strong enough in 1924 to poll 66,000 votes for Voyzey, its candidate for president, as against 136,000 for John L. Lewis. The program of the Trade Union Educational League among the miners includes opposition to wage cuts, a wage increase, the six-hour day, the five-day week, a national agreement to cover the entire industry, nationalization of the mines, and organization of the unorganized.

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<sup>1</sup> See Labor Disputes, p. 209.

### International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers

Organized, 1893. Joined A. F. of L., 1896. General president, Charles H. Moyer; general secretary, Ernest Mills. General Executive Board: William Davidson, James B. Rankin, John Turney, Alfred Bordsen. Conventions every two years.

**Organizing Campaign.**—The efforts of the organization were principally devoted to an organizing campaign in the zinc and lead industry. Effort was also made to educate and bring into the American labor movement the Mexican mine workers in Arizona.

In a number of localities where the union has organizations, it successfully renewed agreements without reduction in wages and in some cases with increases.

### Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers

Organized, 1919. Joined A. F. of L., 1919. General president, Walter H. Yarrow; secretary-treasurer, J. L. Coulter. Conventions every two years.

**Organization.**—The organization has been weak since the failure of the 1921 strike. It then lost control of virtually the entire field except California. The 12-hour day, the seven-day week, and low wages again became prevalent. In June R. H. Stickel resigned to permit Walter H. Yarrow, founder of the union, to return to the presidency. At the same time plans were made for an organization campaign in Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Wyoming, and Louisiana. Efforts will be made to achieve "organic relations" with all trades and crafts in the oil fields. The *Oil Worker*, the organ of the California oil workers, became the organ of the international.

**Insurance.**—The California Oil Workers, District 1, adopted a group insurance plan which went into effect April 1. The death benefit is \$500, for an annual premium of \$4.80.

**Conditions.**—Unemployment, the open shop campaign, and the company union are the chief problems confronting the industry.

### Quarry Workers' International Union of North America

Organized, 1903. Joined A. F. of L., 1903. General president, John W. McAulay; general secretary, Fred W. Sutor. General Executive Board: Thomas Ford, Peter McAulay, William Duncan, Tyler Thompson, R. J. Menard. Conventions when called by referendum.

**Conditions.**—Except for a short period of activity in the spring, employment in granite quarries was irregular. Agreements were made at Concord, N. H., and at Rockport and Lanesville, Mass. These agreements expire on April 1, 1923, provide for the eight-hour day, with five hours on Saturday, and call for arbitration of grievances.

## RAILROAD WORKERS

## Order of Railway Conductors of America

Organized, 1868. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. General president, L. E. Sheppard; general secretary, E. P. Curtis. Trustees: J. D. Condit, J. H. Mooney, A. Anderson. Conventions every three years.

**Activities.**—The order was especially active for the Howell-Barkley bill. An amendment to the law governing locomotive inspection was secured, authorizing appointment of 15 new inspectors, and increasing the salary of inspectors to \$3,600. Membership totalled 59,000.

**Convention.**—The 38th convention was held at Minneapolis, Minn., May 4-22. The immigration law and the immigration policy of the United States were approved. The convention called for income tax reciprocity with Canada. Payment of union pensions is to be suspended for at least three years, and will then be resumed only if \$1,000,000 is in the fund. The convention voted to establish a home for aged members, and for the wives and widows of members.

## Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers

Organized, 1863. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. General president, William B. Prenter; secretary-treasurer, Charles E. Lindquist. Advisory Board: L. G. Griffing, H. P. Daugherty, A. Johnston, F. A. Burgess, T. J. Bissett, A. O. Smith, G. W. Laughlin, H. E. Wills, M. E. Montgomery, S. H. Huff, Ash Kennedy. Conventions every three years.

**Agreements.**—By February the western railroads, with three exceptions, had signed an agreement similar to that accepted by the New York Central. Wage increases ranging from 24 to 36 cents a day were granted.

**Coal River Collieries.**—In defending his position in the dispute with the United Mine Workers, President Stone stated through the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* that to use union labor in a competitive open-shop district would unduly penalize the Coal River Collieries, which are owned by members of the brotherhood. He claimed that the miners employed were satisfied with the "cooperative" plan under which they work; every miner is a stockholder and shares in the earnings; he lives at a low rent in company houses and buys supplies at "cost of service" from company stores; he receives, besides, insurance to the amount of \$1,000 without charge.

**Banking.**—The brotherhood opened new banks in Birmingham, Ala., and in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia bank is a Title and Trust Company, capitalized at \$750,000. A new building was erected to house the Cleveland bank. A large amount of space is given in the *Journal* to investment advice to members.

**Death of Warren Stone.**—President Warren S. Stone, who had held office since 1903, died in June. He was succeeded by First Vice-President William B. Prenter. President Stone, more than any other one person, was responsible for the development of labor banking, not only in his own organization, but in the labor movement in general.

**Jurisdiction Question.**—A referendum was initiated on the continuance of the Chicago agreement with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. This dispute grows out of the engineers' claim to seniority rights in the jobs of the firemen. Railroad retrenchment and motor-car competition has caused lay-offs and has brought this question to a head.

**Politics.**—The brotherhood participated in the February Convention of the C. P. P. A. It also joined in the campaign which elected Robert M. La Follette, jr., to the Senate from Wisconsin.

### Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen

Organized, 1873. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. International president, D. B. Robertson; general secretary-treasurer, A. W. Hawley; assistant president, Timothy Shea. Vice-presidents: Arthur J. Lovell, Albert Phillips, C. V. McLaughlin, S. A. Boone, C. J. Goff, O. D. Hopkins, H. H. Lynch, F. W. Lewis, Jonas A. McBride, Fred Barr. Board of Directors: J. P. Farrell, M. O. Laisure, R. J. Tillery, C. F. Thomas, A. B. Miller, F. B. Andrews, R. E. Moon. Conventions every three years.

**Organization.**—There was a decrease in membership to 106,808, but the organization remained in good financial condition. Its funds increased; insurance carried for members amounts to \$155,000,000; interest on investments averages \$575,000 a year. About \$1,500,000 was paid out in relief and disability claims in the last year.

**Conditions.**—Wages have been standardized for all districts. The men in the East and Southeast have restored half the reduction enforced on them in 1922 by the Railroad Labor Board. Some railroads have agreed to hire no more Negroes for locomotive service.

**Jurisdiction Dispute.**—Motor-car competition and economy programs of the railroads have caused a large number of lay-offs among engineers. As a result the engineers are insisting on their seniority rights to take over the jobs of the firemen. Friction followed between the Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, who requested concessions. Months of negotiations brought no agreement. The engineers have started a referendum on the continuance or the repeal of the Chicago agreement between the two organizations.

**Dispute with Railroad Labor Board.**—The wage controversy in the West was carried to the Railroad Labor Board by the roads. When officials of the brotherhood refused to attend hearings, the board sought to subpoena them. The United States Supreme Court overruled Judge Wilkerson, who issued the subpoenas, holding that a district court cannot exercise jurisdiction on persons living in other court districts.<sup>1</sup> The dispute with the roads was finally settled by direct negotiations, wages being increased and rules remaining intact.

**Convention.**—The 30th convention met in Detroit, June 1. The child labor amendment, and the Howell-Barkley bill were endorsed. Membership was retained in the Public Ownership League. A proposal to amalgamate with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was rejected. The non-partisan political policy was reiterated, and no move toward forming a labor party was endorsed. Resolutions were adopted against prison made goods, company unions, and the open shop.

### Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen

Organized, 1883. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. General president, W. G. Lee; general secretary and treasurer, A. E. King. General Executive Board: Assistant to president, T. R. Dodge; vice-presidents, W. N. Doak, J. A. Farquharson, John Bannon, G. W. Anderson, A. F. Whitney, W. J. Babe, S. R. Harvey, J. H. McQuaid, W. L. Reed, W. V. Hamilton. Conventions every three years.

**Activities.**—The organization spent the year mainly in working for the Howell-Barkley bill, and in fighting cases before the Railroad Labor Board. It favored the child labor amendment, and the strict enforcement of the immigration law. It supports a legislative bureau at Washington. Membership was 180,000.

**Conditions.**—Competition of bus-lines with the railroads is causing some concern, and the brotherhood favors control of motor-transport lines by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

**Organization.**—The employment bureau placed 4,041 men from July 1, 1922, to December 31, 1924. In death and disability claims \$10,364,491.54 was paid out to 6,210 claimants. This fund has a balance of \$5,904,449.78. The insurance department has 177,761 members who are insured for \$298,324,575. A pension fund, inaugurated in 1923, now has 5,733 members and is paying pensions to 26 men. The tuberculosis fund was maintaining 191 members in sanitariums on December 31, 1924.

A film giving the history of the brotherhood will be shown as widely as possible.

**Convention.**—The fourth triennial convention was held at Cleveland, May 12-June 5, 1925. It extended the pension age

<sup>1</sup> See Court Decisions, p. 282.

limit to 65, and established the policy of non-endorsement of political candidates and non-affiliation with any political party. The Cleveland compact with the Railroad Conductors for amicable settlement of jurisdiction questions proved unworkable and was abrogated as of August 1, 1925. Legislation is to be asked of Congress to relieve baggage and expressmen from the handling of mail and parcel-post packages. Trainmen are not to take train-orders over the telephone. A new wage movement, looking to increases for all classes of trainmen, was planned.

### **United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers**

Organized, 1886. Joined A. F. of L., 1900. General president, Fred H. Fljoldal; general secretary, Elmer E. Millman. Executive Board: Frank H. Sillik, W. O. Beaver, John F. Towle, E. J. Hopcraft, George H. Davis. Conventions every three years.

**Railroad Labor Board.**—The Railroad Labor Board made some minor improvements in the conditions of maintenance of way men, especially with reference to overtime pay for Sundays and holidays. It failed, however, to settle the chief question at issue between the men and the roads, that of overtime pay for all work in excess of eight hours a day. The decision was accepted with protest, and the men are working to have it changed. The Maine Central sought to have a company union recognized by the Railroad Labor Board; by a vote of the workers the company union was rejected. A new wage increase movement has been initiated.

**Convention.**—The triennial convention met at Detroit, September 14-24. The B. & O. plan of collaboration with railroad managements was approved. A resolution condemning Communism was adopted. A resolution endorsing amalgamation was defeated, reversing a previous decision endorsing amalgamation of railroad unions. The office of historian was created, and a history of the brotherhood is to be prepared.

### **Order of Railroad Telegraphers**

Organized, 1886. Joined A. F. of L., 1899. General president, E. J. Manion; general secretary, Leonard J. Ross. General Executive Board: H. C. Alexander, B. E. Nason, G. E. Soyster, W. P. Hutchinson, J. F. Miller. Conventions every three years.

**Pennsylvania Railroad.**—The organization has been engaged in a four-year struggle against the Pennsylvania Railroad for the right to represent railroad telegraphers in negotiations over wages and conditions. The Railroad Labor Board has decided that, in view of a vote among the workers in which the union was designated their representative, the Pennsylvania Railroad should deal with the union committee. The railroad has sought

to nullify this decision, and has organized an employees' representation plan which has been repudiated by the telegraphers.

**Conditions.**—The Railroad Labor Board issued a number of other decisions affecting wages and rules, but made no far-reaching changes. The organization grew in membership, in spite of the open shop and company union movements.

**Activities.**—The organization worked for the adoption of the Howell-Barkley bill. It conducts the Telegraphers' National Bank at St. Louis.

### Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America

Organized, 1908. Joined A. F. of L., 1914. General president, D. W. Helt; general secretary, T. A. Austin. General Executive Board: M. C. Merritts, M. N. Napper, R. C. Rodgers, A. E. Lyon, Grant Griffith, V. Sanders. Conventions every two years.

**Jurisdiction Dispute.**—The jurisdiction dispute with the Electrical Workers, which came before the El Paso Convention of the A. F. of L. in 1924, has not yet been satisfactorily settled.

**Conditions.**—For the most part the time of the organization has been spent in maintaining wages and conditions. The Railroad Labor Board decided that signalmen called to do emergency work on Sundays and holidays were not entitled to overtime pay; relief signalmen are entitled to overtime; overtime is not to be allowed for shifts.

### Switchmen's Union of North America

Organized, 1894. Joined A. F. of L., 1906. General president, T. C. Cashen; general secretary, M. R. Welch. General Executive Board: T. G. Meaney, M. S. Meehan, A. D. Manley, F. J. McAllen, P. J. Carter. Conventions every three years.

### Railroad Yardmasters of America

Organized, 1918. General president and secretary, William M. Brown. General Executive Board: T. F. Bumcrots, J. I. O'Brien, C. H. Wlehe, Harry Barker, Ed. Bennett, J. H. Brittain, G. F. Grogan, J. H. Ferguson, H. T. Cook, John Cullinan, J. P. Williams, W. C. Williard, S. C. Dorsett, G. L. Kelley. Conventions every three years.

### American Train Dispatchers' Association

Organized, 1917. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. General president, J. G. Luhsen; general secretary-treasurer, C. L. Darling. General Executive Board: W. J. Potts, O. H. Braese, A. M. Gorman. Conventions every two years.

**Convention.**—The sixth biennial convention met at Chicago, in July. A widows' and orphans' benefit fund was established; the benefit will be set at \$300 after 300 members have joined the fund. Affiliation with the C. P. P. A. was renewed. The organization seeks abolition of the speed-up, abolition of tele-

phoning of messages, reduction of territory for dispatchers, and reduction in the number of train-sheets handled. It is opposed to giving dispatchers any of the duties of flagmen.

The union owns its national headquarters.

### **Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America**

Organized, 1888. Joined A. F. of L., 1900. General president, Martin F. Ryan; general secretary, J. M. Ellis. General Executive Board: S. L. Watts, John Johnson, John S. Wilds, Charles E. Whitlow, J. W. Seabolt. Conventions usually every four years.

**Activities.**—The organization is recovering from the effects of the 1922 strike and is gaining in membership. All the strikes are now ended. The union worked for the Howell-Barkley bill. It was represented at the February meeting of the C. P. P. A. The 1922 strike made it impossible to acquire an office building, as decided by the 1921 convention.

**Left Wing.**—Before the convention met some left wing agitation developed. In addition to the usual amalgamation program, the insurgents demanded a joint campaign with other railroad unions for organization of the unorganized, and repudiation of the B. & O. plan.

**Convention.**—The 15th quadriennial convention met at Kansas City, Mo., September 14-28. A resolution to change the preamble of the constitution so as to put the union on record in favor of "forming a political party of all producers" was defeated. An amendment calling for election of officers by referendum was defeated, as was a move to give Canadian lodges greater autonomy.

An organization campaign in conjunction with the other railroad unions was planned. Plans for the purchase of a building are to be revived. The executive board was directed to investigate the proposal to send four scholarship students to Brookwood, and to investigate group insurance.

The convention endorsed the Howell-Barkley bill, the child labor amendment, and the world court. State pension laws were demanded. A resolution for the repeal of the Volstead act was referred to the executive board.

The password and much of the secret ritual were dropped. The Trade Union Insurance Company, labor banking, the People's Legislative Service, and the B. & O. plan were endorsed. Support was promised the anthracite strikers; a collection was taken up for the strikers on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Several resolutions favoring amalgamation were voted down, but a resolution making it impossible to submit the question to referendum vote for four years was also defeated. President

Ryan and the executive board were instructed to discover and expel the author of an article in the *Daily Worker* dealing with the convention and attacking the officials. A resolution for recognition of Soviet Russia was defeated.

**Elections.**—A number of contests developed, but no insurgents were elected to the new executive board. Frank Paquin, who attacked William Z. Foster for his former relations with the I. W. W., defeated Gipple, a progressive, by a vote of 1,375 to 1,141.

### **Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees**

Organized, 1899. Joined A. F. of L., 1908. General president, E. H. Fitzgerald; general secretary, George S. Levi. General Executive Board: J. H. Sylvester, R. P. Dee, H. F. Baldwin, George M. Harrison, C. R. Briceland, F. H. Hall, E. V. Badley. Conventions every three years.

**Dissension.**—During the year many express workers seceded from the brotherhood and formed the American Federation of Express Workers. They charged that Grand President E. H. Fitzgerald had launched a \$10,000,000 investment company, misusing his official position in this connection. He was found guilty by the grand executive board, reprimanded, and asked to resign from the presidency of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks' National Bank. His supporters then brought charges against the executive board and Fitzgerald suspended that body. In court proceedings brought by Charles Herbst, an injunction was issued restraining Fitzgerald from interfering with the executive board. The convention later affirmed its belief in Fitzgerald's guilt, but re-elected him to office.

**Express Workers.**—The El Paso Convention of the A. F. of L. gave the Teamsters jurisdiction over express workers. According to the express workers the new executive body elected by the union convention acted against their interests in submitting this jurisdiction dispute to a joint conference. The express workers then seceded.<sup>1</sup> The Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L. voted to suspend the Railway Clerks unless they obeyed the orders of the El Paso Convention within 90 days.

**Convention.**—The 12th convention of the brotherhood was held at Kansas City, Mo., May 4-15. The entire administrative machinery was reorganized. Executive and judicial power between conventions is vested in a new grand executive council

<sup>1</sup> See American Federation of Express Workers, p. 112.

which consists of the grand president, the secretary-treasurer, and the vice-presidents. A board of trustees, consisting of five members elected by the convention, is to audit the books every six months. Charges against officers are to be heard by boards of advocates drawn by lot from system and division officers.

A new organization fund of 60 cents per capita yearly was instituted, and the per capita tax for the death benefit fund was increased to 60 cents. Regulations to protect union standards were strengthened so that any local division or system committee may act to prevent violations. No changes in conditions or wages are to be made without the approval of the vice-president in charge of the district.

The convention favored laws to provide machinery for the adequate settling of labor disputes; to regulate motor vehicles; to regulate the handling of mail by express messengers; to provide old age pensions; and to prevent unemployment. It favored adoption of the child labor amendment. It also favored continuance of the policy of non-partisan political action. It reaffirmed a previous resolution favoring the amalgamation of railroad and transport workers into a working body capable of united action.

### American Federation of Express Workers

Organized, 1925. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. General president, James J. Forrester; secretary-treasurer, H. O. Richardson.

**Organization.**—This union was organized on August 3, 1925, in Chicago by express workers affiliated with the Brotherhood of Steamship Clerks who were, by a ruling of the American Federation of Labor, to be turned over to the Teamsters.<sup>1</sup> It claims a membership of 18,000.

**Activities.**—The new organization entered into an agreement with the American Railway Express Company and with the South-eastern Express Company. Active organization work was carried on in the New York and New England districts. A convention was planned on a date early in 1926 to perfect the organization, and to arrange for future work.

### Order of Sleeping Car Conductors

Organized, 1918. Joined A. F. of L., 1919. General president, M. S. Warfield; general secretary, W. O. Murphy. General Executive Board: Ilot Johnson, J. M. Alexander, J. H. Cole, W. F. Breen, L. S. Lankton, F. J. Glass. Conventions every three years.

**General.**—The organization is reported flourishing in spite of bad business conditions. A decision of the Railroad Labor Board,

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<sup>1</sup> See American Federation of Labor, p. 88.

on December 4, 1923, assures sleeping car conductors a voice in determining wages and conditions. The Pullman Company has tried, so far without success, to nullify the effects of this decision. The officers reported the existence of factionalism.

The organization protested against endorsement by the A. F. of L. of the Howell-Barkley bill because it was not consulted when the measure was drafted, and because sleeping car conductors were not adequately protected under its provisions. It opposed the bill before the Senate committee.

**Convention.**—The third triennial convention was held March 9-12 at Kansas City, Mo. The portfolio system was abolished, and an executive board consisting of the six vice-presidents was established. This board has power to audit books, to act as advisor to the president, to decide disputed insurance claims, and to hear charges against officers. The president, secretary-treasurer, and the executive board were given power to invest organization funds in approved securities.

**Policy.**—A move toward amalgamation with other railway unions had been rumored among the membership. The officers reported that no such step was contemplated. The convention adopted a resolution requesting the Pullman Company to establish a system of cooperation with the Union similar to that set up by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the shop crafts unions.

### Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Organized, 1924. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. General organizer, A. Phillip Randolph; secretary-treasurer, Roy Lancaster. General Executive Board: A. L. Totten, W. H. Des Verney.

**Conditions.**—The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was organized to combat the company union organized in 1920. It purposes to substitute a living wage for the present wage of \$67.50 a month and tips. Pullman porters have no regular hours of labor.

**Organization.**—The organization is not affiliated with any other body, but has the approval of President William Green in its effort to organize the porters. The *Messenger* is the official organ of the brotherhood.

In November A. L. Totten, Roy Lancaster, and S. M. Grain were dismissed from the Pullman service for union activities. In December the porters of the eastern district demanded a probe into the relations between the railroads and United States Assistant Attorney General Perry W. Howard, who was reported to be campaigning against the organization.

### **American Federation of Railroad Workers**

Organized, 1901. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. General president, Edward Hoskins; general secretary, George Eckroth. Board of Managers: J. Newton Brown, Charles W. Koenig, William J. Beattie.

**Activities.**—This organization carried on its efforts to organize all railroad workers into one union, irrespective of class. It opposed the Howell-Barkley bill on the ground that the measure would tend to perpetuate craft organizations, and because it proposes compulsory representation on bi-partisan boards. Other activities included a campaign against the open shop, against the company union, and for better conditions generally.

## **LAND TRANSPORT, OTHER THAN RAILROADING**

### **Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.**

Organized, 1892. Joined A. F. of L., 1893. General president and secretary, William D. Mahon. General Executive Board: R. L. Reeves, Edward McMorro, Magnus Sinclair, P. J. Shea, J. H. Reardon, A. H. Burt, William F. Welch, J. B. Lawson, Fred A. Hoover. Conventions every two years.

**Agreements.**—The union has 213 wage agreements. In 1925 six locals had to accept wage reductions, 26 others received increases, while 99 renewed agreements at the old wages.

A typical agreement is that in force up to July 1, 1925, in San Antonio, Tex. This provided for wages of \$5 to \$6.08 a day for 10 hours' work in 12, for one day's rest in 15, and for a vacation of 15 days, without pay, for each year of service up to a maximum of 90 days.

**Organization.**—The general executive board in February, 1925, voted \$600 to the non-partisan political program of the A. F. of L., and \$200 to the support of the United Leather Workers. It received an exhaustive report on various plans of company and group insurance, and while favoring no particular plan, ruled that all contracts and agreements must in future contain an insurance provision.

**Strike Costs.**—In the two-year period since the preceding convention 74 disputes were arbitrated, and 22 strikes were called. Strike costs amounted to \$113,792.12.

**Jurisdiction Disputes.**—Jurisdiction disputes with the Machinists, the Hoisting Engineers, and the Teamsters are still pending.

**Convention.**—The 19th biennial convention met at Montreal, Canada, September 14-22. The constitution was changed to give the general executive board power to intervene in dissensions in the local divisions and to act in cases of slander of the

international officers. Per capita tax was increased from 75 cents to \$1. Two resolutions favoring amalgamation were defeated. The convention favored the eight-hour day, and one day's rest in seven. It opposed the one-man car. The general executive board is to study a compulsory pension plan, possibly in conjunction with the Union Labor Insurance Company. A resolution was adopted demanding citizenship rights for Debs. Recognition of Soviet Russia was defeated.

### **International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers of America**

Organized, 1899. Joined A. F. of L., 1899. General president, Daniel J. Tobin; general secretary, Thomas L. Hughes. General Executive Board: Michael J. Cashal, Michael Casey, Patrick Berrill, John Geary, Harry Jennings, D. J. Murphy, William F. Hart. Conventions every five years.

**Jurisdiction Disputes.**—Jurisdiction disputes were frequent, the most acute being that with the Amalgamated Street Railway Employees. This organization was accused by the Teamsters of breaking a strike of bus drivers in New Jersey.

The demand of the Teamsters for jurisdiction over express workers affiliated with the Railway Clerks was recognized by the A. F. of L., and a secession of the express workers resulted.<sup>1</sup>

**Convention.**—The 11th convention met at Seattle, September 7-14. A proposal to put the union label on all goods handled by teamsters was referred to the executive council. The salaries of the president and of the secretary were increased from \$9,000 to \$15,000 a year.

### **International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers of the United States and Canada**

Organized, 1874. Joined A. F. of L., 1893. General president, Timothy Healy; secretary-treasurer, Hubert S. Marshall. Executive Council: Joseph C. Sweetin, John J. Dugan, Bud Clark. Conventions every two years.

**General Conditions.**—The organization has been much affected by the displacement of horse-drawn vehicles by motor trucks. The weekly wage of \$52.50 obtained after threat of strike in Jersey City is slightly higher than prevailing rates.

**Convention.**—The 37th convention met in Cincinnati, July 20-25. Several changes were made in the constitution. Insurance questions were left to the local unions. A resolution favoring modification of the Volstead act was adopted.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 112.

## MARITIME WORKERS

### International Seamen's Union of America

Organized, 1892. Joined A. F. of L., 1903. General president, Andrew Furuseth; general secretary, Victor Olander. General Executive Board: Patrick Flynn, Thomas Conway, P. B. Gill, Percy J. Pryor, William H. Brown, Oscar Carlson. Conventions every year.

**Conditions.**—The blacklist is less frequently used, except on the Pacific Coast. Violations of law on board ships have increased; the union seeks to have administration of the seamen's law transferred from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Labor. The Alaskan fishermen failed in an effort for a wage increase. The executive board decided in September to attempt to arrange a conference with the ship-owners for a discussion of wages and working conditions.

**International Seamen's Code.**—President Furuseth went to Europe in July to attend sessions of the International Labor Conference on the proposed international seamen's code. He opposed the code because it embodied the master and servant law which permits imprisonment of a seaman for failure to fulfill a contract on shore. This law is still in force in England, Norway, and several other countries.

**Politics.**—The union supported the LaFollette campaign and contributed \$4,210 to the campaign fund. The convention, however, refused to send delegates to the February, 1925, meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

**Convention.**—The 28th convention met at Buffalo, January 12-17, 1925. Resolutions were passed against the practice of keeping visitors out of the fore-castle, and against the 12-hour day and seven-day week in force on some Lake steamers. A law was demanded to provide a continuous discharge book. The convention approved the deportation of aliens brought in as seamen if they belong in classes excluded under other provisions of the law.

The fight against the I. W. W. is to be continued. A resolution to make the holding of a convention dependent on a call by the executive board was voted down. A proposal to move union headquarters to Washington, D. C., was referred to the 1926 convention.

### International Longshoremen's Association

Organized, 1892. Joined A. F. of L., 1896. General president, Anthony J. Chlopek; general secretary, John J. Joyce. General Executive Board: Joseph R. Ryan, William B. Jones, James E. Tighe, William F. Dempsey, G. W. Millner, S. P. O'Brien, O. J. Kavanagh, J. C. Bjorklund, H. Johnson, F. J. Lavalle, G. Norman, J. G. O'Neill, James Wilson. Conventions every two years.

**Convention.**—The 1925 convention met at Montreal, August 10-17. It endorsed a federal compensation law for longshoremen working on board ship; the A. F. of L. Convention was requested to endorse the measure.

### National Organization, Masters, Mates, and Pilots of America

Organized, 1887. Joined A. F. of L., 1914. General president and secretary, John H. Pruett. General Executive Board: William T. Daniels, George E. Caffee, C. E. Hill, J. J. Scully, S. G. Post, A. B. Devlin, R. S. Lavender, D. W. Pratt, George W. McVay. Conventions every two years.

**General.**—The organization has not yet entirely recovered from the effects of the strike of 1921-22. Agreements are in force with the railroad companies, with the United States Shipping Board, and with private owners.

### National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association

Organized, 1875. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. General president, William S. Brown; general secretary, George A. Grubb. General Executive Board: William J. Garrett, William H. Hyman, Charles M. Sheplar, Samuel J. Hogan, John R. Floud. Conventions every year.

**Organization.**—Organization conditions are poorest on the Pacific Coast, due to the general drive against labor organizations. The association favored a number of bills affecting shipping and transportation, and urged the passage of the Howell-Barkley bill.

**Jurisdiction.**—The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers asked the A. F. of L. for jurisdiction over marine engineers. Several hearings were held. A referendum vote on re-affiliation with the A. F. of L. showed 793 in favor, and 3,219 opposed. Later the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L. gave the Steam and Operating Engineers the jurisdiction they demanded.

**Convention.**—The 50th convention was held at Washington January 19-23, 1925. The sessions were largely concerned with legislation governing shipping and the working force on ships. Three resolutions, requesting that Shipping Board vessels be given a fair share of business; that the Philippine Islands and other American possessions in the Pacific be included in the coast-

wise trade regulations; and that the efforts of H. O. Schundler to purchase Shipping Board vessels be favored, were endorsed and referred to the union president for investigation and action. A bill to provide for retirement for disability in the Lighthouse service was favored.

A move to create the office of river business manager was defeated. The president was requested to visit the Pacific Coast to perfect the organization there.

## BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

### International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen

Organized, 1896. Joined A. F. of L., 1915; suspended, 1920. General president, W. M. Welsh; general secretary, F. E. Langdon. General Executive Board: T. D. Bryson, J. S. Sullivan, J. W. Tracy, M. J. Parkinson, George R. Dempster, J. H. LaForce, A. R. Mullin, J. E. Sims, W. J. McDevitt. Conventions every two years.

**Suspension.**—The Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L. refused to reopen the case of this organization, which was suspended in 1920 after a jurisdiction dispute with the Steam Engineers.

**Organization.**—By referendum vote it was decided to transfer the handling of the death benefit fund from general headquarters to the district representatives and local secretaries.

### Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union

Organized, 1910. Joined A. F. of L., 1910. General president, Thomas J. Curtis; general secretary, John J. Collins.

**Conditions.**—The membership of the union is slowly increasing. All agreements call for a daily wage of \$9. The contractors engaged in building new subways in New York are paying only \$6.40 a day; and in entering bids for the proposed subways contractors are basing their figures on this wage. The union is engaged in a struggle to enforce the higher wage scale.

### International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers

Organized, 1896. Joined A. F. of L., 1897. General president, Arthur M. Huddell; general secretary, Dave Evans. General Executive Board: Vice-presidents James A. Cooley, John Possehl, Michael Murphy, James W. Graham, C. F. Buckland. Conventions every two years.

**Insurance.**—The new death benefit plan proposed by the 1924 convention was adopted, and in consequence the per capita tax was raised to 60 cents a month. After July 1, 1926, the benefit will be \$100 provided the member was in good standing for six months before death; after July 1, 1927, the benefit will be \$250, and the member must have been in good standing for

two years; after July, 1930, the benefit will be \$500, and the member must have been in good standing for five years.

**Organization.**—A committee was appointed to revise the constitution. The A. F. of L. decided to give jurisdiction to the union over marine engineers, provided that those already belonging to the International Longshoremen's Association shall not be affected. Charters were issued to 14 new locals.

### International Association of Bridge, Structural, and Ornamental Iron Workers

Organized, 1896. Joined A. F. of L., 1903. General president, P. J. Morrin; general secretary, W. J. McCain. General Executive Council: D. J. O'Shea, Michael C. Artery, Theodore M. Brandle, George McTague, J. Arthur Evenson, William H. Pope, George Ashley, Ben C. Pitts. Conventions every four years.

**Organization.**—The strike for the union shop is still on in the New York district. It has compelled employers to pay non-union workers the union rate of \$12 a day. An active organization campaign is under way in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Boston, Buffalo, Los Angeles, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Canada. In this drive the initiation fee is to be \$25, and to those who were members on April 30, 1924, and who have allowed membership to lapse, no initiation fee is to be charged.

**Policies.**—The union is committed to non-partisan political action, to the child labor amendment, and to the fight on company unions.

**Left Wing.**—There has been considerable internal friction. Local 18, St. Louis, was disciplined in 1924 for radical activities. Most of its members have been organized into a new local, 396. The remnant of Local 18 brought suit to have the re-organization invalidated, but lost in the courts. Local 97, Vancouver, circularized the other locals against the \$2 monthly assessment authorized by the 1924 convention. Radicals in the union formed several locals into a Pacific Coast District Council, and asked several locals in Eastern Canada to join this move. President Morrin has been issuing statements against this council and against the activities of the radicals in the *Bridge Men's Magazine*. He charges that radical activities frustrate organization work, weaken the union, and are inspired by agents of the employers. He urges strong measures against them. Among the changes he advocates is the stiffening of transfer regulations to prevent rapid moving of radicals from local to local.

### **Journeymen Stonecutters' Association of North America**

Organized, 1853. Joined A. F. of L., 1907. General president, M. W. Mitchell; general secretary-treasurer, Joseph Blasey. Executive Board: George Taylor, Arthur MacPherson, William J. Hagan, James A. Gowan, Alex MacDougall, Joseph Wall, James Taylor, Alex Taylor, James L. Smith.

**Jurisdiction.**—A dispute with the Granite Cutters over the right to work on artificial stone was decided so as to limit granite cutters to artificial stone hard enough to require granite cutters' tools.

### **Granite Cutters' International Association of America**

Organized, 1877. Joined A. F. of L., 1886. General president and secretary, Samuel Squibb. General Executive Board: Angelo Calderara, Alex Ross, Gordon J. Young, David D. Gibb, James Reid, Lawrence Foley. Conventions at call of membership.

**Quincy Agreement.**—In Quincy, Mass., a three-year agreement was made, expiring April 1, 1928. The wage rate is to be \$1 an hour; from March 15 to October 15 the work week is to be 44 hours; during the rest of the year, 40 hours. Time and one-half is to be paid for overtime; double time for Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and nine legal holidays.

No convention has been held since 1921.

### **Bricklayers', Masons', and Plasterers' International Union of America**

Organized, 1865. Joined A. F. of L., 1916. General president, William J. Bowen; general secretary, John J. Gleason. General Executive Board: George T. Thornton, Harry C. Bates. Conventions every two years.

**Dispute with Plasterers.**—Since 1924 the old jurisdiction dispute between the Bricklayers and the Operative Plasterers over which should set artificial stone and prepare walls to receive tile, which was tentatively settled in 1911, has again been acute. A number of strikes have been called because of the inability of the two unions to settle their differences. At a conference arranged by President Green of the A. F. of L., in Atlantic City on October 2, an agreement was reached according to which hostilities between the two organizations were to cease immediately; the 1911 agreement was re-established; interchangeable cards were resumed; and workmen of both organizations were given full freedom to work together. The two organizations and the president of the A. F. of L. are to set up a tribunal to which will be referred the main questions at issue.

**Benefit Funds.**—Between the latest convention, in 1924, and the end of July, 1925, the union spent \$25,000 in sick and death

benefits, and \$70,868 for disabled members and widows of former members.

### **International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America**

Organized, 1903. Joined A. F. of L., 1903. General president, D. D'Alessandro; general secretary, A. Persion. General Executive Board: George Seelhurst, W. W. Cordell, Joseph Moreschl, E. A. Hopkins, V. DeFalco, Joseph Marshall. Conventions at call of membership.

### **United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America**

Organized, 1867. Joined A. F. of L., 1886. General president, William L. Hutcheson; general secretary, Frank Duffy. General Executive Board: T. M. Guerin, John H. Potts, James P. Ogletree, J. W. Williams, W. A. Cole, Arthur Martel. Conventions every four years.

**Elections.**—The elections for general officers precipitated much dissension. The Pittsburgh District Council and a number of local unions protested the elections on the ground that the tabulation committee had proceeded illegally, and that representatives of candidates had not been given due opportunity to scrutinize ballots and tally-sheets. The general executive board, after a hearing, refused to allow the protest.

**Left Wing.**—The left wing, under Trade Union Educational League leadership, alleged that the officials were corrupt. General President Hutcheson, it claimed, had in 1916 prevented the New York carpenters from winning their strike for a \$5.50 daily wage, and had in 1922 signed an agreement in Chicago that was a replica of the Landis agreement. The left wing charged, further, that funds had been misused, that the referendum vote in the matter of the home for old members had been falsified, and that all opponents of the administration were being expelled. These tactics, it alleged, were wrecking the organization. On January 10 Local Union 2140, Detroit, was ordered to drop its president, William Reynolds, from membership because of his activities in the T. U. E. L. The local refused to do so, and the international office sued out an injunction to restrain Reynolds from participating in the affairs of the brotherhood. The charter of Local 2140 was later revoked. The general executive committee reprimanded Local 376, Brooklyn, for endorsing Morris Rosen, left wing candidate for president. It alleged that Rosen's platform "contained planks in opposition to our laws and constitution, and not in conformity with our obligations." Rosen and Delegate Kivowitz, of Local 2717, Brooklyn, were refused seats in the New York District Council. F. N. Burgess, Local 8, Philadelphia, was expelled for publishing literature alleged to be scurrilous.

The program of the left wing, in addition to the usual T. U. E. L. demands, calls for affiliation with the Building Trades Department, abolition of the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards, job control, a five-day, 40-hour week, uniform agreements for all building trades workers, biennial conventions, old age pensions, abandonment of the expulsion policy, and abolition of the right of the general president to suspend members.

In December the left wing nominated a complete ticket in the New York District Council elections. Its program in the district council proposes annual election of officers by referendum, job control, freedom of expression, right of each local union to be the sole judge of the qualifications of its representatives, and submission of amendments to referendum if they are endorsed by five local unions.

It is a rule of the union that no member may belong to the Trade Union Educational League.

**Affiliations.**—Efforts to bring about affiliation with the Building Trades Department failed because the department refused to sever relations with the Board for Jurisdictional Awards.<sup>1</sup> At its meeting in October the general executive board decided to affiliate with the International Federation of Wood Workers' Unions.

### **Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners**

Organized, 1860. Joined A. F. of L., 1890; not now affiliated. General president, T. Bulcock; general secretary, H. Porter. General Executive Board: A. Inverarity, L. Leck, R. Y. Arneil, C. Jimmerson, J. Taylor. Conventions every three years.

**Activities.**—The charter of this organization was revoked by the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1912, after it had refused to amalgamate with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. It claimed at the time that it was not opposed to genuine amalgamation, but was opposed to absorption by the rival organization. It claimed further that to amalgamate would be to "deliver our superannuated and elderly members to the enemies of our cause."

**Court Decision.**—In 1923 a plan of "solidification" which had been in operation since 1914 was abrogated by the general president of the United Brotherhood. Many members of the Amalgamated Society then joined the United Brotherhood, taking with them records, books, and money belonging to the Amalgamated Society. Suits were entered for recovery of this property.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 99.

In 1925 the first of these suits was decided, in New York state, in favor of the United Brotherhood, giving local unions control of their books and funds.

### **International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers**

Organized, 1899. Joined A. F. of L., 1899. General president, William J. McSorley; general secretary-treasurer, A. D. Yoder. General Executive Board: John Bell, Edward N. Kelley, Parker Franks, Edward P. Murphy, R. B. Jefferis, Dean R. Weston, Wilbert A. Williams. Conventions every three years.

**Organization.**—The union experienced considerable difficulty in maintaining its jurisdiction claims against both carpenters and iron workers. Most of the jurisdiction conflicts affected the right to erect metal lath of various types, rather than control over certain groups of workers. In the West the so-called "American plan"<sup>1</sup> made serious inroads on local unions. In spite of this condition, membership increased.

### **Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada**

Organized, 1862. Joined A. F. of L., 1908. General president, Edward J. McGivern; secretary-treasurer, T. A. Scully. Executive Board: Peter G. Cook, James Ward, Peter Magnani, William A. Brennan, Thomas Malloy, Gerald Cronin, James B. Allen, N. N. Carnahan, M. J. McDonough, James S. Hayes, John E. Rooney, Mike Reilly, Walter Redmond.

**Dispute with Bricklayers.**—The most important event of the year was the settlement of the controversy with the Bricklayers.<sup>1</sup> During the dispute President McGivern charged that the Bricklayers were importing British workers in violation of the contract labor law. He also charged collusion between the Bricklayers' union and the contractors on work in Miami, Fla. The Bricklayers' officials denied both charges.

**Convention.**—A special convention met at Cleveland on July 11 to consider the dispute. It voted to uphold the policies of the international executive board, to resist absorption by the Bricklayers, and to submit all disputed points to arbitration by a board with an impartial chairman.

### **International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers**

Organized, 1891. Joined A. F. of L., 1891. International president, J. P. Noonan; international secretary, G. M. Bugnizet. International Executive Board: G. W. Whitford, F. L. Kelly, M. P. Gordon, Edward Nothnagel, M. J. Boyle, Frank Swor, C. F. Oliver, J. L. McBride. Conventions every two years. Telephone Operators' Department: President, Julia O'Connor; secretary, Mabel Leslie.

**Conditions.**—A new schedule for navy yard workers was agreed upon which gives journeymen wages ranging from 86 cents

<sup>1</sup> See Court Decisions, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 120.

an hour at Norfolk, Va., to \$1.03 an hour at Pearl Harbor. This is an increase of 3 cents an hour. Helpers range from 54 cents an hour at Norfolk, Va., to 60 cents at most of the other yards. Men on the night shift receive 5 cents an hour above the day scale.

**Insurance.**—The Union Cooperative Insurance Company was organized under the laws of the District of Columbia, and began issuing policies on January 1, 1925. Members and their dependents may be insured.

**Outside Locals.**—The outside locals, composed of linemen and other open-air electrical workers, are very weak. The international officers ascribe this condition to frequent and unwise strikes, and urge the outside workers to strengthen their organizations. An effort is being made to organize the radio workers.

**Jurisdiction Disputes.**—Jurisdiction disputes arose with the Street and Electric Railway Employees and with the Elevator Constructors. At the spring meeting of the executive board a committee was appointed to discuss differences with the Street and Electric Railway Employees.

**Convention.**—The 18th biennial convention opened in Seattle, on August 17. Proposals to hold the conventions every four or every three years were defeated. The international president and vice-president were given the power to negotiate national agreements with concerns doing an inter-state business. It was decided not to compel local unions to join the state legislative associations of electrical workers. Payment of strike and lockout benefits out of the difficulty benefit fund was suspended for two years. A plan to establish a home for old and incapacitated members was rejected, but the officers are to study the pension question and report to the 1927 convention. The power of a local to set aside the verdict of a trial committee was abolished, but a local may change the penalty imposed by the committee upon a member adjudged guilty. It was decided to organize the electrical shopmen in manufacturing plants and to perfect the organization among navy yard workers. The jurisdiction dispute with the Elevator Constructors was referred to the Convention of the A. F. of L.

**Resolutions.**—Resolutions were adopted protesting against anti-labor injunctions and against private exploitation of public resources. The federal government was asked to retain Muscle Shoals, and operate it as a government plant.

### **United Brotherhood of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada**

Organized, 1889. Joined A. F. of L., 1897. General president, John Coefield; general secretary, Thomas E. Burke.

**Dispute with Machinists.**—A jurisdiction dispute with the Machinists was settled by an agreement which provides that the Plumbers shall have supervision over pipe-fitting of all types, with the exception of ground-joints on locomotives. They shall also have the right to install small power and heating plants when these come complete from the manufacturer.

### **International Union of Elevator Constructors**

Organized, 1901. Joined A. F. of L., 1903. General president, Frank Feeny; secretary-treasurer, Joseph F. Murphy. General Executive Board: Vice-presidents John C. Macdonald, Walter Snow, H. D. Rowan, John Julien, J. A. Harper, I. A. Murphy, James J. McAndrews, Harry Milton. Conventions every five years.

**Conditions.**—The Philadelphia local, in celebrating its 25th anniversary, pointed out that wages had increased from \$18 to \$59.62, and the working week had been reduced from 48 to 44 hours, since the union was organized. Helpers now receive \$39.60 for 44 hours.

### **International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers**

Organized, 1904. Joined A. F. of L., 1904. General president, J. A. Mullaney; general secretary, Thomas J. McNamara.

### **Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America**

Organized, 1887. Joined A. F. of L., 1887. General president, George F. Hedrick; general secretary, Charles J. Lammert. General Executive Board: John M. Finan, Joseph F. Kelley, Charles A. Cullen, Joseph F. Clarke, Clarence E. Swick, Joseph P. Hunter. Conventions every four years.

**Conditions.**—The building boom has favored employment conditions; wages remain high; 30,000 members of the union have the five-day week. New York City is one of the important centers where the five-day week prevails; double time is paid there for overtime work. The union is much concerned about the growing use of the spray-gun which is dangerous to the user.

**Jurisdiction Disputes.**—Disputes between crafts engaged in building caused a number of walk-outs; the international officers advised members to return to work wherever the stoppage was caused by such disputes, and not by failure of the employer to

live up to his agreements. A jurisdiction dispute with the Bricklayers and Masons over the right to work with vitrolite and other types of opaque glass was compromised. A dispute with the Electrical Workers over the right to paint telegraph poles was appealed to the A. F. of L. Convention.

**Convention.**—The 13th general assembly met at Montreal, September 7-15. The principle of a labor party was endorsed. The period between conventions, and the terms of officers, were increased to four years, and the salaries of the president and secretary were each raised \$1,000.

**Left Wing.**—The Trade Union Educational League presented a program calling for a five-hour day and a five-day week, direct election of officers, election of convention committees, and election of vice-presidents by districts. This program was defeated. A resolution was adopted stating that "no member may become a member of a Communist organization opposed to the principles of the American Federation of Labor."

#### **United Slate, Tile, and Composition Roofers', Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association**

Organized, 1902. Joined A. F. of L., 1902. General president, George W. Jones; general secretary-treasurer, J. M. Gavlak. General Executive Board: Peter J. O'Brien, George M. Lauerman, I. H. Parsons, Ben Russell, Henry Sands, Adolph Weidner. Conventions every two years.

**Agreements.**—An agreement was entered into with employers in Cleveland, to last until February 29, 1928, which provides for the 44-hour week, the eight-hour day, and observance of all legal holidays. Until 1926 the wage will be \$1.30 an hour. From 1926 to 1928 the hourly rate is to be the nearest even money, within less than 2½ cents an hour of the average wage of 20 building trades listed in the agreement.

In Youngstown, Ohio, the agreement calls for the eight-hour day, time and one-half for overtime up to 9 p. m., and double time thereafter; double time must also be paid for work on Saturday afternoon, Sunday, and on the five recognized legal holidays. The wage is \$1.30 an hour up to April 1, 1926. Negotiations will be renewed then.

#### **International Association of Marble, Slate, and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers**

Organized, 1916. Joined A. F. of L., 1916. General president, Stephen C. Hogan. General Executive Board: Vice-presidents James P. McGrane, Joseph A. McInerney, Louis Rode, Edward Egan, Homer T. Conner, John J. Conway, John Bowman, Charles Williams, Joseph Sullivan. Conventions every two years.

**Convention.**—The first convention met at St. Louis, February 4-9, 1924. It voted to make efforts to obtain an agreement

with the National Association of Tile Dealers. It asked for a high tariff on finished marble and stone. It also demanded more liberal interpretation of the 18th amendment so as to permit the sale of beer and light wines.

### **Paving Cutters' Union of North America and Canada**

Organized, 1901. Joined A. F. of L., 1904. General president, Carl Bergstrom. Board of Directors: Alexander M. Smith, John R. Griffiths, Andrew Hutcheson, Charles Freeberg, James McPherson, B. W. Lester. No conventions.

**Organization.**—A move to submit the constitution to the membership for revision was defeated in a referendum vote. Fifteen amendments were adopted.

The organization contributed to furnishing a room in the International Labor Office building at Geneva. It also contributed to the strike fund of the Nova Scotia miners.

### **International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Setters**

Organized, 1860. Joined A. F. of L., 1905. General president, Patrick Dillon; secretary-treasurer, Edward I. Hannah. Executive Board: T. M. Dougherty, John E. Pritchard, Charles Martin, Henry Wiltmar, William Baker, Phillip McGinn, James Priestly, Charles Salducter. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—The 44-hour week prevails. The wage scale calls for \$12 a day. The union has complete control of the industry; there has been no strike in 25 years, during which time the wage scale was increased from \$4.50 to the present rate.

### **International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions**

Organized, 1916. Joined A. F. of L., 1916. General president, C. L. Rosemund; general secretary, D. J. Moriarty. General Executive Board: Michael J. Browne, R. C. Smith, Eric A. Black. Conventions every year.

## **METAL TRADES**

### **Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers of North America**

Organized, 1876. Joined A. F. of L., 1887. General president, M. F. Tighe; general secretary, David J. Davis. General Executive Board: Louis Leonard, Ben I. Davis, Herbert F. Reese, R. H. Larner, John Savage. Conventions every year.

**Agreement.**—The union has an agreement with the Western Sheet and Tin Plate Manufacturers by which a union committee has the right to make bi-monthly examinations of sale sheets, with power to supervise the fixing of piece prices on the basis of market prices of the finished articles.

**Convention.**—The 50th annual convention met at Pittsburgh, April 7-21. Dues were increased, subject to approval by referendum vote, according to the following schedule:

Men earning \$5.00 a day will pay	\$1.25 a month
Men earning 5.00 to \$7.50 a day will pay	\$1.50 a month
Men earning 7.50 to 10.00 a day will pay	1.75 a month
Men earning 10.00 to 12.50 a day will pay	2.00 a month
Men earning 12.50 to 15.00 a day will pay	2.50 a month
Men earning 15.00 to 20.00 a day will pay	3.25 a month

The organization voted to ask the American Federation of Labor to establish a radio broadcasting station.

### International Molders' Union of North America

Organized, 1859. Joined A. F. of L., 1886. General president, M. J. Keough; general secretary, Victor Kleiber. General Executive Board: William T. Probert, Charles R. Witham, Fred L. Baumgartner, Dan Regan, James Brown, Roscoe B. Greenway, Gerald Murphy. Conventions every three years if call is approved by referendum vote.

**Conditions.**—The expected boom in the industry failed to materialize. The agreement with the Stove Founders' National Defense Association, the employers' organization, remained unchanged, but several shop strikes were called because of attempts to reduce wages or increase hours. The five-day week prevails.

**Insurance.**—A group insurance plan, with a maximum benefit of \$500, at the cost of \$7.80 a year, has been submitted to the membership. During the first half of 1925 the Sick Benefit Fund paid out \$106,943.20.

**Policy.**—The *International Molders' Journal* carried on an active campaign against Communism in the unions.

The executive board gave local unions autonomy in reinstating expelled and suspended members, and agreed upon a liberal policy in dealing with such members. The effects of this policy are to be studied carefully.

### International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees

Organized, 1904. Joined A. F. of L., 1904. General president, P. J. O'Reilly; general secretary, Leonard Holtschult. General Executive Board: John O'Reilly, George V. Fuller, Dennis Connors, Thomas E. Rogers. Conventions every three years.

**Organization.**—Employment and wage conditions showed a slight improvement over 1924. The international union contains 20 locals. It gives a death benefit of \$100.

### Pattern Makers' League of North America

Organized, 1887. Joined A. F. of L., 1894. General president, James Wilson. General Executive Board: J. L. Gernon, J. S. Forrest, L. R. Thomas, F. G. Dyer, A. J. Berres. Conventions every four years.

**Organization.**—The organization is conducting campaigns for the 44-hour week, a minimum wage rate, and sanitary conditions in the workshops. The general executive board decided to hold no convention; no referendum on the question was called for by the membership.

### International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers, and Helpers

Organized, 1890. Joined A. F. of L., 1890. General president, James W. Kline; general secretary-treasurer, William F. Kramer. Executive Board: A. T. Williamson, G. M. Oliver, J. A. Cranna, Arthur Gledhill, Finlay MacKensie, J. J. Goldman, W. T. Robertson. Conventions dependent upon referendum.

**Conditions.**—Employment conditions have somewhat improved over 1924, but the organization is still suffering from the effects of the railroad shop strike of 1922, the formation of company unions, and the open-shop campaign. Wage conditions vary in different localities and with the degree of control exercised by the union. The agreement with the Great Lakes Dredge and Dock Company gives blacksmiths \$1.10 an hour and helpers 85 cents an hour for an eight-hour day. In New York the union scale calls for \$10.50 a day for mechanics and \$8.50 for helpers. Here, however, an independent organization undermines the scale. On the Soo line, where a company union is in competition with the brotherhood, blacksmiths receive from 72 to 87 cents an hour.

Local unions may no longer issue out-of-work or strike receipts; these are now handled by the general office.

### International Association of Machinists

Organized, 1888. Joined A. F. of L., 1895. General president, William H. Johnston; general secretary, E. C. Davison. Executive Council: Peter J. Conlon, John T. Thorpe, Harley F. Nickerson, Harvey W. Brown, Robert Fechner, William P. Hammon, James Somerville. Conventions every four years.

**Elections.**—The 1924 convention reduced the number of grand lodge members from 18 to 10, and provided that a special election be held in 1925 for membership in the grand lodge. President Johnston, Secretary-Treasurer E. C. Davison, and Editor Hewitt submitted their names for re-election, although this was not required by the decision of the convention. The campaign that followed was extremely bitter. F. W. Anderson ran for general president as an independent.

**Left Wing.**—The left wing demanded endorsement of the Minnesota plan for amalgamation, opposition to the B. & O. collaboration plan, reinstatement of expelled militants and abandonment of persecution against them. Charges of irregularities in previous referendums were made during the election, and denied by the administration. The supporters of Anderson issued circulars attacking the administration, which President Johnston characterized as malicious and untrue. In June, Johnston and his supporters were declared elected.

**Charges of Fraud.**—The left wing charged that the election had been stolen. It asserted that Johnston had permitted the secretary-treasurer to count the votes, in defiance of the constitutional provisions which took the tallying and counting out of the hands of that officer. Various gross irregularities were charged. The administration denied all charges, and took the ground that the constitution sanctioned a count by the secretary-treasurer. The situation was complicated by the fact that the representatives for both Johnston and Anderson at the count certified that the tallying had been conducted honestly.

**Suspension of Anderson.**—Anderson was suspended from membership because of the charges he had made. Anderson's appeal to the membership to reverse the suspension order was signed by 143 lodges; 90 signatures are necessary to bring the question to a referendum vote.

At its August meeting the grand lodge decided that all members of the Workers' Party, the Trade Union Educational League, and the Young Workers' League would have to resign from these organizations within 60 days or suffer suspension.

**Recall Petition.**—Late in the year a resolution was circulated for the recall of all grand lodge officers. This was endorsed by several locals, including that to which Johnston belongs. Johnston decided that the recall petition was illegal.

### Sheet Metal Workers' International Association

Organized, 1888. Joined A. F. of L., 1890. General president, John J. Hynes; general secretary, William L. Sullivan. General Executive Board: Vice-presidents Thomas Redding, David J. Kiniry, William M. O'Brien, James Patterson, Robert P. Campbell, John McCarthy, Fred H. Spangenberg, William P. Butler, Philip Osman, Louis M. Wicklein. Conventions every three years.

**Conditions.**—Men were warned to stay away from Florida and California because of the overcrowding of those fields. The new wage scale in navy yards ranges from 85 cents an hour in Pensacola to \$1.03 an hour in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The

union has an agreement in Pittsburgh which calls for the 44-hour week, \$1.43¾ an hour, and abolition of bonuses.

**Consolidation.**—In accordance with the decisions of the 1924 convention an active movement is under way to consolidate two or more locals in several districts into one. New locals were formed in Florida and elsewhere.

**Politics.**—The general executive board refused to participate in the February meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and disclaimed interest in the formation of a labor party.

### Stove Mounters' International Union

Organized, 1892. Joined A. F. of L., 1894. General president, W. L. Funderburk; general secretary, Frank Grimshaw. General Executive Board: Edward Kaiser, Thomas J. Timmins, Arthur Sapp. Conventions every three years.

**Agreement.**—The stove mounters of Indianapolis entered into a year's agreement, beginning January 1, 1925, with the Indianapolis Stove Company, which established the 48-hour week, a maximum of four hours and 40 minutes on Saturday, and time and one-half pay for overtime. Arbitration of disputes was provided for. The agreement was to be automatically renewed if both parties were satisfied with its working.

### International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, and Helpers of America

Organized, 1880. Joined A. F. of L., 1882. General president, J. A. Franklin; general secretary, Joseph Flynn. General Executive Board: assistant president William Atkinson, vice-presidents John J. Dowd, R. C. McCutchan, Thomas Nolan, Charles McDonald, J. F. Schmitt, Joseph P. Ryan, J. P. Merrigan, H. J. Norton, E. J. Sheehan, M. A. Maher. Conventions every three years.

**General.**—Many shop strikes were called during the year to maintain union conditions. Conditions in navy yards were not satisfactory. The union is interested in the Brotherhood State Bank of Missouri.

**Convention.**—The 14th convention was held at Kansas City, Mo., September 14-25. It decided to contract with the Service Life Insurance Company to insure every member for \$1,000 at a rate of \$1.30 a month; in case of accidental death \$2,000 is to be paid, with no extra premium charge. Any member may take out \$3,000 additional insurance at a rate of \$1.50 a month for each \$1,000. All premiums are to be deposited in the Brotherhood Bank.

An organization campaign is to be begun. Amalgamation resolutions introduced by 12 lodges were defeated.

### Metal Polishers' International Union

Organized, 1891. Joined A. F. of L., 1896. General president, W. W. Britton; general secretary, Charles R. Atherton. General Executive Board: George Leary, John J. Flynn, R. A. Heaphy, Edward Letterman, William Kaufman. Conventions when called by referendum vote.

**Conditions.**—Business and employment conditions were poor, except for a short period in the spring. The 48-hour week is the rule, with time and a half for overtime.

**Agreement.**—An agreement was reached with the Indianapolis Stove Company which gave journeymen metal polishers a 47 per cent increase in piece work rates, the closed shop, and six legal holidays.

**Organization.**—In New York the independent unions among the chandelier workers were broken up, and the men were divided between the Sheet Metal Workers and the Metal Polishers.

### Metal Engravers' International Union

Organized, 1920. Joined A. F. of L., 1921. General president, Norman H. Beach; general secretary, Bjarne H. Alstad. General Executive Board: Harry C. Nordgren, Adolph Larson, Jerry Mestek, Charles F. Lusteck, Emil Rhode. Conventions every year.

**Conditions.**—This organization consists of six local unions. Employment conditions were fair through the year. No changes in wage-rates were noted.

### International Jewelry Workers' Union

Organized, 1916. Joined A. F. of L., 1916. General president, A. J. Gaul; general secretary, J. Eisenberg. General Executive Board: David Levine, Joseph Schwartz, H. J. Moynihan, A. Westphal, George Barrows, Max Pimes, E. D. Becker. Conventions every four years.

**General.**—The union has lost a large part of its membership as a result of growth of machinery in the industry, and of internal dissensions. Local 3, a Boston local, broke away and formed a Boston Jewelry Workers' Protective Association. It alleged that no conventions were being held, and that the membership had no voice in the affairs of the union.

**Convention.**—A convention met in Chicago, September 5. It was reported that a number of eastern locals had withdrawn. An effort will be made to reorganize the industry. A motion to increase the per capita tax was defeated. Conventions hereafter will be held every four instead of every two years.

### American Wire Weavers' Protective Association

Organized, 1876. Joined A. F. of L., 1895. General president, John F. Curley; general secretary, Charles C. Bradley. General Executive Board: John F. Lappen, Thomas S. Routledge, Charles C. Stonke, William W. Beck, George Christie. Does not hold conventions.

**General.**—Hereafter death benefits and benefits for sick and disabled members will be handled through the local unions. Employment conditions are poor. A lock-out is in progress in Ohio, Wisconsin, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts.

## TEXTILE AND CLOTHING TRADES

### United Textile Workers of America

Organized, 1901. Joined A. F. of L., 1901. General president, Thomas F. McMahon; secretary-treasurer, Sara A. Conboy. Executive Council: John H. Powers, Arthur McDonnell, John Hanley, Tobias Hall, George H. White, George Hayes, John L. Campos, William Couvrette, James T. Robertson. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—Employment conditions have been poor. Early in 1925 the New England employers ordered a 10 per cent reduction in wages. In Fall River wages\* were \$14 a week. In southern mills there were also reductions in spite of the already low wage level.

**Organization.**—The industry is poorly organized, but the union engaged in an extensive organization campaign. Many children are employed in textile production; a campaign was conducted for the adoption of the child labor amendment.

**Left Wing.**—The Trade Union Educational League was active in this organization. Its program, besides the usual demands, called for a united front of all textile organizations in opposition to wage reductions and increases in hours.

### American Federation of Textile Operatives

Organized, 1916. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. President, James Tansey; secretary, William E. Batty. Executive Council: Manuel Silva, Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Lomax, Peter Robitaille, Ernest Jones, Richard Thompson, Henry P. Pechie, Edward J. Sweeney, John Unsworth, Josephat Grenier. Conventions every year.

**Conditions.**—Present membership is estimated at 10,000, despite the sharp drop caused by the depression of 1923. Between 25 and 40 per cent of the members in New England have been unemployed. Wage cuts of 10 and 12½ per cent were made.

**Organization.**—The organization spent \$14,000 in strike benefits. Negotiations with the United Textile Workers looking to amalgamation and a united front came to nothing because the independent union felt that the United Textile Workers wanted to "swallow" it.

**Strike Rule.**—It used to be necessary for two-thirds of the unions affiliated with the Fall River Textile Council to agree to a strike before one could be called. This rule was amended so that a general strike of all mills can be called by two-thirds vote of all members voting.

**Convention.**—The 10th convention met at Biddeford, Maine. It decided to enter upon an organization campaign. Speeding-up through the use of the multiple machine system was condemned. Amalgamation, nationalization of mines, and recognition of Soviet Russia were endorsed. The convention also endorsed the Labor Defense Council.

### Amalgamated Association of Elastic Goring Weavers

Organized, 1894. Joined A. F. of L., 1894. General president, Charles Hunter; general secretary, Joseph Hurley.

### Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Organized, 1914. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. General president, Sidney Hillman; general secretary-treasurer, Joseph Schlossberg. General Executive Board: August Bellanca, Hyman Blumberg, Leo Krzycki, Samuel Levin, Lazarus Marcovitz, Anzuino D. Marimpietri, Abraham Miller, Sidney Rissman, Frank Rosenblum, Mamie Santora, Stephan Skala, Morris Weinstein, David Wolf. Conventions every two years.

**Agreements.**—The shirt makers in New York renewed their agreement without change. In Cleveland the joint board agreement was renewed without a reduction in wages, a minimum wage for cutters was established, and an idle time clause was introduced. In Toronto the agreement was renewed; the union refused to accept piece-work, but agreed to production standards. In Chicago the employers presented 25 demands for changes. The most important were the right of discharge without review, readjustment of wages, abolition of restrictions in the cutting room, and measures to insure efficiency and discipline. The agreement was renewed without the granting of these demands, to last three years. Several independent manufacturers in Chicago also ratified the agreement. In Rochester the agreement calls for a committee representing the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange and the union to determine scales where none exist; the employ-

ment bureau was reorganized under supervision of Stuart Brice; employment insurance is to be studied by a joint committee. The employment exchange was opened on June 8. In Baltimore, Sonnenborn ratified an agreement. The San Francisco agreement calls for the 44-hour week.

In New York the impartial machinery re-established in June, 1924, settled 833 disputes. In negotiations for the renewal of the agreement the union demanded establishment of a minimum wage scale, assurance of stability in wages, and an unemployment insurance fund. The employers demanded piece-work, standardization of production in cutting rooms, rescinding of the \$4 increase to cutters, exclusion of business agents from shops during working hours, abolition of the union control committee, and strengthening of the impartial machinery. Neither side was willing to make important concessions, and a strike developed.<sup>1</sup>

**Organization.**—Membership is 125,000. In New York, three locals formed a united executive board to deal with organization matters and to organize workshop conditions. Organization campaigns were conducted in Cleveland, and in New York where the shirt factories were completely organized. Organization work was also done in Rochester, Utica, Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles, and in some New Jersey cities. A Needle Trades Alliance was formed in Scranton, Pa., with the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers and the Journeymen Tailors.

**Nash Plant.**—On December 8 the employees of the Arthur Nash Company of Cincinnati voted, 2,108 to 8, to join the union. The shop had been run on a non-union basis for six years. Arthur Nash stated he did not wish his shop to be used as an example by open-shop propagandists; no group of workers, he said, could set themselves separate and apart from the problems of all the workers.

**Banking.**—The Amalgamated Banks continued to develop. The cash value of their bonds increased. A Philadelphia branch opened on April 11. The New York bank declared a dividend of 2 per cent for the first quarter of 1925, and increased its capitalization \$150,000.

**Left Wing.**—Early in 1925 the general executive board ruled that factionalism in New York must end. It suspended three members of the executive board of Local 5, relieved the whole board of its duties, and assigned an office manager to

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<sup>1</sup> See Labor Disputes, p. 218.

conduct the business of the local. The suspended members were charged with carrying on a systematic campaign of slander against the New York organization. The New York Joint Board suspended the delegates of Local 5, pending investigation of the publication of a circular characterized by the joint board as slanderous. The suspended delegates, it is charged, continued their actions. The circular alleged that wage cuts were being made which influenced other clothing markets, an accusation which the general executive board held interfered with the organization drive. The general executive board also charged that Local 5 had called a shop strike while the joint board was negotiating with the firm in question; the administration empowered the general office to suspend the members of Local 5 should they consider it necessary.

In Chicago, on March 24, a mass meeting adopted a resolution against what it called disruptive tactics. On April 7, seven leaders of the left wing were expelled from Chicago Local 39. In December the left wing charged that three workers active in the campaign to elect Nathan Green as manager of the Chicago Joint Board were dismissed from their jobs through the prejudice of Sam Levin, the then incumbent and candidate for re-election. Levin was later elected by a vote of 13,276 to 1,390.

On April 22, 2,000 members of the left wing made a raid on the general headquarters in New York City.

The charges of the left against the administration are that its policy in making agreements is a policy of class collaboration; that the officers discriminate against left wing members; that free expression of opinion is not permitted in the union; and that the organization is losing its militant class-conscious character. It demands direct negotiation with the employers through elected committees, reinstatement of expelled members, a more militant policy, and unemployment insurance maintained by the employers, with union administration of the funds. It also demands that the men's and children's clothing joint boards in New York be amalgamated.

**Unemployment Insurance.**—In common with other needle trades unions, among whose members seasonal work is a serious problem, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has rapidly developed plans of unemployment insurance. Most of these plans require contributions from the workers as well as the employers, and give the employers a voice in the administration of the funds. The organization paid out in unemployment insurance to the end of the fiscal year, May 1, \$1,126,531.50.

Table 94—Trade Union Unemployment Insurance Plans

Organization	City	Employ- ers' Weekly Contri- bution	Workers' Weekly Contri- bution	Weekly Benefit	Maximum Benefit	Number of Workers Eligible
Amalgamated Clothing Workers	Chicago, Ill.	1½% weekly payroll	1½% of weekly earn- ings	40% of full time weekly wage not over \$20	5 weeks	35,000
	Cincinnati, O. New York, N. Y.			Not yet determined Not yet determined		4,000 45,000
Ladies' Garment Workers	Baltimore, Md.	2½% weekly payroll	1½% of weekly earn- ings		None fixed	1,000
	Boston, Mass.			Not yet determined		
	Chicago, Ill.			Not yet determined		
	Cleveland, O.	10% of weekly payroll		½ weekly mini- mum wage	Number of weeks unem- ployed out of 40 guaranteed	4,000
	Philadelphia, Pa. New York, N. Y.			Not yet determined based on number of weeks of unem- ploy- ment		
	Cloakmakers	manu- fac- turers, 2% of weekly payroll Jobbers, 3% of weekly payroll 2% of weekly payroll	1% of weekly earn- ings		\$120	30-40,000
	Dressmakers	2% of weekly payroll	1% of weekly earn- ings	"	\$120	30-40,000
Amalgamated Lace Operatives	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	Total of opera- tives' weekly contri- bution	\$1	Amount needed to make weekly wage at least \$16	All weeks unemployed when wage is less than \$16	300 in all four cities
	Kingston, N. Y.	"	.50	Amount needed to make weekly wage at least \$15	All weeks unemployed when wage is less than \$15 working or idle	
	Philadelphia, Pa.	"	"			
	Scranton, Pa.	"	"			
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers	Baltimore, Md.	3% of weekly payroll	none	\$10 men \$7 women	7 weeks	75
	Boston, Mass.	"	"	"	"	250
	Chicago, Ill.	"	"	"	"	500
	Milwaukee, Wis.	"	"	"	"	50
	New York, N. Y.	"	"	"	"	3,000
	Philadelphia, Pa. Scranton, Pa.	" "	" "	" "	" "	350 50
United Wall Paper Crafts	19 manufacturers in different places			50 weeks guaranteed 45 weeks full pay 5 with half pay		420

### United Garment Workers of America

Organized, 1891. Joined A. F. of L., 1891. General president, Thomas A. Rickert; general secretary, B. A. Larger. General Executive Board: Henry Waxman, W. Haskins, B. Abrams, Abraham Gordon, Frank Doyle, M. F. Bush, A. Adamski, Daisy A. Houck, J. L. Wines. Conventions every four years.

**Prison Labor Campaign.**—An active campaign was undertaken to counteract the inroads of prison labor on the men's garment trade. Kate Richards O'Hare was employed by the union and the employers to speak at labor organization conventions and civic groups, urging restrictive legislation on prison-made goods.<sup>1</sup> The organization kept up its label campaign.

The organization controls most of the factories producing overalls and work clothes.

### Journeyman Tailors' Union of North America

Organized, 1883. Joined A. F. of L., 1887. General secretary-treasurer, Thomas Sweeney. General Executive Board: C. B. Robel, Herman Holzknecht, H. D. Goehlen, John W. Tesar, Lawrence Lang. Conventions every four years.

**Activities.**—The general executive board voted to send a representative to the conference on the actual labor cost in clothing production proposed by President Green of the A. F. of L. A small left wing movement is active, but has made little progress. The 48-hour week is the union standard, although individual locals are able to demand the 44-hour week.

### International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Organized, 1900. Joined A. F. of L., 1900. General president, Morris Sigman; general secretary-treasurer, Abraham Baroff. General Executive Board: Salvatore Ninfo, David Dublinsky, Elias Reisberg, Max Amdur, Jacob Halperin, Joseph Boruchowitz, Julius Portnoy, Louis Hyman, Julius Hochman, David Gingold, David Godes, Harry Greenberg, Mollie Friedman, Luigi Antonini, Louis Pinkofsky. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—The cloak and suit trade has shrunk, and is still shrinking, as a result of recent changes in fashions. Dresses and waists constitute the bulk of the women's garments produced. There has been a large increase in jobbing and sub-contracting. It is increasingly difficult to enforce union conditions on jobbers and sub-manufacturers, because their shops are small and scattered, and because their books are inadequately kept.

**Organization.**—The New York unemployment fund began operating on June 1. All employees who lost nine weeks' work

<sup>1</sup> See Social and Industrial Conditions, p. 75.

after February 1, received \$2.50 weekly until June 8. The "Prosanis" label campaign under the direction of Henry Moskowitz got under way.

**Governor's Commission.**—Questions in connection with the renewal of the New York coat-makers' agreement were submitted to an advisory committee appointed by Governor Alfred E. Smith in the spring of 1925. The demands of the union before the committee were a minimum guaranteed employment, regulation of sub-manufacturers, a wage increase, reduction of hours, all cloth to be examined by union examiners, and use of union-made trimmings. The employers demanded regulation of productivity, check on shop strikes, thorough unionization of the industries, the right of discharge, re-introduction of piece-work, and the granting of certain advantages to association employers as against independent employers. They were opposed to wage increases and to a guarantee of a fixed term of employment. After lengthy hearings the commission recommended continuance of the old agreement for one year. A research bureau was to be organized under the commission to collect data on disputed points. The commission promised to consider specific demands for a wage increase, and to report on them not later than November 15, unless an earlier settlement had been reached. These recommendations were approved by the joint board, and were ratified on July 17 by a vote of 10,337 to 3,781. The research bureau began work in August.

**Housing Plan.**—With the New York organizations of the Fur Workers, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Workers, and the Pocketbook Workers, the Labor Home Building Corporation was organized, which planned to erect in the Bronx a five-story apartment house costing \$2,000,000 for 220 families. The apartments were to rent to union members at \$14 a room monthly. The project was abandoned because of lack of funds and because of internal dissensions. The Rockefeller Foundation will complete the houses.

**Left Wing.**—The Trade Union Educational League program in the organization included adoption of more militant policies, amalgamation, direct negotiation with the employers through shop committees, maintenance of unemployment insurance by the employers alone, reinstatement of members expelled for radical activity, and cessation of the practice of barring Communist candidates from the ballot. The left wing also raised the issue of proportional representation in the New York Joint Board. The system in vogue at the beginning of the controversy gave each union five delegates irrespective of its size.

**Suspensions.**—On June 6 the general executive board placed the executive boards of New York Locals 2, 9, and 22 under charges, because these locals had refused to collect the \$2.50 assessment levied by the 1924 convention, and had held May Day meetings with speakers who were accused of being enemies of the international and of wishing to place the organization under Communist control. Local 22 was charged, in addition, with using \$2,000 in bonds for the benefit of an organization not connected with the international. On June 11, the joint board of the cloak and dress makers suspended these local executive boards pending trial, and requested the international to take over the treasuries of the suspended locals. The managers of these locals were also suspended. On July 14 a trial board appointed by the international found the suspended officers guilty as charged, and barred some from office for a year and some for three years. The officers of the international took over the management of the joint board. New elections were called for officers of the suspended locals on August 11.

**Joint Committee of Action.**—The left wing formed itself into a joint committee of action. This committee brought suit against the International Union Bank for access to the funds of Local 22. It staged a mass meeting at the Yankee Stadium on July 9, and called a mass meeting of the members of the three locals chiefly affected, and their sympathizers, for Thursday, August 20, at 3 o'clock. The national officers issued an order to all members not to attend. Reports as to the numbers heeding the call of the joint committee of action varied from 12,000 to 30,000. After this demonstration the general executive board announced a program of internal changes. This included immediate election of executive boards of all locals affiliated with the joint board, election of a general manager of the joint board, the right of appeal to the general executive board for all suspended officers, no Communist to be eligible to office, local property to be turned over to the international, re-organization of Locals 2, 9, and 22 to be completed within four weeks, Locals 21, 45, and 64 to have the right to vote only on special questions concerning themselves, the question of proportional representation to be left to the next convention, a convention to be held in December or January instead of in May of 1926 as originally scheduled, and appointment of an entirely new staff of paid officers to the joint board. On August 30 the joint committee of action rejected this proposal and demanded, instead, the reinstatement of all expelled officers, resignation of President Sigman, and proportional representation on the joint board. A

truce was finally reached on September 25, on terms that included tolerance of political opinions, agreement to refer the question of proportional representation to the convention, supervision of the referendum vote on any decision of the convention by a committee appointed by the convention, a review of the case of the convicted local executive boards by the general executive board in conformity with the principle of political tolerance, reinstatement of joint board officers of Locals 2, 9, and 22.

All business agents and district managers of Locals 2, 9, and 22 resigned. Vice-Presidents Feinberg and Perlstein resigned as early as July 27, in the belief that their continuance in office aggravated the situation.

**Convention.**—The emergency convention met in Philadelphia, November 30-December 18. A struggle ensued at once over the report of the credentials committee, which objected to the credentials of 11 delegates for whom the left wing made a fight. The report of the committee was adopted by a vote of 158 to 107. The left wing charged that committee appointments were unfairly made, and that known left delegates were relegated to unimportant committees; for this reason the left refrained from participating in committee work. The executive committee rendered a report giving the administration's version of the dispute in New York; the left presented a minority report condemning the expulsions policy and class collaboration, and putting the blame for the demoralization of the industry on the Sigman administration. The report of the executive committee was adopted by a vote of 140 to 114.

On December 16, the left delegates left the convention. They claimed that the report of the committee on laws with reference to the question of proportional representation on joint boards was a violation of the peace agreement between them and the administration, according to which any decision of the convention on this question was to go to a referendum vote. The report of the committee provided for a modified system of proportional representation and recommended that the convention act on the question of submitting the matter to the membership. President Sigman argued for strict adherence to the terms of the peace agreement; the convention sustained his position and the left delegates returned to the convention.

The plan for proportional representation, which is to be submitted to the membership between six months and a year after the adjournment of the convention, provides one delegate for locals having up to 250 members, two delegates for 250 to 500,

three delegates for 500 to 1,000, and five delegates for 1,000 to 3,000 members.

Locals with more than 3,000 members are to have one additional delegate for each 1,000 additional members or major fraction; no local is to have more than eight delegates. A proposal to retain the present system of five delegates for each local in cities where no local has more than 1,000 members was defeated, the lefts voting against it.

The convention asked Governor Smith to release Benjamin Gitlow.<sup>1</sup> Gitlow was released, and later addressed the convention. A new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, and release of Charlotte A. Whitney were also demanded. The convention voiced disapproval of officials of the American Federation of Labor holding offices in the National Civic Federation, and directed the union's delegates to the American Federation of Labor to introduce a resolution severing relations with the National Civic Federation. The federal government was urged to break off relations with Italy because of Mussolini's suppression of labor and radical opposition. Recognition of Soviet Russia was demanded. Liberty for all political prisoners including those in Russia was asked by a vote of 156 to 108, the left delegates opposing the inclusion of Russia in the resolution. A proposal to send a labor commission to study conditions in Russia was referred to the executive board. The organization favors the formation of a labor party. Registration and deportation of aliens were condemned. The convention decided not to participate in the world trade union unity movement.

Per capita tax was increased from 10 to 15 cents a month. General election of business agents was defeated. The merger of locals 2, 17, and 35 in New York was approved. The convention also approved the peace agreement entered into by the administration and the joint committee of action. A motion to break off negotiations with Governor Smith's commission was defeated. The majority report on this motion said that the "union must use every method, mediation, negotiation and arbitration," with the strike only as a last resort. When a vote to strike has been taken arbitration is to be resorted to only after the strike has been in operation, subject to the judgment of the membership in each market. Wherever possible local organizations shall include in their agreements no limitation of the right to strike. Organization campaigns in partially organized trades and out-of-town markets were authorized.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Civil Liberties*, p. 290.

The 40-hour week and week work for the entire industry were demanded. So also were equalization of wage rates, and a uniform expiration date for all agreements. An educational campaign to popularize week-work will be undertaken.

The convention extended amnesty to all expelled members. Those who had been expelled for membership in the Trade Union Educational League were admitted to full membership privileges. Those who had been found guilty of "overt acts against the union" were reinstated, but it was left to their local unions to determine to what extent they should be permitted to participate in union affairs.

President Morris Sigman was re-elected over Louis Hyman by a vote of 159 to 108. Secretary-treasurer Baroff defeated Charles Zimmerman by 159 to 109. The left succeeded in electing four members of the general executive board, Hyman, Portnoy, Boruchowitz, and Gingold, of whom only Boruchowitz is a member of the Workers' Party.

The Sigman administration looks upon the convention as a vindication of its general policies, and considers all important controversial questions settled. The left claims that the majority for the administration was the result of the unfair system of representation which gives the small locals undue power; it claims that the majority of the membership is behind it. It claims a victory in the convention, not in concrete gains, but in clarification of issues and in the consolidation of a left bloc.

### International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada

Organized, 1913. Joined A. F. of L., 1913. General president, Ozler Schachtman; general secretary-treasurer, Isaac Wohl. General Executive Board: Isidor Winnick, Hyman Sorkin, Luigi Delsignore, Hyman Kalmikoff, Aaron Gross, Milton Corbet, Samuel Budkowitz, Ida Weinstein, Jacob Dissin, Joe Harris, Harry Englander. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—About 9,000 of the 12,000 members work in New York and Brooklyn. Much of the work is still skilled hand work, although some machines have recently been installed. In Brooklyn, wage rates range from \$38 to \$50 a week. It is the policy of the organization to make two and three-year agreements wherever possible. Recently the growth of small contracting shops has become a menace to the union.

**Left Wing.**—In 1925 the left wing opposition, which had entered a truce at the 1922 convention, became active again. It charged suppression of opinion by violence, graft, and acceptance by officials of bribes from employers. Financial irregularities

were proved against A. Brownstein, manager of the New York Joint Board, and Brownstein was dismissed. The left wing then gained control of the joint board, and in May held new elections which retained the left in power. Among the demands of the left were that a special convention be called to settle all questions at issue.

The officers of the international charged the left with disruptive tactics, inefficiency in conducting union affairs, and misuse of union funds in giving \$10,000 to the joint committee of action, and to the leaders of the rebellious cloak makers' unions of the Ladies' Garment Workers. The May elections, the officials claimed, were unconstitutional. They further charged that the joint board had failed properly to support the Montreal strike. To this the left wing answered that the joint board would have offered more hearty support if allowed a voice in the conduct of the strike.

**Emergency Convention.**—An emergency convention met in Boston, November 10-18. The balance of power between the supporters of the administration and the Communists was held by a group calling themselves the progressives, who in most instances voted with the Communists. A fight against the seating of Benjamin Gold, a Communist leader from New York, failed. A telegram, alleged to have been sent by C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers' Party, to the reporter for the *Daily Worker* at the convention, giving instructions as to steps to be taken by the Communists, was read to the convention to prove Communist control over the left wing coalition. The Workers' Party denied responsibility for the telegram. A committee appointed to investigate failed to fix responsibility.

**Peace Resolution.**—A peace resolution was passed justifying the international for upholding the constitution in its actions against the New York Joint Board, but exonerating the joint board on the charges of violation of the constitution made against it by the executive board. Because of conflicting interpretations of this resolution another motion was adopted declaring that the joint board had fought against violation of democratic principles, and against membership suspensions, and that in this struggle the Communists and the progressives had not lived up to the letter of the constitution; the resolution pledged support to the joint board, and interpreted the peace resolution previously adopted as a liquidation of the struggle between the New York and the national officials.

**Executive Committee Report.**—A struggle developed over the adoption of the report of the general executive board. The

left wing objected to the use of the injunction in the strike against the Millman firm in Boston, and claimed that organization work had been neglected. The South Norwalk, Conn., agreement, which is to last for five years, and which provides for no chairman and for longer hours than the union maximum, was also criticized. The board's report was adopted by a vote of 38, with 35 delegates not voting.

**Policy.**—A resolution calling on the general executive board to take concrete steps toward amalgamation of the needle trades unions was adopted, and the A. F. of L. was asked to call conferences to promote the establishment of one union in each industry. A campaign of organization among the unorganized was decided upon, each member to be assessed \$5 for the purpose. A resolution opposing class collaboration was referred to the executive board. The convention went on record for recognition of Soviet Russia, a labor party based on the trade unions and including all other working class organizations, and release of all political prisoners, including the Socialists imprisoned in Soviet Russia. A resolution endorsing a program of workers' education along the lines of the Workers' Party Schools of New York and Chicago was referred to the executive board; another endorsing the Rand School was adopted. Motions to endorse the *Freiheit* and the *Daily Worker* were defeated.

**Elections.**—The new executive board includes two Communists; four members call themselves progressives; four are adherents of the old administration; and two have no avowed allegiance. President Kaufman did not run for re-election. The new president, Ozier Schachtman, formerly secretary-treasurer of the New York Joint Board, was the candidate of the left wing coalition. He was elected without opposition, the adherents of the administration not voting. Benjamin Gold, the leader of the Communists, failed of election, polling 29 votes as against 41 for Isidor Winnick. Gold was, however, elected a delegate to the 1926 convention of the A. F. of L.

### United Hatters of North America

Organized, 1854. Joined A. F. of L., 1886. General president, M. F. Greene; general secretary, Martin Lawlor. General Executive Board: J. Louis Africk, Chris F. Donigan, Joseph F. Menendez, M. F. Greene, Martin Lawlor. Conventions every four years.

**General.**—The wage scale calls for \$8 a day, but most workers earn more than this at piece rates; the 44-hour week prevails. Agreements with all important employers were renewed for one year.

**Cloth Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers' International Union**

Organized, 1901. Joined A. F. of L., 1902. General secretary-treasurer, Max Zuckerman. General Executive Board: I. H. Goldberg, N. Spector, S. Hershkowitz, A. Weingarten, J. Roberts, Alex Rose, A. Mendelowitz, S. M. Leno, P. Ginsburg, H. W. Adelman. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—The most pressing problem confronting the organization is the tendency of jobbers to engage in manufacturing, which tends to undermine union standards. Conditions in the millinery industry were poor during a large part of the year.

**Activities.**—The union maintains an unemployment fund and a credit union. The credit union made loans of \$170,000 without a loss, and has assets of \$70,000. A *History of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' International Union*, by J. M. Budish, was published, in Jewish. On November 27 President Zaritsky resigned because of poor health. A managing committee of three was appointed to cooperate with the secretary-treasurer.

**Left Wing.**—A membership meeting was held in New York to discuss charges made by the left wing that the officers were working in the interests of the bosses. The meeting expressed confidence in the administration by a vote of 381 to 154.

**Convention.**—The 15th biennial convention was held in New York, May 1-11. It voted to raise the per capita dues 6 cents a week; local dues were raised to 2 per cent of the weekly wage, or in some cases to 50 cents a week for men and 40 cents for women. Organization campaigns were decided upon, as well as efforts to popularize the union label. An effort to hold jobbers to stricter accountability for preservation of union standards will be made. The convention went on record for the 40-hour week. It favored the formation of an effective Needle Trades Alliance. Mergers of several locals were decided on, as was closer cooperation with the United Hatters. The convention decided to affiliate with the International Federation of Hatters and with the International Clothing Workers' Federation. It adopted resolutions favoring the union of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Red International of Labor Unions, recognition of Soviet Russia, and the granting of citizenship to Debs, and against the Tennessee anti-evolution law, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Citizens' Military Training Camps.

## LEATHER AND SHOE WORKERS

### United Leather Workers' International Union

Organized, 1896. Joined A. F. of L., 1896. General president, W. E. Bryan; general secretary, John J. Pfeiffer. General Executive Council: Bernard G. Quinn, I. Gordon, F. P. Maloney, William F. Altman, J. W. Trapp, William Tripp, John A. Grant, Rose Carr. Conventions every three years.

**General.**—Diminishing use of horses has had a bad effect upon this union, many of whose members are engaged in making saddles and harness,<sup>1</sup> and in tanning. The organization pays a death benefit of \$80, and a sick benefit of \$7 weekly after the first week of illness.

Heavy court expenses compelled the organization to issue a general appeal for funds. No convention has been held since 1920 because of the depression in the trade.

### Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

Organized, 1895. Joined A. F. of L., 1895. General president, Collis Lovely; general secretary, Charles L. Baine. General Executive Board: Gad Martindale, Z. Lesperance, Warren M. Hatch, Clara Katzor, John M. Gorman, A. M. Lawrence, George W. Lawson, Frank E. Cook, John J. Mara. Conventions every two years.

**Activities.**—Some of the members had to accept wage reductions. The organization issued 19 strike authorizations. In five cases the dispute was settled without resort to strike; 11 strikes were won, two were lost and one was compromised. In strike benefits \$300,000 was spent. Aid was given to the striking Nova Scotia miners. The union aided in the campaign for the child labor amendment.

**Convention.**—The 16th convention was held at Montreal, May 18-22. The per capita tax was increased, against considerable opposition, from 25 to 35 cents a week. The initiation fee was increased from \$1 to \$2. Death benefits for members in good standing from six months to two years were increased from \$50 to \$100; for members in good standing for two years or more they were increased from \$100 to \$200. The president's and secretary's salaries were raised to \$7,500, and the vice-president's to \$5,000.

### Shoe Workers' Protective Union

Organized, 1901. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. General president, John D. Nolan; general secretary, Daniel M. Fitzgerald. General Council: Louis J. Ammerling, Maurice J. Bresnahan, Stanley Carter, Michael Jullano, Henry Schwarzott, Robert J. Thompson, John F. Healey, Joseph P. O'Rourke, Frank U. Ryan. Conventions as decided by referendum vote.

**Amalgamation.**—Negotiations for amalgamation were carried on between this organization, and the American Shoe Workers'

<sup>1</sup> See International Pocketbook Workers' Union, p. 148.

Protective Union, Inc. In June a basis for amalgamation was agreed on at a joint meeting in Brooklyn, N. Y., but active members in the two organizations are carrying on the movement for one organization on a national scale.

**Agreement.**—In New York City an agreement with employers calls for the closed shop, the 44-hour week, but no wage scale.

### International Glove Workers' Union of America

Organized, 1902. Joined A. F. of L., 1902. General president, Thomas J. Mahoney; general secretary, Elisabeth Christman. General Executive Board: Agnes Nestor, Cora B. Hogan, William Nelson. Conventions irregularly.

**General.**—During 1925 employment conditions were fair, and continued to improve. There were no outstanding developments.

### International Pocketbook Workers' Union

Organized, 1923. Joined A. F. of L., 1925. President, Charles Kleinman; recording secretary, Isidore Wissotsky; secretary-treasurer, Charles I. Goldman. Joint Executive Board: John Zeichner (chairman), Philip Lubliner, Joseph Rudnitsky, Abraham Schwartzman, Morris Siegel, Louis Eisner, Jack Gordon, Philip Hershfield, Israel Kitzes, Samuel Laderman, Max Diesenhouse, Sam Finkelstein, Philip Lichtenstein, Benjamin North, Morris Banklayder, Nathan Charney, Sam Cohen, Harry Epstein, Julius Gittelman, Sam Eisner, Isidore Kurtzman, Abraham Mehlman, Harry Lefkowitz, Isidore Lefkowitz, Morris Goldberg, Harry Goldberg, Max Levine, David Melofsky. Conventions every two years.

**Organization.**—This organization is an outgrowth of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union. It has complete control over the industry in New York and New Jersey, where 90 per cent of all fancy leather goods and pocketbooks are manufactured.

Active organization work is being carried on in New York and New Jersey, and in Philadelphia. The problem of the "runaway" shop is being taken up.

**Affiliation with A. F. of L.**—Efforts to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor met with opposition on the part of the United Leather Workers' International Union, which claimed jurisdiction over pocketbook making. The Pocketbook Workers held that the United Leather Workers included chiefly tannery, harness, and saddlery workers. In August the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. empowered President Green to inaugurate negotiations between the two organizations with a view to reaching an adjustment. A charter as an A. F. of L. federal union was finally granted to the organization. It was given jurisdiction over makers of ladies' hand bags, pocketbooks, bill folds, coin purses, card cases, cigar and cigarette cases, and small leather novelties in New York City, the state of New

Jersey, and Philadelphia. Suit case and bag makers were left to the United Leather Workers.

**Convention.**—A convention met at Jersey City on December 11, and later moved to New York City. It favored the 40-hour week, unemployment insurance, week work, minimum wage scales for semi-skilled workers, a guarantee of employment for 44 weeks a year, recognition of May 1 as a holiday, and world trade union unity. A resolution was adopted condemning Communist and left wing efforts to control union policy.

## PAPER AND PRINTING TRADES

### International Brotherhood of Papermakers

Organized, 1892. Joined A. F. of L., 1897. General president, M. H. Parker; general secretary, Matthew Burns. General Executive Board: F. P. Barry, Arthur Daoust, Archie Hook, Arthur Huggins, Frank McLeod, W. R. Smith, George J. Schneider, Siméon Weir. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—Most members have been working only four or five days a week. The union has been engaged in a campaign to increase the use of water-marked union paper, and complains of the failure of other labor organizations to use such paper for letter-heads, stationery, and printing. The employers have been partly successful in forcing a return to Sunday work. Wages in union shops are about 40 cents an hour higher than in non-union factories.

**Organization.**—An assessment of one day's wages was found necessary. The *Paper Makers' Journal* is to be published quarterly instead of monthly.

**Dissension.**—A strike at Fort William, Ont., caused considerable dissatisfaction with the administration. The local union at Fort Ontario accused President Parker of misrepresenting facts, and of ignoring the local members and their interests in effecting a settlement. In the elections W. R. Smith, the defeated candidate, made his campaign for president on a plea for a more rigid craft organization; he wished to admit only beater-engineers and machine-room men to the union. A convention scheduled for March 3, 1925, was postponed by referendum vote.

### International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada

Organized, 1906. Joined A. F. of L., 1909. General president and secretary, John P. Burke. General Executive Board: H. W. Sullivan, John Connolly, Maurice LaBelle, S. Ed. Launer, J. W. Taylor, Alex Gibson, Bat Doody. Conventions every two years.

**Recovery.**—The union is slowly recovering from the open shop fight which began in May, 1921, under the leadership of

the International Paper Company. The strike in the mills of this company is now in its fifth year, more than 5,000 of the 8,000 strikers being still out.

In conjunction with the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers a branch organizing office has been opened in Three Rivers, Quebec. Considerable attention is also being given to organizing the paper products workers in New York and other cities. The two unions usually cooperate on important matters, and sign joint agreements with the employers. The two bodies are now forming a paper makers' sales corporation for the purpose of marketing union water-marked paper.

**Paper Box Makers.**—The paper box makers' local of New York City, which had previously been an independent union, came into conflict with the brotherhood, and failed to obey orders and to pay dues. The local's charter was revoked, and it became again an independent organization. Efforts to organize the paper box makers in a new local of the international proved unsuccessful.

### International Typographical Union

Organized, 1852. Joined A. F. of L., 1881. General president, James M. Lynch; general secretary, J. W. Hays. General Executive Board: Seth M. Brown, Austin Hewson, Charles N. Smith. Conventions every year.

**Organization.**—The organization has purchased an office building in Indianapolis. It conducts a school for apprentices in which there are about 3,500 students. The bureau of education, formerly independent, has been incorporated with the president's office.

**Government Printing Office.**—During the year considerable difficulty developed with the Government Printing Office and with Public Printer George H. Carter. He ordered the discontinuance of the collection of dues at pay time, installed a spy system, speeded up production, tried to interfere in union elections, and attempted to obtain from Congress the right to fix wages for two-year periods without giving the union an opportunity to negotiate. He advertised for printers when none were needed, and on March 7 dismissed 127 men while still advertising for more. The men further allege incompetence in managing the bureau.

**Left Wing.**—The Trade Union Educational League is active inside the organization. Its program included amalgamation, the five-day week, organization of the unorganized, enforcement of union laws, world trade union unity, and a labor party.

**Convention.**—The 70th convention met in Kalamazoo, Michigan, August 10-15. A resolution providing for the amalgamation of the five printing trades unions was stricken from the books. The constitutional provision which prevented the executive council from directing a local union to arbitrate the question of wages when the employer demanded a wage reduction or a change in working conditions was also repealed. The minimum wage scale was advanced from \$24 to \$30. Pension payments were maintained at the existing level, with no increase in pension assessments. A proposal to lengthen the period between conventions from one to two years was defeated. Local unions were given permission to use the union label. All proposals of the left wing were defeated.

Local 6, New York, protested against the assessment of \$1.50 a month levied by the executive council, without a referendum, on members out of work, sick, or disabled, for the benefit of the old age pension and death funds. The convention upheld the executive council. Local 6 voted 4,696 to 2,493 to take the case into the courts.

### **International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America**

Organized, 1900. Joined A. F. of L., 1904. General president, Matthew Woll; general secretary, Henry F. Schmal. General Executive Board: E. J. Volz, Frank H. Glenn, Charles H. Horrocks. Conventions every year.

**Agreements.**—The union entered into agreements with the most important employers in the large cities fixing wages at \$40 to \$55 a week with a higher wage for night workers. The 44-hour week is the rule, while in many shops the night workers have a 40-hour week.

**Test Case.**—In St. Louis, Mo., the Federal Trade Commission asked the secretary of the local union to submit minutes of local meetings. He refused in order to test the right of the commission to investigate an agreement between a union and the employers. The case is still pending.

**Convention.**—The 26th convention met in Cleveland, Ohio, August 17-22. The proposed research alliance with the Printing Pressmen's Union was approved, as was a proposed agreement with the Electrotypers and Stereotypers. The latter agreement provides for local joint organizing committees, joint strikes where necessary, and autonomy for each union. Neither the Pressmen nor the Electrotypers have taken official action in these matters. Closer alliance of all graphic arts workers was endorsed.

Delegates to the convention may hereafter be elected by referendum vote. The per capita tax for advanced apprentices was

raised from 25 to 50 cents. Inter-state and intra-state conferences were approved. The executive committee was directed to study the feasibility of the five-day, 40-hour week, and also the question of care of disabled members. A proposal to establish a home for aged and disabled members was not adopted.

The convention approved the formation of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, and approved further steps looking to the formation of a Photo-Engravers' Investment Trust.

### **International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America**

Organized, 1902. Joined A. F. of L., 1902. General president, Winfield T. Keegan; general secretary, Charles A. Sumner. General Executive Board: Thomas P. Reynolds, Louis P. Crandall, Martin B. Apy. Conventions every year.

**Agreements.**—Agreements have been generally renewed, wage standards in most places varying between \$44 and \$48 a week. In Milwaukee an agreement was signed, to expire January 19, 1928, providing for the closed shop. Working hours, eight a day, six days a week. On morning papers, which involve night work, the wage rate is 97½ cents an hour, on evening papers, 91 2/3 cents; time and one-half is paid for overtime. A one-year agreement in Stockton, Calif., provides for a seven-and-one-half-hour day. Wages were increased from \$7.75 to \$8 a day. A board of arbitration was set up, composed of two union members, two employers, and an outside member selected by these four.

**Convention.**—The 24th annual convention was held in Milwaukee, July 20-25. Dues were raised to \$1. Death benefit was set at \$200 for members in good standing for one year, \$300 for those in good standing for three years. It was decided to engage in an active union label campaign.

### **Amalgamated Lithographers of America**

Organized, 1882. Joined A. F. of L., 1906. General president, Philip Bock; general secretary, James M. O'Connor. General Executive Board: Samuel H. Maitland, Fred W. Rose, David H. Noce, William Aitken, Paul Wyttenbach, William G. Schuchardt, Robert Bruck, James H. Christie, Philip Shakespeare, Albert E. Castro, George J. Goehl, Andrew J. Kennedy. Conventions every two years.

**General.**—Wages remained steady. About 76 per cent of the members now have the 44-hour week.

**Convention.**—The biennial convention met in New York, September 21-28. An organization campaign was decided upon, and an assessment was levied upon the members to provide a defense fund. Efforts are to be made to obtain the 44-hour

week for all members. A move to establish an old-age pension fund was defeated.

### **International Plate Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America**

Organized, 1891. Joined A. F. of L., 1898. General president, Joseph McCullough; general secretary, James E. Goodyear. General Executive Board: H. Messner, A. J. Fallon, J. P. Higgins, A. Fick, Jerome O'Neill, E. J. Lane, F. Nicholls, F. Mullin, T. Olsen, A. Santos, F. Browne, W. Barnes. Conventions every year.

**Amalgamation.**—An organization campaign was carried on in Chicago and Pittsburgh. The Steel and Copper Plate Engravers' Union amalgamated with the Plate Printers and Die Stampers.

### **International Steel and Copper Plate Engravers' League**

Organized, 1920. Affiliated with A. F. of L., 1920. Merged with Plate Printers and Die Stampers, 1925. Officers were: General president, William A. Barnes; secretary, Harry Nortline.

**Amalgamation.**—In January, 1925, the organization consisted of 145 members in four local unions. The long contemplated step of amalgamation with the International Printers' and Die

Stampers' Union of North America was taken during the year.

### **International Association of Siderographers**

Organized, 1899. Joined A. F. of L., 1907. General president, Robert Nicholl; general secretary, Joseph L. Heffern. General Executive Board: John T. Ford, Samuel S. Ludlum, Fred Daubney. Conventions every two years.

**Activities.**—Employment conditions for this type of steel engravers have been poor. Membership of the association is decreasing.

### **International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America**

Organized, 1889. Joined A. F. of L., 1890. General president, George L. Berry; general secretary-treasurer, Joseph C. Orr. Board of Directors: Vice-presidents John M. Brophy, William H. McHugh, S. B. Marks, George R. Brunet. Conventions every two years.

**Relations with Employers.**—To discuss the introduction of automatic feeding machines, the union asked the Printers' League for a commission consisting of three pressmen, three assistants, and six employers; all differences not settled to be referred to the president of the union and the president of the Printers' League; these two to call in a third person if they could not agree;

any economies effected to be distributed one-third each to employer, pressmen, and assistants.

**Organization.**—A life membership plan has been worked out. Instead of paying dues monthly, any member may do so in a lump sum and thereby effect a saving. The following examples are illustrative:

**Table 95—Pressmen's Life Membership Dues**

<i>Age</i>	<i>Expectancy of Life</i>	<i>Life Dues</i>	<i>Monthly Dues Total</i>	<i>Saving</i>
21	34	\$680.08	\$1,428.00	\$747.92
31	25	579.57	1,008.00	428.43
41	14	415.76	588.00	172.24
50	5	181.84	210.00	28.16

In New York the cylinder pressmen and the job pressmen were amalgamated into Local 51.

**Benefits.**—The pension fund amounts to \$600,000. The organization maintains a tuberculosis sanitarium, a home for aged members, a technical trade school, correspondence courses patronized by 1,000 students, an engineering department, and a patent department. It also has an insurance system.

### International Brotherhood of Bookbinders

Organized, 1892. Joined A. F. of L., 1892. General president, William Glockling; secretary-treasurer, Felix J. Belair. Executive Council: Mary Meehan, Anna Neary, Alfred Bleber, Frank May, Joseph Floyd, C. O. Kennell, Sidney Jones, Thomas V. Mullen, Augusta J. Frinke. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—Conditions have been poor, especially in Canada. Under the agreement prevailing in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., men receive \$45, and bindery girls \$19.50, for a 44-hour week.

**Jurisdiction Dispute.**—A jurisdiction dispute arising between the sheet straighteners of the Bookbinders' union, and paper handlers of the Pressmen, was carried into the courts. after two other methods of reaching an agreement proved unsatisfactory.

### United Wall Paper Crafts of North America

Organized, 1923. Joined A. F. of L., 1923. General president, Rudolph Heini; general secretary, Edwin Gentzler. General Executive Board: Fred J. Lillick, Charles A. Alexander, Joseph J. Wills, Charles H. Robertson, Joseph F. Higgins, Harry B. McKeag. Conventions every two years.

**General.**—Employment conditions have been good in factories, but bad in print-cutting job shops. A campaign is in progress for fuller use of union label wall-paper.

## WOOD AND FURNISHINGS TRADES

## Upholsterers' International Union of North America

Organized, 1882. Joined A. F. of L., 1892. General president: William Kohn; general secretary, William Soeker. General Executive Board: James H. Hatch, George V. Fay, Pierce H. Deamer, Walter Marlow, Nora Long, Helen Cahill, Karl Raaka, Frank Prior, Roy F. Hull, E. E. Graves, A. W. Ormsby, Harry Hartman, Edward Ludwig. Conventions every two years.

**Organization.**—Active organization work resulted in the establishment of 12 new locals since the 1923 convention. There was a drop in membership after the Cleveland strike in May, 1923, but the present membership of 9,400 represents the highest point yet attained. The union gave \$512 to aid the German trade union movement.

**Jurisdiction Dispute.**—A jurisdiction dispute with the sign and bulletin board hangers of the Brotherhood of Painters, over the right to hang awnings was decided in favor of the upholsterers.

**Convention.**—The 14th biennial convention was held at Chicago, July 20-25. Organization campaigns were decided upon in Akron, Columbus, and other Ohio towns; Grand Rapids, Mich.; New Jersey, and Canada. Efforts were to be made to organize the carpet sewers and the mattress makers. The awning and tent makers were given representation on the executive board. District councils are to be organized in cities where two or more local unions exist, each local union having two delegates. Efforts of local unions to affiliate with building trades councils were endorsed, and are to be supported. No person is now eligible for office in a local union who has not been a member for one year; the old requirement was six months. Supervising foremen and members entering business are to be compelled to take out withdrawal cards.

Out-of-work stamps were adopted because of widespread unemployment. The executive board is to study plans for a death benefit fund. Salary of the general president was increased to \$125 a week.

A proposal to establish a maximum wage scale was referred to the executive board; the board is also to study the extension of cooperative shops. Reports on both questions are to be submitted to the next convention. The convention urged members to use the labor banks.

**International Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America**

Organized, 1898. Joined A. F. of L., 1902. General president, Jacob Fischer.

**International Wood Carvers' Association of North America**

Organized, 1883. Joined A. F. of L., 1896. General president, August Schrempf; general secretary, Frank Detlef. General Executive Board: William Betsch, Frank Walter, Alfonse Tessitore, Henry Walz. Board of Supervisors: Edward Snook, William Swanson, W. Panfil, William Reichold, Louis C. F. Hintz. Conventions called by referendum vote.

**Conditions.**—Employment conditions were poor, in spite of an apparent demand for labor at the beginning of the year. The organization by referendum vote provided for an advertising fund to popularize wood carving. This fund is to be maintained by a quarterly assessment of 25 cents on each member. The 44-hour week prevails in union shops.

**Coopers' International Union of North America**

Organized, 1864. Joined A. F. of L., 1892. General president, James J. Doyle; secretary-treasurer, Forrest M. Krepps. Executive Board: Charles Kelley, Gust Ladik, George M. Graf. Conventions every four years.

**Activities.**—An agreement was signed in Dallas, Tex., to last to the end of the year. This provided an elaborate scale of piece-work prices. The rate for time work is 85 cents an hour for an eight-hour day; 90 cents an hour for less than eight hours.

Employment was poor in the branches formerly engaged in making barrels for breweries. The Coopers' Union of San Francisco seceded from the international.

**Dispute with Carpenters.**—A jurisdiction dispute arose with the carpenters over control of the tank makers. A conference on April 15 led to no solution, and the dispute was referred to the A. F. of L.

**Convention.**—The 21st convention met in Chicago, September 14-19. The San Francisco Central Trades and Labor Union was asked to unseat the seceding Coopers' Union of San Francisco. Conventions will hereafter meet every four instead of every two years; special conventions may be called by the executive board with the consent of a majority of the local unions. A move to elect officers every two years by referendum vote was defeated. Members may inquire by mail as to the votes of the executive board members on all questions. A resolution condemning the Volstead act was adopted.

**International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union**

Organized, 1893. Joined A. F. of L., 1893. General president, J. M. Burgin; general secretary, Will R. Boyer. General Executive Board: A. Ragsdale, A. E. Bennett, D. Parr, F. H. Niyork, W. Richardson, E. Pujol, James McKenzie, J. M. McCune. Conventions every four years.

**CLAY, GLASS, CHEMICAL, DIAMOND WORKERS****United Brick and Clay Workers of America**

Organized, 1894. Joined A. F. of L., 1898. General president, Frank Kasten; general secretary, William Tracy. General Executive Board: William C. Pratt, John F. Hardman, Samuel Reese, Thomas Hutson, Conrad Schildroth, James P. Flynn, Patrick Burns, Newton J. Rogers, George Douglas. Conventions every two years.

**Chicago Agreement.**—The brickmakers of Chicago signed an agreement to last until April 30, 1927. They are to have the eight-hour day, time and one-half for overtime for repair men, and regular meetings with the employers to discuss grievances. The lowest wage rate, for brick burners, is 77 cents an hour, and the highest, for brick setters, is \$1.07.

**National Brotherhood of Operative Potters**

Organized, 1899. Joined A. F. of L., 1899. General president, John T. Wood; general secretary, John McGillivray. General Executive Board: Vice-presidents George H. Cartlidge, George Chadwick, William Young, S. M. Moore, Joseph Smith, T. M. Woods, Frank Hull. Conventions every year.

**Activities.**—An organization canvass was undertaken in the Ohio district. Shop committees were organized to enroll members. The potters of Rockport, Ind., organized a cooperative producing plant.

**Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada**

Organized, 1847. Joined A. F. of L., 1899. General president, James Maloney; general secretary, Harry Jenkins. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—The prohibition law has affected employment conditions, since 30 per cent of all bottles were formerly used for beer. Glass containers are, however, gradually being introduced for many different purposes. Only 33 apprentices are now employed in the industry. The union has had to fight the company union idea. It is actively engaged in the campaign for the child labor amendment.

**Convention.**—The 49th and last annual convention met at Baltimore, Maryland, July 6-13. It was decided to hold conventions every two years hereafter.

### American Flint Glass Workers' Union

Organized, 1878. Joined A. F. of L., 1912. General president, William P. Clarke; general secretary, Charles J. Shipman. National officers, in addition to president and secretary: M. J. Gillooly, Harry M. Cook. National representatives: Arthur Elbert, Joseph O'Malley, Paul J. Martin, J. W. Ludlow. Conventions every year.

**Conditions.**—Many factories worked only part time. Of the 6,840 members of the union, 5,324 were employed on May 31. Average weekly earnings were \$32.67. The membership has been steadily declining since 1921 when it reached the high-water mark of nearly 10,000. The chimney makers suffered so serious a reduction in wages in 1924 that the executive board voted to give each of them, out of the treasury, 20 per cent of the wages paid by the employers. These payments went into effect March 2, 1925. The executive board also decided to purchase when possible plants making chimneys. In other branches of the industry journeymen are compelled to accept boys' work. New machinery and the employment of women are making conditions harder for the present workers. The employers are seeking to reduce wages 10 to 25 per cent.

**Policy.**—The administration carried on campaigns against prohibition and Communism, and for the child labor amendment.

**Bank.**—The American Bank was established by the union at Toledo on June 29, with a capital of \$200,000.

**Convention.**—The 49th convention met at Toledo, June 29-July 9. An exhaustive analysis of insurance plans was submitted, and the recommendation of the committee that no plan be adoption was accepted. Formation of a death burial fund was referred to the national officers for further study; establishment of a sick benefit fund was rejected. It was decided to ask the National Association of Glass Manufacturers to enter into a study, jointly with the union, of the three-shift system. A resolution was adopted favoring a higher tariff on glass.

### National Window Glass Workers' Union

Organized, 1872. Joined A. F. of L., 1918. General president, John M. Siemer; general secretary, George C. Connell. General Executive Board: Joseph Heathcote, Fred Rovillard, Tim O'Toole, E. F. Harbert, James E. Reilly, John C. Meyer, Joseph Rousseau, John E. Ackerson, Jr. Does not hold conventions.

### United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America

Organized, 1902. Joined A. F. of L., 1902. General president, Paul Bennett; general secretary, George W. Hawkins.

### Diamond Workers' Protective Union

Organized, 1910. Joined A. F. of L., 1912. General president and secretary, Andries Meyer.

**Unemployment.**—Employment conditions have been poor. In November 250 of the 400 members were out of work.

## FOOD, DRINK, AND TOBACCO WORKERS

### International Union of Bakery and Confectionery Workers of America

Organized, 1886. Joined A. F. of L., 1887. International corresponding secretary, Charles F. Hohmann. General Executive Board: Christian Hansen, A. Dorner, Joseph Weisbaum, P. J. Leonard, J. Geiger, Max Freund, Sebastian Ollinger, Herman J. Schad, George M. Koehler, Christian Thorps, C. L. Crosson, Gustave Becker, W. McGuern, A. Suffrin. Conventions every three years.

**Bread Trust.**—The chief problem confronting the industry is the process of concentration of control in the hands of a few large baking concerns. As mergers are made the new owners seek to undermine union wages and conditions. An active organization campaign, backed up by a campaign to advertise the union label, is in progress. Each issue of the *Bakers' Journal* carried a full-page streamer reading "All Ward Products are One Hundred per cent Non-Union."

**Independent Union.**—The situation is complicated by the existence of an independent union, the Amalgamated Food Workers. The Trade Union Educational League tried to bring about a unity conference between the two organizations in order that the workers might present a stronger front. The Bakery and Confectionery workers refused to enter the conference on the ground that the Amalgamated Food Workers was a dual union, and that united action could be obtained through the older union alone.

### Amalgamated Food Workers

Organized, 1920. Not affiliated with A. F. of L. Secretary-treasurer, August Burkhardt. Conventions every two years.

**Activities.**—This organization includes workers in hotels and restaurants, butchers, bakers, fruit and grocery workers, and seeks to be an industrial union covering the whole industry of preparing and distributing food. It was engaged during 1925 in a campaign against the bread baking monopoly. Butchers' Local

454, Paterson, N. J., was able to make an agreement providing for a completely union shop. In New York the Hotel and Restaurant Workers carried on an active organization campaign. The Jewish bakers of New York were able to renew their agreement.

**Night Work.**—In its campaign against the bread trust the organization emphasized its opposition to night work.

**Left Wing.**—The union maintained friendly relations with the Trade Union Educational League, and tried to enter into a united front campaign with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers. The *Free Voice* claimed that members of the older organization participated in the united front meetings held in New York, but officials of that body refused to enter into joint activity.

**Convention.**—A convention met in New York on December 12, 13, and 20. It decided to make special efforts to organize cafeteria and lunch room workers. Each member is to be taxed \$1 a year; 60 cents of this is to be used for organization and 40 cents for education. Amalgamation of all food workers into one union was endorsed, and class collaboration was opposed. The convention favored recognition of Soviet Russia, world trade union unity, and the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. Sending of a labor delegation to study Russian conditions was referred to the local bodies. A resolution favoring a labor party based on trade unions and existing political parties of labor was defeated.

### Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America

Organized, 1897. Joined A. F. of L., 1897. General president, Patrick E. Gorman; general secretary, Dennis Lane. General Executive Board: M. J. Kelly, T. A. McCreash, Alex. Nielubowski, E. W. Jimeron, J. H. Davis, C. B. Ackerman, J. P. McCoy, John J. Walsh, M. R. Grunhof. Conventions every four years.

**Agreements.**—In Dubuque, Iowa, an agreement set up the 56-hour week, at the same pay as for 61 hours; minimum wage is to be \$30. In Rochester, N. Y., the agreement calls for the closed shop, the nine-hour day, with time and one-half for overtime, and double time for Sundays and holidays. An arbitration board is provided. Meat cutters are to receive \$40 to \$45; sausage workers, \$36 to \$45; and slaughter house workers \$38 to \$50. Apprentices receive \$18 to \$30, but must get full wages after two years.

## International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America

Organized, 1884. Joined A. F. of L., 1887. General secretary-treasurer, Joseph Obergfell; general corresponding-financial secretary, John Rader. General Executive Board: Karl Lang, John Sullivan, Peter Bollenbacher, Charles Nickolaus, Martin McGraw, Joseph Fessner, Paul Friederich, Emil Muri, J. D. Corcoran, A. C. Colnot, Conrad Rebman, Jr., Charles Stalf, John Hollerbach. Conventions every three years.

**Effects of Prohibition.**—Almost all the energies of the organization were consumed by an active campaign against prohibition and for modification of the Volstead Law. Since 1918 the membership of the organization has dropped from 45,000 to 16,000, most of the shrinkage being a direct result of prohibition. Of the present members a large number are not regularly employed.

**Activities.**—Organization campaigns were undertaken among soft-drink workers and bottlers. The mineral water workers of New York City signed an agreement, expiring March 15, 1926, by which they obtained the 44-hour week, six Jewish holidays, and no overtime work as long as some men are unemployed. The union participated in an active union label campaign.

## Tobacco Workers' International Union

Organized, 1895. Joined A. F. of L., 1895. General secretary, E. Lewis Evans. General Executive Board: W. R. Walden, John Reichert, Charles P. Alder, A. Sheines, Henry Keller, E. L. Crouch. Conventions at call of membership.

## Cigarmakers' International Union of America

Organized, 1864. Joined A. F. of L., 1887. General president and secretary, George W. Perkins. General Executive Board: I. M. Arnburn, Manuel Gonzales, A. Garlepy, E. G. Hall, Charles H. Stevens, E. J. Stock, Maurice Simons. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—Of the 10,320 shops known to the union, 7,180 are employing union labor, but in 3,246 of these the only worker is the owner himself. Many of the largest factories are conducted as open shops. There are 28,293 men and 50,648 women employed in the industry; of these, 13,463 men and 3,186 women belong to the union. In Porto Rico 450 of the 4,450 workers are union members. The number of factories both in the United States and in Porto Rico is decreasing.

Decline of the cigar business has affected union membership. The international officers attribute this decline to the heavy revenue tax, the income tax, and prohibition. The employment of

women, most of whom are not in the union, has cut in on the unemployment of union members.

**Convention.**—The 25th convention met in Boston, August 10-20. It decided to undertake organization work, with especial emphasis on Montreal and New York. Numerous constitutional changes were made. Sick benefit was limited to \$350 for each member. Any member of 20 years' standing, upon becoming wholly incapacitated, may draw \$350 upon waiver of all future claims. The convention decided to enter into negotiations with the Union Life Insurance Company with a view to transferring all its benefit insurance to that company; the union decided to purchase 500 shares of capital stock in the company. Elections were set forward from November to April. The executive board was authorized to revise the referendum laws, and to report on the question to the next convention.

The A. F. of L. Convention was asked to consider the adoption of a distinguishing mark to be used on the labels of all affiliated unions. Cigar workers were urged not to come to the Pacific Coast. The convention adopted a resolution favoring repeal of the Volstead act. A long and eulogistic resolution on the contributions of Samuel Gompers, who was a member of the union, to American labor was unanimously adopted.

## SERVICE INDUSTRIES

### Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' League of America

Organized, 1890. Joined A. F. of L., 1890. General president, Edward Flore; general secretary, Jere L. Sullivan. General Executive Board: Vice-presidents Robert B. Hesketh, Frank Hoffman, John W. Conley, Kitty Donnelly, John C. Staggenburg, J. M. Osborn, William Lehman, Frank Johnston. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—Wages and hours have remained fairly steady. In addition to meals, union cooks ordinarily get \$25 to \$40 a week for an eight to 10-hour day, waiters \$15 to \$20 for the same hours, and waitresses \$12 to \$18 a week for an eight to nine-hour day. A few receive much more, and some much less. Of 81 local strikes called, 36 succeeded completely, while five were compromised.

**Organization.**—Membership has decreased under prohibition. Thirty new charters were issued in 1924, and nine in the first four months of 1925. An organization campaign among cafeteria workers is to be undertaken.

Death benefit now is \$75. The total paid out in death benefits since May 1, 1923, is \$38,000 in 571 cases. Some of these received

the old benefit of \$50. The death benefit fund has now a balance of \$163,728.99. There is \$44,232.50 in the defense fund.

**Convention.**—The 23rd biennial convention was held at Montreal, August 10-14. The meeting referred a jurisdiction dispute with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers to the president and the A. F. of L. Convention. A controversy in the organization between cooks and waiters over the right of waiters to cook in the front windows of restaurants was referred to the executive board. The executive board was requested to study the insurance question. It was decided to keep all reports dealing with malfeasance in office out of the columns of the *Mixer and Server*. All attempts to raise the per capita tax above the present 25 cents failed. The president is to study the question of organizing Asiatics on the Pacific Coast and report to the 1927 convention. The convention favored the child labor amendment, repeal of the prohibition amendment, and setting aside December 20 as Samuel Gompers Memorial Day.

### Journeymen Barbers' International Union

Organized, 1887. Joined A. F. of L., 1888. General president, James C. Shanessy; general secretary, Jacob Fischer. Executive Board: Roe H. Baker, M. H. Whitaker, John E. Connelly, H. J. Halford, W. C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, H. C. Wenzel, M. E. Mehl, Anthony Merlino. Conventions every five years.

**Activities.**—The organization is chiefly concerned with the elimination of Sunday work, which is still permitted in nine states. Beauty parlors are cutting into the field hitherto reserved for barbers, and the union has opposed legislation favoring these shops. The executive board adopted, subject to referendum vote, a plan to establish a home for aged members, a pension plan, and a plan to establish trade schools under union control. The pension plan offers \$6 a week to those over 60 years of age who have been members in good standing for 20 years. No payments will be made for five years after the plan is inaugurated. A per capita tax of 65 cents a month is to be levied to provide pension funds. The trade schools are to be opened to offset bad teaching and open shop influences. The executive board also set the strike benefit at \$10 a week.

**Agreement.**—In Brooklyn the barbers entered into an agreement, expiring May, 1926, fixing the work-day at 8 a. m. to 8 p. m. on week-days, and from 8 a. m. to 1 p. m. on Sundays; weekly wage is to be \$40 for five and one-half days. Pay for Saturday alone is to be \$17; for evening work \$3.

**Left Wing.**—The Trade Union Educational League is agitating within the union for limitation of working agreements

to one year, direct election of officers, job control, amalgamation, and for security from discharge without cause.

### **Retail Clerks' International Protective Association**

Organized, 1890. Joined A. F. of L., 1891. General president, W. G. Desepite; secretary-treasurer, H. J. Conway. General Executive Board: C. C. Coulter, J. B. Shulte, William P. Spinnenweber, John H. Carroll, C. J. Hayes, G. A. Sackett. Conventions every five years.

**Conditions.**—One of the chief aims of the organization is the elimination of Sunday work. Such work is especially burdensome to clerks working in Atlantic & Pacific chain grocery stores in the Middle West. Clerks are paid 1.5 per cent of the sales. Sunday morning sales are always small, and the clerk works for very little. A campaign is going on to bring the employees of the large chain stores into the union.

**Convention.**—The 18th triennial convention met at Evanston, Ill. The annual meeting of the executive board was discontinued. Conventions will meet hereafter every five years. Sick benefits were discontinued, but death benefits were increased. The convention decided to put women organizers into the field. All union members are to be urged to ask for the clerk's union card when making purchases.

### **Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America**

Organized, 1902. Joined A. F. of L., 1902. International president, Roscoe H. Johnson; international secretary-treasurer, Frank B. Powers. General Executive Board: C. McMahon, W. J. McMahon, Joseph F. Mallon, J. G. Decelles, A. T. Maddux. Conventions every three years.

**Conditions.**—Employment conditions have remained good through the year, largely because of continued heavy trading on stock exchanges. The Canadian telegraphers submitted their claims for increased wages to the board of conciliation, and lost. Increases were later obtained by direct negotiation. The highest wage now paid a Morse operator in Canada is \$155.25 a month; minimum is \$110. Clerks receive from \$70 to \$100; telephone operators from \$85 to \$100.

Most of the commercial telegraphers are employed by the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies. The Western Union has a company union which claims a membership of 30,000. The Telegraphers' Union is carrying on a persistent campaign to enroll these workers.

**Convention.**—The 13th biennial convention met at Chicago, September 14-18. The vice-presidency for Canada, held by Paul Schmur, a Socialist, was abolished. The resulting reduction in

expense enabled the convention to reduce the per capita tax for low-salaried divisions from \$8 to \$5 a year. Hereafter conventions will be held every three instead of every two years.

Messenger boys are to be admitted to the union. The date of initiation is to be removed from membership cards. The permanent insurance committee was instructed to study the group insurance plans of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, and to submit a plan to the membership.

A proposal to bar members of the I. W. W. from membership in the union was defeated. A proposal to change the organization into a class-conscious union with a Socialist objective was fully debated and defeated.

### **Building Service Employees' International Union**

Organized, 1921. Joined A. F. of L., 1921. General president, Claude F. Peters; general secretary, William F. Quesse.

### **International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers**

Organized, 1898. Joined A. F. of L., 1898. General president, Timothy Healy; general secretary, C. L. Shamp. Executive Board: J. W. Morton, Joseph P. Flanagan, Albert Brown, A. L. Quinn, John J. Conway, Walter G. Watson, A. J. Davitt. Conventions every three years.

**Affiliations.**—The organization is affiliated with the Metal Trades Department and the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor, and with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

### **Laundry Workers' International Union**

Organized, 1900. Joined A. F. of L., 1900. General president, James F. Brook; general secretary, H. L. Morrison. General Executive Board: Roy Burt, M. J. O'Leary, Harry Dubecker, Frank Donovan. Does not hold conventions.

**Activities.**—Organization work was carried on in Illinois, California, Pennsylvania, and New York. Business has been dull, and employment conditions are unsteady. In Richmond and Oakland, Calif., new agreements with the employers have been made.

### **International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers of America**

Organized, 1902. Joined A. F. of L., 1903. General president, John Gilson; general secretary, William McCarthy. General Executive Board: David Roberts, Frank Isadore, A. A. Reeves, William Moran, Frank Barnett, E. N. Dransfield, John Curran. Conventions every two years.

**General Conditions.**—The prevailing wage scale in New York is \$45 to \$50 a week; in Chicago it ranges from \$50 to \$60.

The eight-hour day is the rule. Insurance is left to the locals; benefits are limited to \$1,000 for each member.

## AMUSEMENT WORKERS

### American Federation of Musicians

Organized, 1896. Joined A. F. of L., 1896. General president, Joseph N. Weber; general secretary, William J. Kerngood. General Executive Board: A. C. Hayden, A. A. Greenbaum, C. A. Weaver, H. E. Brenton, Frank Gecks, D. A. Carey, W. L. Mayer. Conventions every year.

**Conditions.**—Slightly improved conditions have been obtained for members of symphony orchestras, who suffer, as a rule, from the non-commercial and philanthropic manner in which such orchestras are supported.

The radio does not as yet constitute a problem for the musician. Developments in this field are being watched.

A move to establish a home for aged and indigent members was defeated by the local unions.

**Convention.**—The 30th annual convention was held at Niagara Falls, N. Y., May 11-15. A number of constitutional changes were made. A resolution to send theater price lists and a summary of working conditions to all locals was defeated. A minimum wage of \$73 for musicians in vaudeville theaters was approved. A resolution calling for an agreement with the International Confederation of Musicians to arrange for recognition of the transfer cards issued by both unions, and to work out measures for the exclusion from this country of musicians who do not possess labor permits, was referred to the executive board. Congress was asked to put the American Telegraph and Telephone Company under the Interstate Commerce Commission, and to repeal the war-tax on theater tickets.

### Associated Actors and Artistes of America

Organized, 1919. Joined A. F. of L., 1919. General president, John Emerson; general secretary, Paul Dullzell. General Executive Board: Frank Gillmore, Grant Stuart, Bruce McRae, Paul Harvey, Jean Greenfield, Jefferson De Angelis, Harry C. Browne, Echlin Gayser, Otto Steinert, Grant Mitchell, Fritz Williams, Pedro De Cordoba, Ralph Morgan, Helen McKellar, Olive Oliver, Robert Kelly, Robert Elliot, Charles Stevenson, Frederick Burt, Augustin Duncan. Conventions annually.

**Activities.**—During the year the association collected \$90,000 in back salary due members. Finances are in good shape; union efforts are being made to organize moving picture actors. Confer-

ences with Will H. Hays in this connection have proven unsatisfactory.

**Meeting.**—The annual membership meeting took place in New York, June 1. It was decided to take a more militant attitude in the effort to get the standard minimum contract for moving picture actors. Members were urged to insist on one-eighth of their weekly salary for all plays broadcast. A motion to reduce annual dues from \$18 to \$12 was tabled.

### **International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada**

Organized, 1893. Joined A. F. of L., 1894. General president, William F. Canavan; general secretary, Richard J. Green. General Executive Board: Fred J. Dempsey, William Covert, William Elliott, Cleve Beck, George E. Browne, John P. Nick, William Harrer. Conventions every two years.

**General.**—Membership is slowly increasing. Wages remain good; the average day's work is three hours, unless a matinee performance is given. Each member has one day's rest in seven.

## **GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

### **National Federation of Post Office Clerks**

Organized, 1906. Joined A. F. of L., 1906. General president, Leo E. George; general secretary, Thomas F. Flaherty. General Executive Board: Vice-presidents Harry C. Weinstock, John M. Torka, John D. Murphy, William Otte, John H. Mitcham, Karl L. Stimpson, Carl T. Frisvold, William Brown, Charles U. Sentilles. Conventions every two years.

**Salary Increase.**—The organization succeeded in securing adoption of the Edge-Kelly salary increase bill, on which it had spent most of its time in recent years. The measure was adopted on February 28, 1925, and became effective on April 15. For the five grades of workers it provides yearly wages of \$1,700, \$1,800, \$1,900, \$2,000, and \$2,100. These rates are not entirely satisfactory to the men; nor is the principle of making rates dependent on revenue.

During the campaign for the salary increase measure a bribery scandal developed. The union investigated, and reported that all six men involved were members of the supervisory staff, not affiliated with the organization.

**Convention.**—The 14th convention met at Kansas City, Mo., September 11. It defined the present demands of the organization as liberalization of the retirement law, a time differential

of 15 minutes an hour for night work, elimination of the speed-up, Saturday half-holiday, better seniority rule, automatic promotion for special clerks, improved rest-bars, time off for necessary study of routes, a civil service court of appeals, improved methods of efficiency rating, lower bond premiums, dismissal from the civil service of married women who are supported by their husbands, at least five hours' work per day for substitutes, time and one-half for work in excess of eight hours, reclassification of post office employees, civil service control over supervisory positions, removal of restrictions on political activity, accident compensation based on 66 2/3 per cent of current wages, and 30 days' sick leave.

**Organization.**—It was decided not to install a third paid officer at union headquarters in Washington. Salary of the president was increased to \$5,500, and that of the secretary-treasurer to \$7,000. The per capita tax was increased from 25 to 35 cents, subject to approval by referendum.

**Insurance.**—Sick benefits will not be given to retired employees. No member may receive more than \$300 in sick benefits in 10 years. The age limit for applicants was raised to 45 years, and the restrictions on benefits during sick leave were removed. The death benefit fund was put under the jurisdiction of the president. Members up to the age of 54 may now be insured. Men to the age of 40 may be insured for amounts up to \$2,000; men from 40 to 54 are limited to \$1,000. All men over 45 must submit to medical examination.

**Organization.**—A National Postal Workers' Council was proposed, and the principle approved. A request for legislation increasing the pay of postal laborers was referred to the executive board. There are now 35 state federations of postal clerks.

**General.**—The convention expressed its gratitude to Clyde Kelly for his labors in obtaining the wage increase. A resolution praising Samuel Gompers was adopted. For the first time the convention entertained a fraternal delegate from England, J. W. Bower, president of the British Postal Workers' Union and president of the Postal International.

### National Association of Letter Carriers

Organized, 1889. Joined A. F. of L., 1917. General president, Edward J. Gainer; general secretary, M. T. Finnan. General Executive Board: William Maher, G. W. Haines, F. L. Douglas, W. T. Gorman, H. H. Hegwer. Conventions every two years.

**Salary Increases.**—The Edge-Kelly salary increase bill, enacted on February 28, 1925, gave letter carriers the same graded pay as for postal clerks. Carriers in village service are to

receive from \$1,150 to \$1,350 a year; substitutes in towns, 65 cents an hour; substitutes in villages, 50 cents an hour.

**Convention.**—The 25th convention met at Detroit, September 7-12. Plans to erect a national building for the association are to be drawn up. A resolution to permit branches to purchase group insurance for members was defeated. Salaries of officers were increased. Sick benefits were limited to 13 weeks a year, and to a maximum of \$500 for each member. A move to withdraw from the A. F. of L. was defeated. So was a proposal to elect national officers by referendum.

Changes in laws and regulations governing the post office were asked, to provide for promotion to supervisory positions upon competitive examination; abolition of additional routes during vacation period; putting all mail service on standard time; abolition of mail deliveries on Christmas; abolition of overtime except during the Christmas period; 30-day vacations; government owned post office buildings; adequate protection of letter carriers while on duty; right to participate in politics; curtailment of night work; payment of wages weekly; a court of appeals to pass on dismissals; revision of the accident compensation law; four-hour work-day on Saturday; increased salaries for postal laborers; merit system; abolition of the grade of substitute letter-carrier; minimum wage of \$100 a month for substitutes; sick leave for substitutes; a national holiday on Armistice Day. A resolution praising Robert M. La Follette was adopted. In another resolution Senator Moses and Representative Kelly were thanked for their work in obtaining the wage increase.

### National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers

Organized, 1919. Joined A. F. of L., 1919. General president, Judd R. Austin; general secretary, George F. Klinker. General Executive Board: Walter Jones, M. J. Sullivan, L. W. Royer, O. N. West, E. M. Paxton, Sam Reynolds. Conventions every year.

### Railway Mail Association

Organized, 1898. Joined A. F. of L., 1917. General president, W. M. Collins; general secretary, H. W. Strickland. General Executive Board: L. L. Lane, E. M. Boone, H. N. Link, E. F. Chilton, S. J. Ellis, H. L. Rohe, W. Guy Whitehead, Hugh Sparks, C. J. Fox, C. M. Harvey, J. L. Stockton, Reese Porter, L. C. Macomber, J. P. Cleland, C. E. Phillips. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—Membership in the organization has increased 2,700 in the last two years. Legislation improving salaries, classification rules, travel allowance, and credit for military service has been obtained. The organization complains that

railway mail service has been unduly curtailed, and that the government is spending money out of proportion to service rendered by the air mail.

**Convention.**—The 27th biennial convention was held at Denver, September 1-4. Objectives for the next two years are a liberal retirement law; time-differential for night work which will count 50 minutes of night work as equivalent to one hour of day work; a more liberal accident compensation law; abolition of the speed-up; grading of substitutes; sick leave and annual leave for substitutes; credit for all service rendered by substitutes at any time; 30 minutes to study routes during the working-day; a court of appeals; consultation of clerks before any branch of the service is re-organized; free transportation; adequate and sanitary railroad terminals; limitation of promotions above fourth grade to men with five years' experience; exclusion of women from railway mail service; return to the standards of entrance examinations in force before 1913; special legislative provision for clerks in seaport service; supervision of mail dispatching by railway postal clerks exclusively; payment to railways on basis of weight instead of space; limitation of labor to 1,836 hours, or 45,900 miles a year; no deductions because of train delays; overtime pay for monthly service in excess of one-twelfth of annual standard.

An elaborate set of seniority rules was worked out. Closer cooperation with other organizations of post office employees was sought. Pay of the president was increased to \$7,500 and that of the secretary to \$7,000. Among the resolutions adopted was one expressing gratitude to Representative Kelly and Senator Moses for their efforts in behalf of the salary increase measure.

The delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention were instructed to propose the establishment of broadcasting stations by the Federation.

### National Federation of Federal Employees

Organized, 1917. Joined A. F. of L., 1917. General president, Luther C. Steward; general secretary, James P. McKeon. National Executive Committee: John Fitzgerald, Gertrude M. McNally, M. J. Hines, S. Tyson Kinsell, William T. Scully, L. J. Tierney, Lee R. Whitney, John P. Green, J. P. Thompson. Conventions every two years.

**Conditions.**—Most of the activities of the organization centered on an effort to obtain a pay increase, and to abolish the Personnel Classification Board. Bills to achieve these ends were defeated in Congress. The retrenchment policy of the present administration has made tenure of office insecure. Nevertheless,

wages have slightly increased. The executive council studied the insurance question and reported to the convention the plans for the formation of the Trade Union Insurance Company.

**Convention.**—The eighth convention took place at Boston September 7-11. The national executive committee was directed to study the feasibility of a home for retired employees. A resolution calling for segregation of Negroes in separate locals in the District of Columbia was defeated. A move to employ a professional organizer was also defeated. The use of aliens in the Canal Zone was opposed. In addition to measures for abolition of the Personnel Classification Board and for revision of the wage scales, with a minimum of \$1,500 a year, which were defeated in Congress, legislation was asked for a better rating system; one day off in seven for lighthouse employees; eight-hour day for patrol inspectors in the border patrol; change in the retirement regulations permitting retirement after 30 years' service; Saturday half-holiday; civilian representation on government boards that fix wages and control classifications; overtime pay; sick leave; increased traveling allowance; preferential treatment of employees dropped from the rolls; payment of bond premiums by the government.

### International Association of Fire Fighters

Organized, 1918. Joined A. F. of L., 1918. General president, Fred W. Baer; general secretary, George J. Richardson. General Executive Board: Vice-presidents James M. Simester, William J. Cawker, Edward F. Looney, R. J. Cole, Hugh O'Donnell, Albert Higgin, E. W. Powell, D. J. Sullivan, L. N. Riley, H. E. Anderson, John F. Kerwin, J. W. Watkins, Donald Dear. Conventions every two years.

**Ontario.**—The Fire Fighters of Ontario, Canada, had a convention at Kitchener, June 17-19. An insurance plan was referred to a membership vote.

### American Federation of Teachers

Organized, 1916. Joined A. F. of L., 1916. General president, Mary C. Barker; general secretary, F. G. Stecker. General Executive Board: Lucie W. Allen, Selma Borchardt, Amy A. Fox, Abraham Lefkowitz, Henry R. Linville, Paul J. Mohr, A. J. Muste, Florence Rood, E. E. Schwartztrauber, Charles B. Stillman, Edward L. Sutton. Conventions every year.

**Conditions.**—In Chicago the organization met a set-back when Superintendent of Schools McAndrew brought the teachers' councils under his control. The union has drafted a law to be presented to the Illinois legislature providing for the re-establishment of teachers' councils. The Chicago union is also opposed to the abolition of bonuses for teachers in the eighth grade.

In New York the year was spent largely in the campaign for salary increases. The union supported the Kleinfeld-Ricca bill, which gave the largest percentage of increase to the teachers in the lower grades. The bill passed the legislature but was vetoed by Governor Smith. Smaller increases were granted by the Board of Education, but the New York City Board of Estimate made no allowance for increased salaries in the 1926 budget. The union opposed the attempt to oust unorthodox history text books. An active campaign in favor of the child labor amendment, a fight against introducing religious training in the schools, and opposition to the rating system rounded out the year's activities.

**Convention.**—The ninth convention was held in Chicago, June 29-July 2. A national program was endorsed, including higher wages, with a minimum of \$2,000; the five-hour day for each child; automatic wage increases; retirement after 30 years on three-quarters pay; teachers' councils; academic freedom; limitation of classes to 30 pupils; abolition of secret grading; elected school boards. Aid was offered to the Scopes defense, and opposition was pledged to the propaganda against the teaching of evolution. The convention favored the "creative activity" school as opposed to routine education.

## STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR

**General.**—The state federations of labor during 1925 devoted themselves chiefly to campaigning for the adoption of the child labor amendment by the various state legislatures. In most cases where the amendment came to a vote the agitation proved unsuccessful. Other legislative questions to which attention was given included limiting the use of prison made goods, greater safeguards in building construction, and limiting the spray gun in painting.

Convention reports are available for about half of the 49 state federations.

**Constitutional Changes.**—In Colorado the officers of the state federation are hereafter to be elected every two years; the general tax was increased from 3 to 5 cents, and the organization tax from 2 to 3 cents. Georgia defeated a proposal to increase the per capita tax. Branch dues and the per capita tax were increased in Maine. The Washington Federation of Labor increased the salary of its president.

**Child Labor Amendment.**—All the conventions with the exception of those in Alabama, Arkansas, and Louisiana, passed resolutions in favor of the child labor amendment. No action was taken in the three states mentioned because previous action

was considered sufficient. In Iowa a permanent committee to further the amendment was appointed.

**Legislation.**—Colorado, Texas, Ohio, and Washington favored a retirement law for federal employees, lowering the age of retirement and increasing the annuity. Colorado also favored a Saturday half-holiday for federal employees, and opposed the use of convict labor and prison-made goods. Georgia demanded a masonry inspection law, barber shop regulation, elevator inspection, and laws against the injunction and prison labor. Illinois referred a resolution for the prohibition of the painters' spray gun to the executive board; defeated a proposal to tax industries for the support of workers during periods of unemployment; demanded an eight-hour law for women and a 44-hour week for post office employees; and favored compulsory education to the age of 16. Indiana wished to include occupational diseases in the accident compensation law, and New York wanted the list of compensable trade diseases increased. Maine decided to work for retention of the direct primary law; investigation of the textile industries; and better protection of life in school buildings; it favored an old age assistance bill, a better scaffolding law, and a law limiting the use of prison-made goods to the state.

Michigan appointed a committee to study prison labor. It demanded repeal of the criminal syndicalism law, favored increased salaries for state officers and the placing of trade schools under public control, and protested against a measure which would keep building trades representatives out of houses and factory buildings.

Montana sought to amend the compensation act by the initiative and referendum; it also demanded enforcement of the laws relating to the sale of prison-made goods.

New Jersey asked for a law prohibiting the employment of women after 9 p. m., and demanded the prohibition of prison contract labor; it demanded the right of peaceful picketing and legislation permitting the sale of beer and light wines.

New York favored a 48-hour week for women; one day of rest in seven for hotel chambermaids and for street and electric railway employees; an exclusive state compensation fund; an old age pension fund; pensions for New York street cleaners after 25 years; legislation prohibiting the "yellow dog" contract; Sunday closing law for barbers; eight-hour day for state hospital employees; home rule for cities of the first and second class; and abolition of the Public Service Commission. It opposed the increase in the terms of elective offices. It demanded the repeal of the prohibition amendment. It opposed the voting machine

made by the Automatic Registry Machine Company. It opposed the general sale of prison made goods.

Ohio desired the state to appropriate funds for employment of scaffold inspectors and called upon the state Industrial Commission to amend the safety code. Legislation was asked to make the "yellow dog" contract illegal. It opposed the state constabulary, and the use of poisons in paint-spray machines. It asked for legislation to compel Supreme Court judges to make public their votes, and for labor representation on civil service commissions.

Oregon succeeded in getting on the ballot an amendment to the constitution, permitting the passing of a compulsory workmen's compensation act. It demanded semi-annual medical examinations for persons handling food, six-hour day for women, eight-hour law for men, free text books, one day of rest in seven for transport workers. It voted against repeal of the income tax law.

Pennsylvania voted to cooperate with the state Department of Labor to prevent industrial accidents. It asked for legislation to prevent the use of injunctions in labor disputes; to provide better ventilation and sanitation in moving picture projection rooms; to extend the workmen's compensation law to cover industrial home work; to amend the prohibition act; to repeal the daylight saving law. The executive committee is to study the tax laws and to report to the 1926 convention. The legislature is to be asked to demand a federal constitutional convention.

Texas favored liberalization of the federal workmen's compensation act and a law bringing all women under the 54-hour week law. Utah condemned prison-made goods, and asked for stricter inspection of meats.

Washington demanded a law permitting picketing; an anti-injunction law; extension of the accident compensation law; increased pensions for war veterans, and extension of the immigration law to citizens of Canada and Mexico; a law to compel merchants to mark prison-made goods; old age pensions for street railway employees; regulation of the use of industrial poisons, gases, and paint; a law prohibiting any person under 18 from running motor trucks; and a vocational education act for training apprentices.

Wisconsin wanted laws against prison contract labor, to license all painters, and to prohibit the use of paint sprayers. It opposed the reduction of the compulsory school age and opposed religious training in the public schools. It demanded a better enforcement of the old age pension law passed in 1925.

**Organization and Union Label.**—Colorado and Maine determined to help organize the coal miners. Colorado indorsed the "Prosanis" label on women's garments and decided to push the sale of union-made cigars. Georgia voted help to the label campaigns of the Typographical Union, the United Garment Workers, and the Journeymen Tailors. Illinois decided to further the use of the label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, and the use of labels generally; to devise ways and means to stop non-union coal mining; to help the lathers perfect their organization; to help organize the bank clerks. Maine passed a resolution in support of the United Garment Workers. Michigan urged settlement of the Coal Rivers Collieries question. It protested against the nine-hour day and the low wages paid to workers engaged in building the state prison at Jackson. Montana asked workers to use Montana coal.

New York demanded that public and municipal work be done under union conditions. It is to undertake a trade union organization campaign among women. It decided to assist the Bookkeepers', Stenographers', and Accountants' Union to organize the bank clerks. It opposed wage reductions in the textile industries.

Ohio decided to organize a label league and to further the union label campaign. It urged union members to buy union label tobacco. It opposed the use of Japanese labor in Ohio, and decided to work for the prosecution of merchants who used prison-made goods in violation of the law. It decided to support the Bakery and Confectionery Workers in their fight against the Ward Baking Company, to fight the open shop, and to enforce the eight-hour law on public work.

Oregon decided to establish friendly relations with the farmers and to organize the lumber workers in competition with the I. W. W. Pennsylvania determined to increase its efforts to organize women workers, and to ask railway workers to refuse to handle scab coal during strikes. It defeated the resolution urging union members to enter organizations opposed to organized labor. Tennessee refused to cooperate with Warren Stone in organizing a labor bank, because of his attitude in the Coal River Collieries dispute.

Wisconsin opposed company unions, decided to foster the union label, indorsed the Paper Makers' label, decided to help office workers form unions, and to help the Journeymen Tailors in organization work.

**Education.**—Colorado voted \$25 toward the expenses of three girls to be sent to the Bryn Mawr Summer School. A full time director of labor education was to be appointed, provided

the American Fund for Public Service would underwrite his salary. Georgia voted to investigate the feasibility of establishing a department of education in the state federation of labor. Illinois went on record as opposed to vocational training; it appointed a standing committee on education. Maine put its executive committee in charge of its educational bureau. A permanent committee was appointed in Michigan with instructions to work along the lines of the Workers' Educational Bureau; literature is to be sent to the locals. The Michigan federation will affiliate with the Workers' Education Bureau when funds permit. New York indorsed Manumit and Brookwood Schools, and opposed censorship of teaching. It indorsed a trade union program for Education Week. New York also endorsed the work of the Playground and Recreation Association. Ohio favored the licensing of trade schools; the executive committee was asked to study the advisability of appointing a director of education. Oregon voted \$25 a year to the Portland Labor College and appointed a standing committee on education; it favored free text books for children in the public schools. Pennsylvania indorsed the Pioneer Youth movement and voted to cooperate with the Play Ground and Recreation Association; it indorsed Manumit School and decided to send students to Brookwood and Bryn Mawr on scholarships; local unions were urged to establish labor colleges. It favored vocational training, so modified as to maintain union standards. Wisconsin favored higher scholarship qualifications for teachers and condemned the Board of Regents for accepting \$12,500 from the Rockefeller Fund. It indorsed the work of the Workers' Education Bureau and the Brookwood Labor College, and decided to try to send students on scholarship to Brookwood.

**Politics.**—Alabama and Georgia favored proportional representation. Illinois defeated resolutions favoring the formation of a labor party and nationalization of mines and railroads. Michigan directed its president to attend the February Conference for Progressive Political Action if funds permitted. Minnesota indorsed the A. F. of L. non-partisan political program. It also indorsed the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association, which was organized in March by William Mahoney to replace the Farmer-Labor Party. It favored a bill for workers' education. In New York a resolution opposing the re-election of Mayor Hylan was side-tracked and a resolution adopted favoring the A. F. of L. policy of "reward your friends." The Utah federation voted down a proposal to form an American labor party.

**Communism.**—In Illinois a resolution calling for the amalgamation of all unions in a given industry was defeated. The convention voted down a resolution favoring a World Congress

of Trades Unions and a United International of Trades Unions; a resolution for the recognition of Soviet Russia was defeated. The Illinois federation refused support to labor papers "that do not live up to the principles of the A. F. of L." Minnesota amended its constitution to read "no person shall be permitted to sit as a delegate at conventions who is a member of the Communist (Workers') Party, or a sympathizer or teacher of that organization." Utah tabled a resolution condemning the growing tendency of trade union officials to expel members without due trial or strict compliance with the constitution.

**Banking and Insurance.**—Georgia indorsed the Unity Trust Company. Louisiana indorsed the credit union movement and cooperative labor insurance. New York made recommendations on union life insurance, covering rates and reserves. Illinois and Ohio favored the formation of a trade union insurance company. Michigan urged labor to support building and loan associations.

**Civil Liberties.**—Colorado adopted a resolution opposing the Ku Klux Klan. Georgia condemned the Tennessee anti-evolution law. Michigan demanded new trials for Mooney, Billings, Sacco, and Vanzetti. Ohio demanded a pardon for Dominick Venturato and citizenship for Debs. In Pennsylvania a resolution starting a free speech fight in McKeesport was referred to the executive council, to be taken up with the A. F. of L. West Virginia asked the governor to pardon Edgar Combs, who was sentenced to life imprisonment for his participation in the miners' armed march to Logan county in 1921.

**Miscellaneous.**—Illinois defeated a motion recommending the election of officers of the A. F. of L. by referendum vote; it decided to investigate the proposal for the establishment of a home for the aged and infirm. Maine and New York declared the Holland Furnace Company unfair. Michigan passed a resolution asking the state to appoint a committee to study hydro-electric power, especially the Ontario system. The state was also asked to buy Michigan coal for state institutions. Louisiana favored direct trade between the producer and the consumer. New Jersey and New York denounced George H. Carter, head of the Government Printing Office in Washington, for establishing a spy system within the department. New York urged the A. F. of L. to establish a radio broadcasting station. In Pennsylvania, a resolution to affiliate with the Workers' Health Bureau was referred to the executive committee; the convention resolved to erect a memorial to Terrence V. Powderly, former head of the Knights of Labor; the convention also decided to discuss with other federations the establishment of a labor farm for

tubercular union members. Texas favored an international labor conference to discuss immigration from Mexico. Washington favored the withdrawal of American military and naval forces from China; it is to be noted that the *Seattle Union Record* has passed into private control. It urged adoption of December 13 as Gompers Memorial Day. It affiliated with the Workers' Health Bureau, and favored the establishment of a museum of safety devices. In Wisconsin a resolution to remove all discriminations against Negroes in labor unions was voted down on the ground that no general discrimination exists.

## NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

Organized, 1906. General president, Maud Swartz; secretary-treasurer, Elisabeth Christman. Executive Board: Rose Schneiderman, Mary E. Dreier, Sarah Green, Matilda Lindsay, Agnes Nestor, Julia S. O'Connor, Ethel M. Smith. Conventions every two years.

**Affiliations.**—The National Women's Trade Union League provides "a common meeting ground for women of all groups who indorse the principles of democracy and wish to see them applied to industry." It is indorsed by the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and is seated in their conventions as a fraternal body. It has one state committee, in Illinois, and it has local branches or leagues in the following cities:

Birmingham, Ala.  
Boston, Mass.  
Chicago, Ill.  
Cleveland, Ohio  
Cumberland, Md.  
Kansas City, Mo.  
Madison, Wis.  
Milwaukee, Wis.  
Minneapolis, Minn.

New York, N. Y.  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
Seattle, Wash.  
St. Louis, Mo.  
Tri-City (Moline and Rock Island, Ill., and  
Davenport, Iowa)  
Washington, D. C.  
Worcester, Mass.

Local leagues must consist of at least 25 members, representing at least three trade unions, with a majority of trade unionists in good standing on the executive board.

**Platform.**—The program of the league includes:

1. Organization of workers into trade unions.
2. Equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex or race.
3. Eight-hour day and the 44-hour week.
4. An American standard of living.
5. Full citizenship for women.
6. Outlawry of war.
7. Closer affiliation of women workers of all countries.

**Activities.**—The national organization was chiefly active in advocating ratification of the child labor amendment before the

state legislatures. It opposed the Wadsworth-Garrett amendment to the federal constitution, which would make further amendment of that document more difficult.

**New York.**—In New York the local league helped in organizing women workers in hand and steam laundries, paper-box, glove, and candy factories. It also helped to organize the hotel chambermaids. It assisted in the strikes of 16 locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers engaged in making white goods and underwear; and of the flower and feather workers. It conducted five study classes for women. In its educational work it kept in close touch with the Workers' Education Bureau. The league maintains a library. In its legislative work the New York league obtained the extension of vocational scholarships to women; and worked for a women's 48-hour bill. It also assisted women in obtaining naturalization papers. The branch held its third autumn conference at Brookwood, October 3-4. The conference recommended to the National League that it call a conference on home work.

**Illinois.**—A state conference of the Illinois league was held at Springfield, March 10-11. The conference endorsed the bill limiting the use of injunctions in labor disputes, the eight-hour day for women, the child labor amendment, one day of rest in seven, maternity care, and a survey of organized women. A conference of the Chicago league, September 25-27, considered legislation for women workers, workers' education, group insurance, and the child labor amendment. The Chicago league has helped to organize women barbers. It also maintains a naturalization service.

## WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL UNION LABEL LEAGUE

Organized, 1905. General secretary, John I. Turner. General secretary, Anna B. Field. General Executive Board: Mrs. Dora Smith, Mrs. Mary Cramer, Frances Gitzen, Mrs. Emma Augustine, Mrs. Mamie F. Hibbard. Conventions every two years.

**Purposes.**—The Women's International Union Label League is a fraternal organization of the A. F. of L. whose purposes are:

1. To promote the welfare of wage-earners.
2. To discountenance the sweatshop system of production by aiding and encouraging the sale of union-made goods.
3. To gain a universal eight-hour day.
4. To abolish child labor; to secure equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.
5. To aid the Sunday and early closing movements.
6. To sustain fair employers.
7. To urge industrial and political equality for women.

**Activities.**—During the year the officers sought to popularize union label goods by addressing labor union conventions and the meetings of civic bodies. The organization opposed the sale of prison-made goods. A death benefit fund is maintained.

**Convention.**—The 15th biennial convention met in St. Paul, August 11-13. A number of constitutional changes were discussed, but none were adopted.

## INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

### Chicago Faction

Organized, 1905. General secretary, John I. Turner. General Executive Board: Carl Keller, W. E. Spear, S. Hendrickson, Raymond Henry, Alfred Kohn, William Drennan, Felix Mattson. Conventions every year.

**Factional Struggles.**—The decisions of the 1924 Convention were referred to the membership. James Rowan, a leader of the opposition,<sup>1</sup> was expelled by a vote of 1,098 to 219; Fred Bowerman, Harry Trotter, P. D. Ryan, and Charles Anderson, supporters of Rowan, were expelled by similar majorities. A resolution which would have repealed a clause in the constitution limiting membership to wage workers was defeated, as was a resolution repealing the constitutional provision for setting up job branches.

**Activities.**—The majority, or Chicago, element acquired a building at 3333 Belmont Avenue. The money for this was largely borrowed, and the organization experienced difficulty in meeting its obligations. An appeal for funds was issued, and one crisis was met.

On February 3 a joint press committee was organized to unify the press and to effect economies.

**Persecution.**—Persecutions under the Busick injunction continued in California. In Idaho several members filed suits for damages against the Bonner's Ferry Lumber Company for arrests and deportations that occurred in a lumber strike in 1923. In Port Arthur, Tex., the organization applied for an injunction to restrain the police from molesting members and raiding the meeting hall. The police filed a counter suit.

**Strikes.**—A number of small strikes occurred in various industries and in different parts of the country. The Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union 510 engaged in a strike against Jarka and Company, stevedores, in Philadelphia, in April. The strike began as a lockout of 3,000 men when the company refused to allow the men to wear the I. W. W. button. The strike proved unsuccessful, and was called off on April 16.

<sup>1</sup> See *American Labor Year Book*, 1925, p. 105-106.

The Marine Transport Workers struck again in September, partly as an expression of sympathy with the striking European seamen. The men demanded a wage increase, the eight-hour day, the 44-hour week while in port, pay for overtime work, and the same conditions on ships of foreign registry as on those of American registry. The strike was called off in October.

**Industrial Union Conventions.**—Industrial Union 310, made up of general construction workers, met in Omaha, March 23-25. Much activity in road building and in railroad grading was reported, and a general organization campaign was decided upon. The October conference could not be held on account of lack of interest among the members.

On May 15 Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union 110 held a conference in Omaha. This conference recognized the Chicago administration, opposed the Emergency Program put out by the opposition, and pledged itself to permit no dissension to interfere with its work. It was decided to let the members of Industrial Union 310 who do harvest work remain in that union. The conference approved a maximum work day of 10 hours. It, too, undertook an organization drive. The October conference reported that organization conditions had been poor, and that few members had been gained.

The Marine Transport Workers, Industrial Union 510, held a convention in New York, October 1-12. The convention raised the initiation fee from \$2 to \$5. The terms of the secretary-treasurer and of the general organization committee were increased to a maximum of three years. The convention favored autonomy for the industrial unions. It refused to affiliate with the Red International of Labor Unions.

Industrial Union 120, composed of lumber workers, had its convention at Missoula, Mont., October 25-28. Dues were raised from 50 cents to \$1, but a compulsory assessment was voted down. A convention of the small industrial unions was held on November 1.

**General Convention.**—The 17th general Convention was held in Chicago November 9-20. Eleven delegates were seated. It was decided that in the interest of efficiency officials may hold office for three years. A sliding scale of initiation fees, from \$1 to \$10, and a sliding scale of dues ranging from 50 cents to \$1 were adopted. The per capita tax was set at 15 per cent of the monthly dues. A quarterly assessment of \$1 was authorized, to

not borrow money outside of the organization without a referendum vote, and the organization is to own no property. The board is to control all publications. Conventions may be called by a majority of job branches; at conventions each job branch is entitled to one delegate and equal voting power with all other branches.

The Portland, Ore., *Industrial Unionist* was made the official organ. Sale of union cards as tickets on freight trains was prohibited. Boycotts are not to be published in the paper, as they are more effective when handled locally. Imprisoned members accepting parole or individual clemency, and those refusing to stand trial or face sentence for their principles are automatically expelled. The supply clerk's office was established in Chicago, at 186 North La Salle Street, but the bulk of the national affairs of the union are conducted by the chairman of the General Executive Board, at Portland, Ore.

### TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

Organized, 1920. General secretary, William Z. Foster. National Committee: J. W. Johnstone, S. T. Hammersmark, Harrison George, Earl R. Browder, Benjamin Gitlow, M. Obermeyer, Tim Buck. Conventions every year.

**Policy.**—The Trade Union Educational League organization worked within existing unions for amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions; improvement of wages, hours, and conditions; organization of the unorganized; elimination of unemployment; the united front; expulsion of corrupt union leaders; recognition of Soviet Russia; equality for Negro workers; independent political action; abolition of the use of the injunction in labor disputes; affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions; workers' control; and shop committees.

The League is opposed to dual unionism, but where large numbers of members are expelled for their left wing activities they are urged to form unions of the expelled.

While it sought to influence all organizations, the League was particularly active in the United Mine Workers, the Machinists, the Typographical Union, the Bakers, the Carpenters, the Painters, the Textile Workers, the Furriers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers, and in the textile trades. It is especially strong in the needle trades.

During the year it issued a call for a united front in the fight on criminal syndicalism laws and sedition laws. It was active for the child labor amendment, supported the strike of the I. W. W. Marine Transport Workers, and issued a manifesto pro-

testing against wage reductions. In some organizations considerable left sentiment was developed. The American Federation of Labor Convention failed to adopt any of the measures advocated by the League.

**Expulsions.**—The activities of the League caused a great deal of resentment among trade union officials and in city central bodies. The Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly excluded William Manseth and Don Stevens, members of the T. U. E. L., and the St. Paul central body expelled Julius Emme and O. R. Votaw. In Seattle all Communist delegates to the central body were expelled on February 5 by a vote of 93 to 33. Several of these were re-elected by their unions.

**Railroad Conference.**—On September 12 the second Railroad Amalgamation Conference met at Chicago. The conference endorsed the complete program of the T. U. E. L. It promised aid to the coal strikers, opposed the B. & O. plan, and demanded autonomy for Canadian unions. Amalgamation and international trade union unity were endorsed.

**Needle Trades Conference.**—The third annual conference of the Needle Trades Section was held in New York, September 20-22. Ninety delegates represented groups in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Furriers, the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, and the Journeymen Tailors. The conference adopted a Progressive Needle Trades Workers' Program which in addition to the usual T. U. E. L. program calls for amalgamation of the unions, democratization on the basis of the shop committee, union control of jobbers, the 36-hour week, guarantee of 40 weeks' employment each year, a minimum wage of \$2,000 a year, unemployment insurance paid for by the employers and administered by the union, and guarantees against discharge. The conference endorsed the fight of the left wing against the Sigman administration of the Ladies' Garment Workers. It favored recognition of Soviet Russia and the formation of a labor party.

## KNIGHTS OF LABOR

Organized, 1869. General president, Thomas H. Canning; general secretary, C. M. Cootell. General Executive Board: Thomas H. Canning, Joseph P. Tierney, J. B. Lenau, John Fernau, Joseph Supple. Conventions every two years.

**Activities.**—Membership increased slightly during the year. In Chicago the Typographical Union sought an injunction to prevent the use of the Knights of Labor label. A similar move in Boston in 1912 proved unsuccessful.

## AMERICAN NEGRO LABOR CONGRESS

**Purpose.**—The first American Negro Labor Congress met at Chicago, October 25-31. A permanent organization was formed, the purpose of which is

To unify and strengthen the efforts of all organizations of Negro workers and farmers . . . for the protection from discrimination, persecution and exploitation of the Negro race and the working people generally . . . to bring the Negro working people into the trade unions and the general labor movement with the white workers and to remove all bars and discriminations against Negroes and other races in the trade unions so that all races may have complete equality in the labor movement . . . to aid in the general liberation of the darker races and the working people throughout all countries.

**Resolutions.**—The Congress criticized the American Federation of Labor for its failure to organize the Negro workers. It condemned scab recruiting among Negroes. Negro workers were urged to join the American Federation of Labor wherever possible. Where unions bar Negroes from membership, the Negroes were urged to form unions in cooperation with white unorganized workers and to attempt to gain admission to the A. F. of L.

Resolutions were adopted condemning the Ku Klux Klan, demanding the admission of Negroes to jury duty, demanding civil liberties, and condemning jim-crowism in the army. The Congress demanded social equality, and the abolition of all laws prohibiting inter-marriage, of all laws disfranchising Negroes, and of all discrimination and segregation in educational opportunities. Soviet Russia was hailed as the first state granting full social, political and economic equality to all peoples, regardless of race or color. A World Congress of Negroes was planned. Other demands included a minimum wage; abolition of child labor; cessation of the use of Negro troops in strikes or imperialist wars; abolition of corporal punishment and all forms of peonage on farms and plantations.

## EMPLOYERS' ACTIVITIES

### Company Unions

**Decrease.**—Company unions—also called “works councils,” “employee representation,” “conference boards,” “works assemblies,” “industrial democracy committees,” and similar names—exhibited few new developments in 1925. Their number probably decreased slightly from the 814 estimated at the end of 1924.

The number of workers covered may still be estimated as well over 1,000,000.

**Railroads.**—On the railroads, where this type of representation developed rapidly in previous years, a few gains were made by the regular labor unions which in some instances succeeded in replacing the company unions as representatives of the workers in proceedings before the Railroad Labor Board. The Signalmen, the Clerks, and the Maintenance of Way Workers' unions were among those which made some progress in this direction. On some roads, such as the Pennsylvania, all but the four train service brotherhoods have been replaced by company associations. On 60 or more other roads, such as the Union Pacific and the Santa Fe, similar associations are flourishing, particularly among shop craft and maintenance workers.

The first attempt to create a clearing house for information among the various "independents," or company unions, on the railways was taken at a convention held in St. Louis in September. Among the leaders in the movement were R. R. Hunter, said to be a former "spotter" on the payroll of a detective agency, and now general secretary-treasury of the Associated Organization of Shop Craft Employees of the Great Northern Railway, which Hunter describes as "the best labor organization on any railroad in the United States." No national association of "independents" was formally organized, but a mutual exchange of company union experience was effected and legislative measures opposed by the railroad companies were attacked. Some of the numerous railway "independents" were not permitted to attend this convention. Their railway managements were fearful lest "amalgamation" would be discussed and some national association be formed which might somehow become as effective as the regular labor unions which the company associations were set up to destroy. The Pennsylvania lines sent 30 delegates to the convention, representing 51,000 shopmen. Altogether 77,000 shopmen were represented by 52 delegates "from all sections of the United States." *Labor*, the official organ of the regular railway labor unions, declared this company union national meeting a "flat fizzle in every way" and described it as "a general get-together to resist the regular railroad labor organizations."

One of the most effective representation plans used in attempts to thwart labor organization during 1925 was the "Plan of Representation of the Pullman Company." Delegates chosen under the plan were discharged for their efforts in working for improved conditions among the porters. The discharged workers

are now leaders in a move to secure the recognition of an actual labor union in place of the company-subsidized plan.

**Manufacturing.**—A symposium conducted by *Factory* early in the year and covering 94 executives of manufacturing establishments where company unions are in operation, resulted in reports that the shop committees were generally proving of help to the management in solving management problems, that there is no tendency to increase the powers of the councils over shop matters, and that they have been of "educational value" to the workers, which means that the workers have been led to think more nearly in harmony with the employers' point of view. As long as business executives find the councils developing in these directions it is unlikely that they will permit them to lapse into stagnation, though the tendency is to do so unless the threat of trade unionization is constantly present.

**Union Resistance.**—Organized labor has given the problem of the company union more attention than during the preceding year or two. The A. F. of L. Convention decided to "collect data on company unions and then on the basis of this information plan further investigation and how best to secure the cooperation of research agencies to institute helpful inquiries and investigation." The report of the Executive Council stated:

We know that company unions deny their members the advantages of national organization and the benefit of representative officials of that training which develops independent experts. . . . Some managements and employers resent unions as an invasion of the authority of management. From such has come support of employee representation plans or company unions with the hope of crushing unions by this method, a method which is more insidious than the old union-smashing tactics.

The International Association of Machinists in a leaflet attacking the company unions quoted one of the "individual contracts" used in tying the workers of the Union Pacific System to the company-controlled Shop Employees' Association, and said:

The company union is a subordinate part of railroad and industrial management, the function of which is to hold the working force in abject submission to the managerial will.

The Order of Railway Telegraphers, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, and the Railway Clerks have likewise issued pamphlets against the company union, citing its demoralizing effects upon the regular trade unions.

Criticism of the company union from non-union sources appeared during the year in John Fitch's *Industrial Unrest*, and W. D. Moriarity's *Economics for Citizenship*. Operations of the

Rockefeller plan in the mines and steel mills of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company confirmed some of the previous observations contained in the thorough studies of those plans published in 1924 by the Russell Sage Foundation.<sup>1</sup>

### Labor Spies

**Typical Solicitations.**—The year 1925 witnessed further development in the evolution of labor detective agencies into "service bureaus," "harmony engineering," "conciliation associations," and "industrial councillors." Operatives are supplied to companies wishing to forestall unionization and strikes.<sup>2</sup>

A typical solicitation letter is the following, issued in 1925 to a textile concern by the International Auxiliary Company, the New York state representatives of the Corporations Auxiliary Company of Ohio:

Do you know definitely how many employees of *your* plant have joined the union these past sixty days?

Do you know precisely who they are?

Do you know who the professional agitators and organizers are, secretly at work in *your* plant among *your* personnel?

Do you know what will be the demands to be made upon *you*, as soon as thorough unionization of *your* personnel has been accomplished? . . .

In our last letter, six weeks ago, we anticipated this organization drive to be made in your territory. The time has now come to pass from passive indifference to active combating of the sinister influences at work among your men. We can assist you effectively in averting serious labor disturbances, provided the situation is taken in hand in season.

Foster's Industrial and Detective Bureau, New York, carried in manufacturers' organs during the year an advertisement which read:

Should you anticipate a strike in your factories, mines, or railroads, retain Foster's service, who can furnish you labor in all its branches and guards to protect person and property.

**Labor Espionage Developments.**—Labor espionage developments during 1925 included tricking a picket during a strike of automobile mechanics, members of the International Association of Machinists, in Joliet, Ill., into accompanying a Burns opera-

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<sup>1</sup> Ben Selekman, *Employees' Representation in Steel Works*; Ben Selekman and Mary Van Kleeck, *Employees' Representation in Coal Mines*.

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tive to a struck garage where the Burns man lit a bomb and told the striker to run. Immediately the picket was set upon by four Burns operatives who shot him in the leg. A local policeman discovered the planted bomb and the first operative hiding in the shadows. The picket was released the next day, but the frame-up later appeared so transparent that warrants for the arrest of all five Burns men were issued. They had already left the city.

Investigators for a government agency brought to light one operative of 14 years' standing in the Paterson silk workers' movement, and other spies working against the United Textile Workers and reporting to the Empire Silk Company and the Textile Products Company, as well as to other firms in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Rhode Island.

Hundreds of industrial operatives were found to be working for the same agency, the International Auxiliary Company, some of its clients being the New York Edison Company, the Astoria Gas Works, and the Westinghouse Electric Company. Names used by this company in hiring and training operatives are Eastern Engineering Company, and Automotive Exchange, both at the same address as the International Auxiliary Company.

*Current Affairs*, published by the Boston Chamber of Commerce, conducted a symposium on "Open Diplomacy in Labor Relations. Does the Factory Spy Render Real Service?" Certain New England manufacturers expressed themselves opposed to the use of industrial under-cover men. Those who approved of and used these "double-dealing middlemen," as one critical employer called them, were silent. Their spokesman in the debate was James Ray, president of the Ray Detective Agency and Merchants' Secret Service, Inc., whose 19 years of business in Boston has left a trail of broken strikes and demoralized union locals. Ray contended that the service is chiefly valuable

in pointing out disloyal workmen. . . . The employer has an equal right to know about such conditions through private methods as the unions that work under the surface in planning strikes and leaving employers in a bad predicament when they walk out. . . . Our aim always has been to conciliate the labor element, eliminate agitation, and consolidate all interests.

Illustrative of the service of under-cover men, employed directly by employers' associations instead of by private service bureaus, is the letter of the commissioner of the Industrial Relations Department of the National Clay Products Industries Association, addressed to the general manager of the North River Brick Company, Saugerties, N. Y., September 25, 1925. In part it read:

Find herewith excerpt from confidential report received from one of our staff representatives in connection with Connecticut strike situation :

"Lowrie did not speak tonight of using violence, but begged the men to stick for the sake of their wives and children."

This reference to violence is frequent in spy reports, as part of the agency's policy is to keep the manufacturer in constant fear of the union, in this case the Brick and Clay Workers.

### Employee Magazines

**Extent.**—An employee magazine is a type of house organ issued by a firm or corporation "dealing with the internal life of the organization and with the relation of all concerned to each other and to the efficient conduct of the business."<sup>1</sup> Among its purposes are to increase good-will, develop loyalty to the plant, and generally to create a "family spirit" among the workers in a given business.

About 500 company-edited magazines for workers are now issued in the United States and it is estimated by the editor of *The Dodge Idea*, organ of the Dodge Manufacturing Company, that American employers are investing over \$4,000,000 yearly in these publications. Of the 490 magazines analyzed by the National Industrial Conference Board, 252 were published by manufacturers, 85 by commercial concerns, 36 by railroads, 90 by public utility concerns, 22 by financial houses, and five by mining companies.

**Methods.**—The contents of these magazines cover a wide field, but instilling loyalty to the company appears to be their chief function. Scarcely any references are made to wages, hours, or methods of collective bargaining, practically all the firms using these magazines being open-shop concerns. The plant periodical is budgeted as an important item under employee welfare or personnel activity expenditures. A. J. Haine, discussing this type of house organ, says: "The purpose is to create an impression of an association or mutuality of interest" between employer and worker.<sup>2</sup> To this end he suggests a list of contents which includes articles appealing to the "home folks," funny stories, crossword puzzles, sports, travelogues, articles on economics, cooking hints for the wives and dress hints for the young

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<sup>1</sup> National Industrial Conference Board, *Employee Magazines in the United States*.

<sup>2</sup> *Iron Trade Review*, April 16, 1925.

ladies, lessons in thrift, and other entertaining and diverting items. He tells of several editors of these periodicals who make it a point to mention every employee in the plant at least four times a year.

Another writer advises the editor of employee publications that "sound economics" can be taught through these periodicals if the proper methods are followed. He urges them to "tie up to these messages some admired and highly respected person. Capitalize his personality. He has a following. Cash in on it."<sup>1</sup>

The employee magazines are also used extensively in connection with the popularization among the workers of pension and insurance plans, stock ownership schemes, company unions, and a number of welfare devices now common in American industry.

### Employee Stock Ownership Plans

**Increase.**—An important device of management which has developed rapidly in American industry is the plan whereby the workers subscribe for the securities of the company employing them.

The extent to which these plans have gone has not been accurately measured but preliminary estimates by industrial relations experts put the total number of companies now using them at somewhere between 200 and 300. The growth in the number of workers owning company stock (not including bonds or other securities) has been worked out in some detail by Robert S. Binkerd, who investigated certain industrial establishments employing these plans. His findings follow:

Table 96—Increase in Employee Stockholders, 1925 over 1918<sup>2</sup>

<i>Industries</i>	<i>Employees</i>
26 Class I Railroads.....	70,262
Street railways.....	15,000
Gas, electric light and power companies.....	75,000
Telephone and telegraph.....	62,649
Packers .....	7,000
Ten oil companies.....	21,153
Five iron and steel companies.....	87,696

Total increase among these selected companies.. 338,760

These figures are conservative, as the bulk of the stock sold to employees, Binkerd points out, is bought on the installment plan

<sup>1</sup> *Industrial Management*, May, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, April, 1925.

and "the employee does not legally enter the list of stockholders until the period of installment payments is completed. This period generally ranges anywhere from 21 months to five years."

Some of the leading corporations whose workers have purchased stock, with the approximate number of employee stockholders now on the books, are:

**Table 97—Leading Corporations with Employee Stock Ownership**

<i>Corporation</i>	<i>Approximate No. of Employee Stockholders</i>
American Telephone and Telegraph Company.....	50,000
Still making instalment payments, about.....	50,000
Armour & Company.....	30,000
Bethlehem Steel Company.....	14,000
Chicago Elevated Railway Company.....	17,000
General Electric Company.....	22,000
Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company.....	17,000 <sup>1</sup>
New York Central Lines.....	41,000
Pennsylvania Railroad.....	19,000
Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company.....	10,000
Standard Oil Company of California .....	12,000
Standard Oil Company of Indiana .....	15,000
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.....	16,000
Swift & Company.....	21,000
United States Steel Corporation.....	50,000
Total .....	363,000

**Purposes.**—One of the purposes in providing facilities for employee purchase of company securities is described by a sympathetic employers' association as "the possibility of lessening the difference of opinion between employer and employee, and of substituting a cooperative loyalty and a basis of mutual interest and understanding." Other company spokesmen refer to the plans, as the "cure for radicalism" and as a "backfire against unrest." This general purpose is contained in the statement of A. W. Burritt:

There can be no doubt that stock plans are frequently introduced because of the desire to prevent or weaken the organization of labor, the hope that expensive strikes and industrial disputes will be done away with, and the wish to lessen the antagonism of the worker toward the corporation. Such plans rest largely upon the assumption that an employee who is a stockholder in the concern will be less likely to go on strike, will be less easily influenced by "agitators," and will be more likely to take the viewpoint of the owners and managers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1920: somewhat reduced since then.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Burritt, *Profit-Sharing*.

Other purposes ascribed to the plans are the encouragement of thrift and the development of a "contented and united labor force." There is also the sales value of this type of company humanitarianism as the advertisements of Armour, Swift, Standard Oil, and others illustrate. It has furthermore been pointed out that the sale of securities to workers is economical for the company in that it cuts out the brokerage charges ordinarily made by banking houses in floating industrial loans.

**Union Attitude.**—Trade unionists criticize the movement for wide diffusion of company shares among employees on the ground that the devices are used almost exclusively by companies with a definite anti-trade union bias and record. They also point out that such investments put all the eggs of the worker in one basket, that the stocks are often highly speculative, and that in some instances the workers have lost almost all they put into such investments. But the spokesmen of organized labor contend chiefly that

Some employers are using this method as a new way to tie the workers to their jobs. By getting wage earners concerned for dividends they hope to make their interest in wages less aggressive. They hope employee ownership will serve as a deterrent for wage increases and strikes.<sup>1</sup>

To support their attitude, unionists quote the statements of employers and their agents such as the *Bankers' Magazine*, which after stating that the extent of the investment contemplated by these plans "is in all cases a very small minority interest," says: "These plans are with some reason looked upon by organized labor as merely throwing a sop to the workers to keep them contented."

**Future Control.**—The viewpoint of the organized workers on the subject of prospective control is stated by L. D. Bland, editor of the *Chicago Union Leader*, published by the local branch of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees:

Let none of us get it into our heads that because we may buy some stock of the company we work for, that we will ever own any material part of that company, or have anything to say in its direction. Individual stock owners among the workers are but a drop in the bucket in the big game.

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<sup>1</sup> Editorial in San Francisco *Organized Labor*, November 14, 1925.

### Company Insurance

**Group Plans.**—Group insurance for workers constitutes one of the more significant welfare features now common in American industry. Life insurance policies for all the workers in a given concern are written by the regular insurance firms, the premiums being paid in whole or in part by the employing company. Where the workers pay a part the system is called "contributory." This form is said to be growing in favor among employers, as it stimulates a closer interest on the part of the workers and a greater loyalty to the company. Hundreds of industrial and commercial enterprises now employ either contributory or non-contributory plans of insurance for their workers.

**Table 98—Group Insurance Carried by American Industrial Establishments**

1912.....	\$ 13,172,198
1917.....	346,525,472
1922.....	1,852,593,553
1923.....	2,396,758,418
1924.....	3,099,019,607

These figures cover the total group policies of the seven outstanding insurance companies in the field. The 1924 figures cover 9,637 such policies.

**Results.**—The employers who have introduced group insurance in one form or another are reported to be well satisfied with the results. One of them speaks of company life insurance as "a kind of bonus for steady intelligent work." Another company, a large baking combine, which has offered insurance to its 22,000 employees on a contributory basis, is reported to have discovered a valuable by-product of the scheme. The National Industrial Conference Board, commenting on the approximately \$28,000,000 worth of insurance to be written for the employees of this company, says that

The company has also been able to determine to its own satisfaction, and in no small degree, the attitude of employees toward the organization, and has ascertained in some instances that certain employees were undesirable, because of their mental attitude toward industrial conditions as well as toward the employer.

A committee of the A. F. of L., after a study of company group insurance, reported in 1925 that it is installed chiefly "to benefit the employer by reducing his labor turnover and tying the employee to his employment." Charles F. Nesbit, manager of the Union Cooperative Insurance Association, organized in 1925 by the

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, says in commenting on the superior achievement of union insurance:

Where unions obtain the group policy the member insured does not have to remain tied to any one employer. He can quit when conditions become unsatisfactory and still retain his insurance.

The general social aims of this type of insurance are expressed by Haley Fiske, president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company:

If we can get into the minds of wage earners the idea that they own capital in the form of policies, we shall have gone a long way toward teaching them the rights of property.<sup>1</sup>

### Industrial Pension Systems

**Extent.**—Industrial pension systems for retiring superannuated employees are widely used in private industrial, mercantile, and financial establishments in the United States. A report issued in 1925 reveals 248 formal pension plans conducted by 245 separate firms. In addition 148 informal pension programs were examined but not included in the table.

Table 99—Employees Covered by Formal Pension Plans in American Industries<sup>2</sup>

Industry	Number of Firms		Number of Employees Covered			
	Listed	Report- ing	Male	Female	Not Classified	Total
Metals .....	60	50	257,130	39,814	405,681	702,625
Railroads .....	37	31	156,443	5,749	1,019,317	1,181,509
Other public utilities .....	47	41	252,377	204,651	34,956	491,984
Banking .....	18	15	9,295	3,750	393	13,438
Insurance .....	9	9	48,327	21,558	2,500	72,385
Merchandise ...	12	12	6,764	7,889	14,000	28,653
Petroleum ....	11	10	60,270	2,729	11,358	74,357
Chemical prod- ucts .....	10	9	20,290	4,104	2,458	26,852
Mining and quarrying ...	6	6	10,942	185	1,546	12,673
Paper and printing ....	9	9	4,579	2,333	1,341	8,253
Textiles .....	8	8	8,627	5,990	....	14,617
Food products.	7	7	39,638	5,321	62,000	106,959
Miscellaneous .	11	8	50,425	16,813	55	67,293
Total .....	245	215	925,107	320,886	1,555,605	2,801,598

<sup>1</sup> New York Times, January 27, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> National Industrial Conference Board, *Industrial Pensions in the United States*.

Of the 215 firms giving detailed information, the 29 which employ over 25,000 workers each cover together nearly three-fourths of the total.

Of the 245 firms reporting the use of pension plans, 164 reported pensioners on their rolls at present. The total number as of December, 1924, was 35,953, and the disbursements to these pensioners in 1924 totalled \$18,192,250, an average of about \$506. During 1925 the disbursements are estimated at over \$30,000,000. The United States Steel Corporation distributed \$2,068,652 to 5,084 pensioners. The average age of steel employees retired in 1925 was 62.7 years; their average period of service was 31.35 years, and the average monthly pension \$43.20.

**Purpose.**—The purpose of the industrial pension is defined generally as “the improvement of industrial relations” by reducing turnover, stabilizing the working force, stimulating efficiency and loyalty, and developing contentment and good will. If it does this, says the National Industrial Conference Board, “it is an excellent investment and an asset to business.” Some employers are reported to have attained these results; others fail and complain that “the younger men fail to show due appreciation of the beneficent provision made for them, while the older ones are not in need of such inducement to long service.”

Although some employers find that pension plans do not strengthen workers' loyalty to the firm during industrial disputes the attitude of organized labor, on the whole, is “apathetic and even hostile.” The report finds that organized labor deprecates especially the insidious weakening effect upon organization discipline of favors received by some of their members from the employers. They apprehend that in the event of strike or other conflict the older men might be deterred by the threatened loss of their pensions from acting in concert with their younger fellows.

A great many plans contain a rule providing that workers leaving the service to participate in a strike must return “for pension record purposes, as new employees.” The experience of workers for the United States Steel Corporation, in 1919, the Pullman Company in 1924, and various railroads during the shop crafts strike of 1922, illustrates the force of these rulings.

**Pension Contributions Lost.**—The outstanding event concerning industrial pensions in 1925 was the loss of the suit brought on behalf of 400 pensioners of Morris & Company, meat packers, against Armour & Company, which had absorbed the former company and refused to continue the contributory

pension scheme, or be responsible to the retired Morris pensioners. On March 21, 1925, the Circuit Court of Chicago dismissed the suit for "lack of equity." The court ruled that the Armours were under no obligation to carry out pledges made by Morris & Company, even though the employees had contributed largely to the fund. In presenting their claims to the court the employees contended that "the pension fund was designed to avert strikes and secure loyalty and uninterrupted service on the part of empolyees."<sup>1</sup>

An executive of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is authority for the statement that not more than a dozen industrial pension plans now in effect in the United States are based on a sound actuarial foundation.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Court Decisions, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> For some of the difficulties involved in industrial pension plans see a series of articles by Gurden Edwards in *The Annalist*, November 20 and 27, and December 4, 1925.

### III. LABOR DISPUTES

#### GENERAL TABLES

**Outstanding Strikes.**—The outstanding strikes of 1925 were those arising out of the jurisdiction conflict between the Operative Plasterers and the Bricklayers, which took place off and on from March through September; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' fight in two cities against the International Tailoring Company from June to September; and the hard coal strike which began on September 1 and was still in progress at the close of the year.

**Number of Strikes.**—The number of reported strikes and lockouts has not risen and fallen at the same time as the reported number of workers affected. Strikes fell off 50 per cent in 1922, though the number of strikers rose 50 per cent due to the miners' and shopmen's strikes. In 1923 strikes rose 50 per cent, while the number of strikers rose only 10 per cent; exclusive of the miners and shopmen, the number of strikers in 1923 fell off 50 per cent.

In 1924 there began 1,227 reported strikes. Between January 1 and June 30, 1925, there were 720 reported. In the three preceding years about 60 per cent of the strikes began in the first half of the year. Hence it is likely that in 1925, as in 1924, there were about 1,200 strikes.

Table 100—Labor Disputes and Workers Involved. 1916-1925 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Disputes Reported</i>	<i>Disputes in Which No. of Workers Was Given</i>	<i>Total No. of Workers Involved</i>	<i>Average No. of Workers per Dispute</i>
1916 .....	3,789	2,667	1,599,917	600
1917 .....	4,450	2,325	1,227,254	528
1918 .....	3,353	2,151	1,239,989	576
1919 .....	3,630	2,665	4,160,348	1,561
1920 .....	3,411	2,226	1,463,054	657
1921 .....	2,385	1,785	1,099,247	616
1922 .....	1,083	865	1,608,321	1,859
1923 .....	1,506	1,132	744,948	658
1924 .....	1,227	872	654,453	751
1925 (1st 9 mos.).....	1,083	829	406,996	1,510

**Number of Workers Involved.**—The number of workers involved in strikes and lockouts in the United States has been falling off since 1919. The temporary increase in 1922 was due to the strikes of 600,000 coal miners and 400,000 railroad shopmen. In 1925 nearly 200,000 workers were reported as involved in strikes and lockouts in the first six months. In September 150,000

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1925; August, November 1925; February, 1926.

hard coal miners struck. It is likely that the number of strikers for the year was about 500,000.

**Table 101—Size of Labor Disputes, 1918-1924 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Workers</i>	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
1 to 10.....	152	186	161	257	79	122	123
11 to 25.....	279	297	322	336	121	172	115
26 to 50.....	343	353	349	287	146	197	135
51 to 100.....	357	404	367	252	153	145	111
101 to 250.....	384	494	381	245	142	156	119
251 to 500.....	287	356	289	164	88	133	93
501 to 1,000.....	143	217	145	103	61	78	81
1,001 to 10,000...	204	332	184	133	61	118	78
Over 10,000.....	17	54	19	15	16	5	13
Not reported.....	1,187	937	1,194	593	216	380	359
Total .....	3,353	3,630	3,411	2,385	1,083	1,506	1,227

**Days Lost.**—In the nine years from 1916 to 1924, inclusive, American workers lost over 4,070,000,000 days because of strikes and lockouts, the average duration of a dispute being estimated at about 29.5 days. In the first half of 1925 the average length of a stoppage of work was about 23 days. About 200,000 workers were reported out. Days lost totalled about 4,600,000, which is much fewer than the 225,000,000 days lost in the average half-year between 1916 and 1924.

**Table 102—Length of Labor Disputes, 1918-1924 <sup>1</sup>**

<i>Length</i>	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Less than 1 day.	84	29	31	32	16	25	22
1 day.....	145	76	57	27	47	82	39
2 days.....	171	70	64	44	37	70	44
3 days.....	127	80	54	44	24	64	30
4 days.....	111	78	51	47	23	60	45
5 days.....	72	74	36	35	26	32	27
6 days.....	67	45	44	32	18	40	29
7 days.....	115	69	66	45	31	60	45
8 days.....	60	72	45	30	19	28	21
9 days.....	38	33	30	19	8	26	13
10 days.....	58	57	31	44	14	19	16
11 days.....	24	30	28	19	4	14	16
12 days.....	26	28	24	12	6	16	6
13 days.....	17	30	21	14	10	32	12
14 days.....	49	42	40	25	9	34	26
15 to 18 days....	88	113	83	76	39	53	36
19 to 21 days....	72	95	25	49	27	38	21
22 to 24 days....	40	51	41	16	12	12	15
25 to 28 days....	32	65	56	31	9	32	36
29 to 31 days....	65	74	47	43	8	38	27
32 to 35 days....	31	61	21	36	13	20	23
36 to 42 days....	39	81	46	54	12	12	26
43 to 49 days....	36	78	48	40	14	12	26
50 to 63 days....	48	124	69	86	29	23	40
64 to 77 days....	18	72	51	60	16	23	27
78 to 91 days....	17	57	41	61	14	15	12
92 to 199 days...	35	149	125	186	51	20	55
Over 200 days...	24	22	46	51	15	18	23
Not reported.....	489	365	551	268	162	176	174
Total .....	2,198	2,220	1,872	1,526	713	1,094	932

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1925.

Table 103—Length of Labor Disputes,  
January-September, 1925 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Length</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Number</i>
1 day or less.....	75	15 to 21 days.....	86
2 days.....	43	22 to 29 days.....	50
3 days.....	47	30 to 90 days.....	55
4 days.....	28	Over 90 days.....	17
5 to 7 days.....	88	Not reported.....	97
8 to 14 days.....	125		
		Total .....	711

**Industries Affected.**—Building and clothing had the most strikes in the first six months of 1925, as they have had since the decrease in conflicts in the metal trades and mining. The 10 per cent wage cut in textiles raised strikes in that industry sharply. Metal trades strikes dropped, as did those in baking. Moving picture, musical, and theatrical workers struck much more frequently in 1925, while there was a slight decrease of strikes by chauffeurs and teamsters.

Table 104—Industry Groups and Number of Disputes in Each,  
1916-1925 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Industry</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1917</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>	<i>9 mos.</i>	
									<i>1924</i>	<i>1925</i>
Building .....	394	468	434	473	521	583	113	206	267	309
Clothing .....	227	495	436	322	336	240	215	357	223	191
Furniture .....	50	43	26	35	26	17	4	12	34	37
Iron & steel.....	72	56	74	76	25	25	10	10	7	4
Leather .....	34	19	16	27	32	26	17	17	5	2
Lumber .....	44	299	76	46	38	25	10	19	6	6
Metal trades.....	547	515	441	581	452	194	82	111	57	42
Mining .....	416	449	208	176	183	95	49	159	177	92
Paper manufacturing.	54	41	40	47	39	42	12	16	6	4
Printing & publishing	27	41	40	71	83	506	56	19	12	10
Shipbuilding .....	31	106	140	109	45	20	4	6	1	..
Slaughtering .....	70	38	42	74	42	30	6	11	14	..
Stone work.....	61	26	14	13	29	34	61	15	15	10
Textiles .....	261	247	212	273	211	114	115	134	79	114
Tobacco .....	63	47	50	58	38	19	12	16	12	3
Transportation <sup>2</sup> .....	228	343	227	191	241	37	67	30	18	..

**Causes.**—In 1925 there were probably twice as many recorded disputes in which workers took the offensive in their demands as there were cases of employers taking the offensive. This had been roughly true in 1924 also. Disputes in which the workers demanded more pay, shorter hours, recognition of the union, discharge of a foreman, or a closed shop, were 429 in 1924, and 264 in the first half of 1925. Disputes over employers' trying to cut wages, lengthen hours, or discharge employees, to take on non-union men, or engage in unfair practices, were 221 in 1924 and 130 in the first half of 1925.

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1925; August, November, 1925; February, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Steam and electric railroads.

Table 105—Number of Labor Disputes, by Occupation, 1918-1925<sup>1</sup>

Occupation	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	9 mos. 1925
Auto, carriage and wagon workers.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Bakers .....	47	88	75	99	24	34	72	45
Barbers .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Boiler makers.....	28	31	22	16	4	9	3	..
Boot and shoe.....	50	54	63	28	55	53	27	..
Brewery, soft drink...	27	23	25	24	12	4	10	4
Brick, tiles, clay.....	5	16	21	12	14	6	8	12
Bldg. laborers, hodcar'rs	27	49	90	10	7	39	18	..
Carpenters .....	81	96	73	49	20	22	34	..
Chauffeurs, teamsters...	129	95	130	43	20	51	39	36
Clerks, salesmen.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Food workers.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Freight handlers, long-shoremen .....	89	58	68	36	18	23	12	10
Glass workers.....	13	9	11	2	4	14	7	5
Hat, cap, fur.....	38	38	51	25	39	25	34	..
Hospital .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Hotel, restaurant.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Inside wiremen.....	45	33	51	29	7	9	18	..
Light, heat, power.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Machinists .....	207	202	127	29	7	13	6	..
Metal polishers.....	29	61	78	8	3	4	9	..
Miners, coal.....	162	148	161	87	44	158	176	..
Molders .....	110	181	145	93	38	54	29	..
Movie, theater, music...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31
Painters, paper hangers.	61	81	46	62	10	20	25	..
Plumbers, steamfitters...	72	55	81	82	21	25	42	..
Rubber .....	15	15	14	3	3	7	2	6
Sheet-metal .....	45	19	14	82	8	13	18	..
Steam boatmen.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Street railway.....	117	110	81	12	19	21	14	4
Structural iron.....	20	15	32	5	6	18	13	..
Tailors .....	51	70	42	58	19	31	11	..
Telegraph, telephone...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Tunnel .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Miscellaneous .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	54

Wages continued to be the chief reason for strikes and lockouts, and in 1925 were a more frequent cause than in 1924. In the first half of 1925, out of 720 disputes reported, wages were involved in 342, or 48 per cent.

In the three years 1922 to 1924, inclusive, 1,819 disputes out of 3,816 reported, or again 48 per cent, had to do with wage scales. Wages must also have been a cause in some of the disputes for which the cause was not reported, so that practically half the labor disputes can be said to arise from wage questions.

Recognition of the union and hours of work were also frequent causes. In 1924 a total of 532 disputes were reported as occurring over wages, 73 over hours, and 219 over recognition. In the first half of 1925 there were 342 due to wages, but only 31 due to hours, and 93 over the question of recognition.

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, August, November, 1925; February, 1926.

Table 106—Principal Causes of Labor Disputes, 1918-1925<sup>1</sup>

<i>Matter in Dispute</i>	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	9 mos. 1925
Increase of wages.....	1,397	1,115	1,429	120	153	437	252	241
Decrease of wages.....	36	86	147	896	258	44	121	101
Wages, not otherwise stated .....	...	...	...	...	29	78	63	51
Wages and agreement...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Nonpayment of wages..	31	11	20	5	10	3	2	...
Wages, hours, and conditions .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Increase of wages and decrease of hours....	256	578	269	34	16	58	30	27
Decrease of wages and increase of hours....	...	...	...	77	40	...	7	4
Increase of wages and increase of hours....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Increase of hours.....	6	25	8	18	12	4	5	7
Decrease of hours.....	79	117	62	294	21	13	18	9
Recognition of union...	179	352	123	55	65	91	80	55
Recognition and wages..	79	78	87	106	10	36	21	22
Recognition and hours..	16	16	6	14	3	6	1	1
Recognition, wages, and hours .....	49	76	45	11	7	25	7	3
General conditions.....	61	71	82	71	63	71	76	52
Conditions and wages...	54	62	58	43	33	53	27	20
Conditions and hours...	2	5	2	7	...	4	1	...
Conditions, wages, and hours .....	8	37	43	7	4	6	4	...
Conditions and recognition .....	7	14	6	6	4	6	1	3
Discharge of foreman demanded .....	54	19	30	7	7	6	4	6
Discharge of employees.	138	144	140	38	36	72	50	45
Employment of non-union men.....	60	12	38	24	9	30	30	41
Objectionable persons hired .....	2	11	22	16	8	12	4	17
Discrimination .....	32	52	34	12	8	8	3	1
Open or closed shop....	45	42	113	88	48	55	55	31
Closed shop and other causes .....	17	128	72	48	11	1	16	3
Unfair products.....	1	5	30	27	16	7	8	6
In regard to agreement.	46	50	59	68	73	109	70	51
New agreement.....	4	36	11	33	11	46	65	51
Sympathy .....	35	108	67	36	32	31	22	35
Jurisdiction .....	16	16	20	10	10	13	23	50
Unsatisfactory food....	1	8	2	...	...	1	...	...
Miscellaneous .....	181	106	81	51	22	96	54	46
Cause not reported.....	461	250	305	163	64	84	107	98
Total .....	3,353	3,630	3,411	2,385	1,083	1,506	1,227	1,083

Table 107—Main Demands, and Number of Labor Disputes in Which Each Was Made, 1918-1925

<i>Demand</i>	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	9 mos. 1925
Wage scale.....	1,879	2,032	2,078	1,294	550	737	532	475
Hours .....	416	854	435	462	103	116	73	56
Recognition .....	453	723	520	379	173	257	219	165

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, August, November, 1925; February, 1926.

**Unionization.**—Since the pick-up in industry in 1923 there has been an increase in unionization in connection with strikes. Organizing after the strike revived, after three years of bad times. Union workers also succeeded more often in persuading non-unionists to go out with them.

**Table 108—Relation of Striking or Locked Out Workers to Unions, 1918-1924<sup>1</sup>**

Relation	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Connected with unions..	1,903	2,033	2,506	2,038	818	1,225	1,043	828
Not connected.....	362	143	137	62	37	77	68	112
Organized after dispute began .....	26	30	8	5	5	18	14	13
Union and non-union workers .....					12	29	31	25
Relation not reported..	1,062	1,424	760	280	211	157	71	105
Total .....	3,353	3,630	3,411	2,385	1,083	1,506	1,227	1,083

**Table 109—Labor Disputes in Industrial Cities, 1916-1925<sup>1</sup>**

City	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Allentown, Pa.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Baltimore, Md.....	39	36	47	26	34	22	9	14	23	10
Atlantic City, N. J....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Boston, Mass.....	62	87	68	98	51	43	22	42	31	28
Bridgeport, Conn....	38	30	13	25	10	2	3	2	1	..
Buffalo, N. Y.....	41	28	24	20	47	20	8	7	11	..
Chicago, Ill.....	73	123	100	126	125	89	24	44	29	46
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	29	33	26	39	31	18	10	10	5	..
Cleveland, Ohio.....	60	76	39	47	41	26	21	11	16	18
Columbus, Ohio.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Denver, Colo.....	8	26	19	22	15	16	2	2	2	..
Des Moines, Iowa....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Detroit, Mich.....	31	19	18	40	24	39	12	13	7	..
Fall River, Mass....	20	13	18	28	22	10	8	3	2	7
Hartford, Conn.....	28	21	8	17	19	2	1	..	2	..
Holyoke, Mass.....	26	9	17	18	15	3	1	8	1	..
Indianapolis, Ind....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Jersey City, N. J....	28	24	7	25	14	9	9	5	7	..
Kansas City, Mo.....	20	36	20	16	13	17	9	6	10	..
Lynn, Mass.....	8	8	22	11	27	12	14	10	6	5
Milwaukee, Wis.....	30	14	11	27	28	9	11	6	2	..
Newark, N. J.....	55	50	36	33	16	23	6	12	10	4
New Haven, Conn....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
New Orleans, La.....	7	23	20	40	29	23	7	11	5	..
New York, N. Y....	363	484	484	370	341	193	129	274	193	191
Paterson, N. J.....	18	27	20	15	12	17	14	16	21	6
Philadelphia, Pa.....	74	89	80	60	59	61	20	30	50	32
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	47	37	19	19	15	23	..	5	12	4
Providence, R. I....	21	46	18	31	32	17	6	5	2	..
Rochester, N. Y....	16	27	35	13	37	36	17	12	13	..
San Francisco, Calif.	23	37	30	34	26	22	7	14	4	5
St. Louis, Mo.....	58	53	70	39	40	26	11	19	21	5
Seattle, Wash.....	15	49	29	24	26	21	5	14	6	..
Springfield, Mass...	31	27	12	20	27	6	6	10	4	..
Toledo, Ohio.....	16	16	27	24	20	15	3	8	3	..
Trenton, N. J.....	25	15	11	4	21	5	1	3	3	..
Washington, D. C...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Wilkes-Barre, Pa....	6	25	8	4	9	10	7	12	6	..
Worcester, Mass....	18	12	11	28	18	12	2	9	4	..
Youngstown, Ohio...	27	1	5	14	4	6	4	4	1	..

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, August, November, 1925; February, 1926.

Table 110—Labor Disputes in Each State, 1916-1925 <sup>1</sup>

State	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	9 mos.	
									1924	1925
Alabama .....	15	20	13	18	25	15	4	6	..	2
Alaska .....	3	5	3	3	1	1	..	..	..	..
Arizona .....	7	20	4	7	9	4	1	1	..	..
Arkansas .....	20	36	11	7	15	7	2	2	2	4
California .....	55	112	94	102	120	99	37	47	29	27
Canal Zone.....	4	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado .....	17	48	32	31	22	27	7	3	5	7
Connecticut .....	326	178	92	135	128	61	25	43	23	44
Delaware .....	12	17	14	11	10	4	1	1	..	..
District of Columbia.	8	14	13	10	14	5	4	6	5	11
Florida .....	9	16	20	30	9	19	5	4	2	7
Georgia .....	8	28	40	39	29	21	3	4	4	2
Hawaii .....	4	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	5	..
Idaho .....	5	32	10	10	5	3	..	1	..	..
Illinois .....	159	282	248	267	254	164	61	72	80	64
Indiana .....	75	73	76	106	99	61	15	35	28	40
Iowa .....	26	65	41	57	47	42	15	14	15	11
Kansas .....	15	53	41	45	14	21	4	5	6	8
Kentucky .....	13	38	19	26	22	17	10	9	12	2
Louisiana .....	8	39	23	51	37	29	8	16	7	2
Maine .....	30	40	36	40	22	24	11	7	6	5
Maryland .....	48	59	72	41	57	27	12	18	25	12
Massachusetts .....	383	353	347	396	377	201	139	216	97	126
Michigan .....	71	64	60	84	63	71	18	18	10	13
Minnesota .....	30	53	40	49	50	45	8	14	4	5
Mississippi .....	4	13	5	2	4	9	..	1	..	..
Missouri .....	97	122	105	69	63	54	26	27	35	10
Montana .....	15	77	33	23	16	21	2	7	1	..
Nebraska .....	21	28	11	17	12	11	3	1	2	2
Nevada .....	..	2	7	5	4	1	3	1	1	..
New Hampshire.....	20	20	17	34	32	6	30	6	8	5
New Jersey.....	417	227	138	183	145	125	65	73	91	71
New Mexico.....	..	4	2	4	1	2	..	..	..	..
New York.....	592	711	689	536	600	384	190	380	270	253
North Carolina.....	8	7	14	22	21	26	6	6	4	5
North Dakota.....	..	2	3	..	4	8	2	1	1	..
Ohio .....	290	279	197	237	206	167	72	62	68	67
Oklahoma .....	24	35	19	32	24	29	9	2	6	8
Oregon .....	23	58	18	38	22	23	8	15	13	4
Pennsylvania .....	574	494	311	280	250	222	99	232	256	162
Porto Rico.....	23	6	5	58	118	3	24	..	4	..
Rhode Island.....	77	105	53	78	89	42	37	25	5	19
South Carolina.....	5	7	3	11	5	12	2	1	1	..
South Dakota.....	..	3	3	3	5	3	..	..	1	..
Tennessee .....	26	42	26	40	27	28	8	7	9	2
Texas .....	28	56	41	50	73	64	10	15	16	7
Utah .....	3	21	14	22	14	5	1	1	2	2
Vermont .....	10	8	9	14	12	2	13	..	..	2
Virginia .....	16	35	37	28	31	14	5	3	4	..
Virgin Islands.....	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Washington .....	58	294	130	113	69	63	22	36	15	7
West Virginia.....	40	64	50	63	49	28	8	28	23	19
Wisconsin .....	63	57	54	77	68	41	21	10	15	13
Wyoming .....	..	2	5	4	6	4	..	1	1	..
Interstate .....	4	25	4	21	10	19	27	23	10	10
No state given.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, August, November, 1925; February, 1926.

**Location.**—Of the 33 industrial cities which have had 25 labor disputes in any one year since 1916, New York leads in number of disputes. Chicago is second, with Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, and St. Louis following.

The states with the heaviest numbers of disputes are New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Illinois.

Grouping the disputes by sections of the country, the overwhelming majority occurred in the Northeast (east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers). The West (west of the Mississippi) comes second, and the Southeast (east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio and the Potomac) has the fewest for any given section. A still smaller group of disputes is interstate.

**Table 111—Labor Disputes in Each Section of the Country, 1916-1925<sup>1</sup>**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Northeast</i>	<i>Southeast</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Interstate</i>
1916 .....	3,186	174	425	4
1917 .....	3,034	315	1,076	25
1918 .....	2,466	248	635	4
1919 .....	2,678	337	594	21
1920 .....	2,431	346	624	10
1921 .....	1,607	190	569	19
1922 .....	812	90	154	27
1923 .....	1,204	69	210	23
1924 .....	987	63	167	10
1925 (1st 9 mos.) .....	916	45	115	7

**Time of Year.**—As would be expected, most labor disputes break out in the spring, when industry is usually most active. Summer is the period next most likely to be affected by strikes and lockouts, while fewer occur in winter, and fewest of all in the autumn.

**Table 112—Labor Disputes Begun in Each Quarter of the Year, 1916-1925<sup>1</sup>**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Jan.-Mar.</i>	<i>Apr.-June</i>	<i>July-Sept.</i>	<i>Oct.-Dec.</i>	<i>Month not stated</i>	<i>Total</i>
1916 .....	688	1,405	891	607	198	3,789
1917 .....	817	1,231	1,157	776	469	4,450
1918 .....	726	1,009	778	603	237	3,353
1919 .....	589	1,023	1,223	639	156	3,630
1920 .....	782	1,166	793	406	264	3,411
1921 .....	604	1,019	434	258	70	2,385
1922 .....	302	269	267	164	81	1,083
1923 .....	249	575	338	233	111	1,506
1924 .....	274	394	241	173	145	1,227
1925 .....	258	412	329	...	84	...

**Sex of Strikers.**—Since most wage-earners are men, it is natural that strikes involving men only should make up the largest number. Disputes involving both men and women are next in frequency, while those involving women alone are comparatively few.

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, August, November, 1925; February, 1926.

Table 113—Sex of Workers in Labor Disputes, 1918-1925 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Sex</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>9 mos. 1925</i>
Males .....	2,467	2,818	2,347	1,750	671	975	871	737
Females .....	90	88	78	30	22	30	22	22
Males and females	278	521	343	558	333	408	265	195
Sex not reported.	518	203	643	47	57	93	69	129
Total .....	3,353	3,630	3,411	2,385	1,083	1,506	1,227	1,083

**Outcome.**—In 1924, for the first time in recent years, the workers won more often than the companies did. They won still more often in the strikes settled during the first half of 1925.

Table 114—Result of Labor Disputes Ended Each Year, 1918-1925 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Results</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>1923</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>9 mos. 1925</i>
In favor of employers..	465	687	677	701	243	356	280	183
In favor of employees..	627	627	472	256	237	365	334	259
Compromised .....	691	797	448	291	104	167	135	123
Returned pending arbitration .....	204	50	61	80	16	46	45	41
Result not reported....	211	59	214	198	113	160	138	105
Total .....	2,198	2,220	1,872	1,526	713	1,094	932	711

## COAL MINING

### Anthracite

**Historical Setting.**—Practically all the hard coal deposits of the United States lie within 12 counties in the northeast of Pennsylvania. In 1887-88 the Knights of Labor led the hard coal miners in a three months' strike. The strike failed, and organization vanished. Eleven years afterward the United Mine Workers spread from soft to hard coal. In 1900 the latter union had 8,000 members. It called a strike on September 17 of that year, in which 100,000 men took part. On October 29 they went back with a wage raise and some grievances adjusted. When the agreement ran out in 1902 the employers would not confer with the union, and the men struck May 12. At the intervention of President Roosevelt the operators agreed to arbitrate and the strike ended October 23. The March, 1903, report of Roosevelt's Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, with the changes since agreed to, has governed the hard coal industry since that time. It gave a nine-hour day and a 10 per cent increase. It established agreement by negotiation. But it also perpetuated the haphazard differences in wages which existed in 1903.

The hard coal agreement has been renewed and amended every few years. In 1909 and 1916 renewal took place without a strike. The years <sup>1</sup> in which the renewal came after a strike were:

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June, August, November, 1925; February, 1926.

Table 115—Strikes in Hard Coal Mining, 1906-1925

<i>Year</i>	<i>Date Begun</i>	<i>Date Ended</i>	<i>No. of Strikers</i>	<i>Man-Days Lost</i>	<i>Average Days Lost per Man</i>
1906	April 1	May 7	161,039	5,958,443	37
1912	April 1	May 20	151,958	6,913,475	45
1920	Sept. 2	Sept. 19	96,840	1,815,316	19
1922	April 1	Sept. 11	142,442	19,623,026	138
1923	Sept. 1	Sept. 18	150,000	2,100,000	14
1925	Sept. 1	Feb. 17, 1926	150,000	21,900,000	146

Under the agreement from 1903 to 1912 wages were increased 1 per cent whenever the price of hard coal rose 5 cents a ton at tidewater. This sliding scale was dropped May 20, 1912, when wages were raised 10 per cent and the agreement renewed for four years. On May 5, 1916, the agreement was renewed to run till March 31, 1920. Tonnage rates were raised 7 per cent, and the eight-hour day was established, with day workers getting nine hours' pay for eight hours, plus 3 per cent. During the war certain changes, including some raises, were made with the advice of the United States Fuel Administration.

In 1920 the union asked for a 60 per cent raise. The operators offered 17 per cent. Secretary of Labor Wilson suggested 17 per cent. The union agreed to accept the award of an Anthracite Coal Commission to be appointed by President Wilson, consisting of a miner, an operator, and an arbitrator representing the public. The arbitrator excluded the data on the mine owners' profits, their ability to pay a higher wage, and their business combinations, which the union had gathered at considerable cost. He engaged an economist to collect data on the rise in the cost of living, and agreed to accept his findings. The economist reported for a 27 per cent raise. Recounting these proceedings as a reason for rejecting arbitration in 1925, President Lewis of the United Mine Workers declared:

The United Mine Workers have had experiences with so-called "impartial arbitration" which have destroyed our confidence in it. In 1920, for example, when the bituminous miners received a 27 per cent increase, we were given to understand the day before the arbitrator's decision was announced that the anthracite miners would be granted a similar increase. When the award was made public it turned out to be only 17 per cent. Something happened overnight which cost the hard coal miners \$35,000,000 in two years—and embittered them toward arbitration forever.<sup>2</sup>

In protest against this decision, the men struck September 2, 1920, for two weeks. They said that arbitration gave them much less than they could have gotten by themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Data for 1906-22 are from United States Coal Commission, *Labor Relations in the Anthracite Industry*, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> New York Times, July 19, 1925.

In 1922 the Mine Workers for the first time said emphatically that they would not trust to arbitration again, and struck for five months against a 20 per cent cut. The agreement was then extended a year. The United States Coal Commission of 1923 looked into both hard and soft coal. But this investigation did nothing to prevent the hard coal strike of 1923, which ended after 17 days when Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania mediated. There was a 10 per cent raise, and the basic eight-hour day was extended to all miners. Pinchot's hope had been that the operators would pay 10 cents a ton of the increase, that the railroads and dealers would pay 40 cents, and that the consumer would have to pay only 10 cents a ton more. But there was no means of enforcing this distribution of the increase. The operators' Anthracite Bureau of Information says that the corporations stood the raise in wages. The average value at the mines was \$6.73 a long ton in 1923, they say, and did not rise in 1924, after the 10 per cent raise in wages, but fell to \$6.68.

**Strike of 1925.**—The 1923 agreement expired on August 31, 1925. Negotiations for its renewal began on July 9. The operators asked the miners to arbitrate and not to stop work during negotiations. They refused. The men's main demands were the extension to the hard coal fields of the "check-off," by which the employer collects the union dues from wages, and raises of 10 per cent of tonnage work and \$1 a day (more than 20 per cent) for day workers. The union committee withdrew on August 3, because, President Lewis said, the operators' committee was bound in advance not to give the check-off and a raise. The union said it would talk business when the operators' committee was again made up of leaders of the industry, who would feel free to bargain. Soft coal mines in Illinois and Indiana began to open in anticipation of a shortage of hard coal. The United Mine Workers' hard coal districts, 325 locals, 150,000 men all told, struck on September 1, closing 828 mines belonging to 135 companies. About 8,000 maintenance men stayed at work, in accordance with the usual agreement of the miners' union with the operators. The railroads that ship hard coal began laying men off and putting them on part time, especially in the railroad shops around Scranton, in the strike region. On September 23 it was reported that 15,000 men had been laid off.

On December 17 the miners' officers in the Scranton, Pa., district voted to join in the action of the other hard coal officers and refuse salaries till the strike was over.

The union claimed that the operators wanted a shut down so that they could sell their stocks of small and low-grade coal at high prices. Much of the price rise which took place also went to the

middleman. John Hays Hammond, chairman of the 1923 United States Coal Commission, urged Pennsylvania to repeal the law dating from 1889 which requires miners to have two years' experience, so that strike-breakers could be used to supply fuel.<sup>1</sup>

State and federal governments prepared for the strike by urging people to use substitutes. The Federal Trade Commission reported on July 5 that the hard coal industry needed competition to make its prices fair. When the shortage came the New York City Health Department gave demonstrations how to heat with soft coal and coke. The New York State Coal Commission recommended that anti-smoke ordinances be suspended, and enforcement of the code was relaxed in New York City and elsewhere. The result was greater employment in soft coal, mostly in non-union fields.

On November 22 President Lewis of the Mine Workers wrote to President Coolidge that unless pressure from the federal government made the soft coal operators of the union fields pay the scale fixed by the Jacksonville agreement of 1924, the union would have to call a soft coal strike also.

A plan of settlement was offered on November 27 by the Committee on Coal and Giant Powder, a voluntary body made up of engineers, economists, lawyers, union officers, and others, under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy. According to this plan, (1) The low-paid day workers getting \$4.62-\$5.96 were to get 50 cents more a day; (2) the companies whose profits were over 10 per cent were to pay the raise out of their excess; (3) companies with lower profits were to defray the new expense by charging 25 cents more a ton; (4) tonnage rates paid to miners were to be made more uniform by levelling wages down to \$3,000 a year and (5) levelling up to the average; (6) the check-off was to be installed at collieries where two-thirds of the workers voted for it; (7) a board representing the operators, the unions, and the public was proposed to settle how much the companies had been making, and (8) to find out other facts needed for bargaining in the open and make them public six months before the end of any future agreement.

On November 28 Governor Pinchot offered as a basis for settlement: (1) No rise in the price of coal; (2) a board of awards to look into operators' profits and give the miners a raise if profits warranted; (3) the agreement and wage scale to run five years; (4) check-off of union dues up to \$14 a year, if the individual miner agreed; and (5) immediate return to work.

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<sup>1</sup> On January 14, 1926, a bill to draw the teeth from this law was approved by the Pennsylvania senate committee on mines, ahead of Governor Pinchot's bills for regulating coal.

The next day the union committee said it would accept such a settlement, but would not send the men back until the agreement was signed. On November 30 the operators rejected the proposal. They said that it provided no way out of a deadlock and did not allow for decreasing wages if the price of coal fell. On December 8 a Business Men's Committee of the anthracite district failed to get Pinchot to give up points 1 and 4. On December 14 he called a special session of the Pennsylvania legislature for January 13, 1926, to take up among other things regulation of the anthracite coal business as a public utility.

On December 16 the mayors and burgesses of 60 Pennsylvania hard coal towns met at Governor Pinchot's call. They invited the operators' and miners' negotiating committees to a new conference, which began December 29. Chairman Alvan Markle, an operator, suggested (1) complete information, (2) arbitration if negotiation failed, and (3) no suspensions. The conference broke up in a deadlock, as the miners were set against arbitration.

On December 31 lost production was 25,725,000 long tons and there were more than 20 bills to deal with coal before the interstate commerce committee of the United States House of Representatives alone. Stores in the hard coal fields were closing, soup and bread lines were opened, and the miners had no coal. Charity workers estimated that 500 appeals a day were coming in, and that in the small mining towns a majority of the families were depending on outside help for food. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. sent an appeal for help for the miners and their families to every A. F. of L. union on December 21.<sup>1</sup>

**Other Stoppages.**—On November 24, 1924, local union grievance committees called out about 11,000 hard coal miners against the Pennsylvania Coal Company at Pittston, Pa. The men had been protesting for 10 months that the company was keeping some of them idle and was not paying the rates it had agreed to. United Mine Workers' officials ordered the men to keep their

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<sup>1</sup> On February 12, 1926, a settlement was reached between union officials and operators on the following basis: (1) resumption of work, with no increase of wages, under an agreement to run until August 31, 1930; (2) conferences on wage changes may be called once a year after January 1, 1927; (3) in case of failure of a conference to agree in 30 days, submission of the controversy to a board of two men, each to be chosen by one side from among three nominated by the other side, and neither to be connected with the union or the coal business, decisions of the board to be rendered in 90 days and to be binding; (4) question of the check-off to be referred to the existing board of conciliation, to "work out a reciprocal program of cooperation and efficiency"; (5) the board of conciliation to proceed to equalize wages under the 1923 agreement. The agreement was ratified at a hard coal miners' convention at Scranton on February 16 by a vote of 698 to 2, one Communist delegate being expelled before the vote was taken. Work resumed February 18.

agreement and go back. The strikers said the company had broken the agreement first, and stayed out. Their 10 local charters were revoked on December 3, 1924. In January, 1925, the rest of the district, about 60,000 men, were thinking of striking. The national union promised to demand from the company prompt attention to the grievances, and gave back the charters. On January 21 the grievance committees of the district voted not to strike. The men went back on January 26. On the following December 3, during the general strike, these miners asked permission to call out this company's maintenance men.

As usual there were one-day "button strikes" throughout the hard coal region, as a substitute for the check-off to enforce dues-paying. Perhaps 100,000 men walked out in this way during the year. The agreement forbade these stoppages, as it did all the petty strikes that occurred.

### Bituminous

**History.**—The early soft coal strikes were to get the miners into the union and to get an agreement. An outstanding strike was in the Hocking Valley of Ohio in 1887. The first agreements that covered more than a state came then. The United Mine Workers were just getting a hold on soft coal when the Illinois miners struck in 1897. Similar organization strikes are still found on the non-union fringe. Among these are the Colorado (Ludlow) and West Virginia (Paint Creek) strikes of 1914, the Alabama strike of 1922, the long-drawn-out strike of 1922-23 in Somerset County, Pa., and the warfare of the last five years in West Virginia.

#### Table 116—Recent Industry-Wide Events in Soft Coal

- 1919—Strike, November 1-11, 411,000 out, asked 60 per cent raise.
- 1920—Arbitration, March 31, gave 27 per cent raise.
- Agreement, April 1-April 1, 1922, embodied 27 per cent raise.
- 1922—Strike, April 1-August 30, 450,000 out, against wage cut.
- Negotiation, October 2-March 31, 1923, meanwhile old scale.
- 1923—Agreement, April 1-April 1, 1924, old scale continued.
- Coal Commission hearings during spring and summer.
- 1924—Jacksonville agreement, April 1-April 1, 1927, scale continued.
- 1925—Jacksonville agreement evaded by operators.
- United Mine Workers formally threatened strike to enforce Jacksonville agreement, November 22.

**Renewal Strikes.**—For a quarter of a century the agreement covering the central competitive soft coal field, composed of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania, has practically determined what the wage conferences in the other districts shall agree on. This agreement was renewed without much loss of time in 1900, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1916, and 1924. But in 1906, 1908, 1910, 1912, 1919, and 1922 there were suspensions of work. During the war, changes were made in wages with the advice of the United

States Fuel Administration. These arrangements were nationwide, even if not formally so. On October 6, 1917, an agreement was entered into that was to run till the end of the war, but not beyond April 1, 1920. In the fall of 1919 the United Mine Workers asked for a 60 per cent raise, a six-hour day, and five-day week. The operators said the war was not officially over, so that they miners would break the contract if they struck. The miners said the war was over, and 411,000 of them struck on November 1, 1919. About 200,000 non-union men were still at work. The total output of soft coal in the week ending November 1 was 12,000,000 tons. The next week it fell to 3,500,000 tons. It did not get as high as 6,000,000 till after work was resumed. Great pressure was put on the union by President Wilson, and by federal injunctions, notably that of Federal Judge A. B. Anderson at Indianapolis, which was grounded on the idea that the war emergency still existed. The union called the strike off, November 11. On December 6, 97 of its officers were cited for contempt of court. President Wilson then proposed a 14 per cent wage raise, which federal Fuel Administrator Garfield had recommended, until there could be arbitration by a Bituminous Coal Commission. The union representatives agreed. The Kansas, Ohio, and Illinois districts kept on striking. In Kansas the state took over the mines. The output of soft coal in the strike year 1919 was 466,000,000 tons. In 1918 it had been 579,000,000, and in 1920 it was 564,000,000. A convention of the union agreed to accept the commissions' award without putting it to a referendum when it was issued. The commission gave an average raise of 27 per cent, to run for two years, till April 1, 1922. On April 5, 2,000 Kansas miners struck against the award.

When the award expired in 1922 the operators of the central competitive district refused to negotiate as a unit with the union. The union said that it would not weaken itself by bargaining by districts and so going back to the days when the men in one district dug coal to make ineffective the strike in another district. On April 1 it called a strike, not only of the organized districts, but also of the non-union fields, involving, in all, 450,000 men. For the first time in their history the 158,000 hard coal miners struck together with the soft coal men. So effective was the strike that the output of soft coal, which in March had been 50,000,000 tons, fell in April to 16,000,000 tons. In August the soft coal operators agreed to hold an inter-district conference on October 2. By August 30 the men were back at work under the old conditions, without a cut. Under the stimulus of the summer's strikes, Congress had formed a United States Coal Commission. On January 4, 1923, the commission urged the soft coal

industry to go on as it was for a year, until the commission could report on the state of the industry. The central competitive field agreed to continue the old conditions from April 1, 1923, to April 1, 1924. The established wage was \$7.50 for a basic eight-hour day, and \$1.08 a ton for piece-workers.

**Jacksonville Agreement.**—In the fall of 1923 the Coal Commission reported. In 1924 the Jacksonville agreement extended the existing scale for three years, from April 1, 1924, to April 1, 1927, in the unionized fields. At the same time the union began a campaign to organize the West Virginia competitors of the unionized operators.

In the spring of 1925, union mines were closing down in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. They were losing their orders to the non-union mines of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and said they could not make money staying open and paying the union scale. Employment in the Pittsburgh district (western Pennsylvania) fell from 40,000 to 24,000. Many worked part time. The Pittsburgh Coal Company laid off 12,500 men. In the summer this concern, the Consolidation Coal Company, and the Bethlehem Mines Corporation led a movement to disregard the Jacksonville agreement and run open-shop, without the check-off, and paying \$5 a day, the 1917 scale. By July, 1925, the output of the central Pennsylvania district was 70 per cent non-union. It had been 95 per cent union in 1924.

In March 35,000 of the 75,000 miners in Illinois were out of work and the rest on half time; 20,000 were out of work in Indiana; the southwestern region was running mostly open-shop, noticeably in Oklahoma. The Oklahoma miners held mass prayer-meetings where the strike-breakers passed, although the governor sent state troops. Toward the end of 1925 such prayer-meetings were held also in central Pennsylvania. At the close of the year it was estimated that only 30 per cent of the country's soft coal output was union, though it had been 70 per cent at the time of the 1919 strike. The miners said they might have to strike, though the agreement had not expired and there was a hard coal strike going on. This threat was repeated on November 22, when President Lewis wrote to President Coolidge that to keep their organization from crumbling they must strike if the federal government did not compel the "union" operators to pay the contract scale.

**West Virginia.**—The United Mine Workers re-opened their organizing campaign in West Virginia on April 1, 1925. Several thousand men joined those already out in 10 counties in the north of the state. The week ending March 28 this district had dug 280,250 tons. The week ending April 4 production fell to 221,350,

but in four weeks it was back to 264,800. Eighteen union mines in the north of West Virginia (prominently the Consolidation Coal Company, the largest producer of soft coal in the country) laid off their 4,500 men on the ground that they could not compete with the non-union mines. In November it was reported that union output in northern West Virginia had dropped in a year from 62 per cent to 14 per cent of the total. On April 16 the four counties of the West Virginia Panhandle were called upon to strike. There were 1,000 union men in this district, and 3,200 non-union men in 22 mines.

Many injunctions were issued. Most of these forbade peaceful persuasion, for in West Virginia the companies frequently require the miners to sign "yellow dog" contracts not to join the United Mine Workers. Other "individual contracts" specify that the mine is open-shop. A state-wide company union, the Mine Workers' Association of West Virginia, was incorporated. In July the United Mine Workers reported that 10,000 to 20,000 were on strike; 1,200 families had been evicted and were living in union barracks; 1,000 women had been arrested; there had been 2,000 arrests in one day; and 5,000 suits had been brought against the union in the past 17 months. On September 25 the strike call to non-union men was renewed. Importation of Negroes as strikebreakers increased.

**Coal River Collieries.**—Mediation by the American Federation of Labor brought no settlement in the dispute between the United Mine Workers and the Coal River Collieries Company, of West Virginia and Kentucky, more than 70 per cent of whose stock is owned by members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. The company said competition was too keen for it to pay the union scale. A committee of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. reported that on August 1 the company "evicted union men and their families from the company's houses, . . ." and "that the United Mine Workers are justified in their demand that the Jacksonville scale should be paid by the Coal River Collieries Company." For October the company reported 66,185 tons produced, more than in any previous month.

**Coke Region Strikes.**—There were sporadic strikes against cuts in the 1917 scale in the coke making regions around Connellsville, Pa. This is mostly non-union ground and the strikers were usually unorganized.

## CLOTHING

**Total Strikes.**—The number of strikes in the clothing industry fell markedly in 1925. In 1924 there is record of 166,651 strikers. In that year 155, or 70 per cent, of the 267 clothing

strikes came in the first six months. There were only 120 in the first half of 1925.

### Men's Clothing

**Agreements.**—On February 1 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers renewed its agreement with the New York City shirt manufacturers' association for one year. The Chicago agreement was renewed at the last minute, on April 30, for three years. The Rochester agreement runs from June 1, 1925, to June 1, 1928. Contracts were signed with the Cleveland manufacturers' association, the Toronto association, and with large companies in other cities. The contract with the New York City Clothiers' Exchange expired July 1. It continued to govern during the long-drawn-out negotiations. The 44-hour week was won without a strike in San Francisco April 2, and early in September in Oakland, Calif.

**Table 117—Leading Strikes in Men's Clothing, 1925**

<i>Date</i>	<i>No. Involved</i>	<i>City and Branch of Industry</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Result</i>
Feb. 6-28	700	Philadelphia, pantsmakers	10% raise	80% got 10% raise. Vest-makers raised too
March 1-7	500	New York, 14 boys' blouse contractors	Wage cuts, lock-out	Arbitrated, no cut
March 24-31	2,000	Baltimore, 30 mail order houses	Uniform scale, 10-15% raises	Won
Apr. 20-May 11	700	Bridgeport, Abraham & Wolf	Preferential shop, 44-hr. week, restore \$1-\$2 cuts	Won
June 1-Aug. 15	400	St. Louis, Curlee Clothing Co.	Recognition, union conditions	Abandoned
Scattered, June-Sept.	3,150	New York, children's clothing	Recognition, no cut, no non-union contractors, etc.	Won
June 26-Nov. 7	800	Chicago, International Tailoring Co., J. L. Taylor & Co.	Recognition, renewal	Won
June 29-Nov. 7	700	New York, same as above	Recognition, renewal	Won
Scattered, July	...	New York, 52 shops	Recognition and to stop non-union contracting	Won most
Nov. 12-25	3,000	New York, pantsmakers	Association lock-out for piece work	Single firms signed, no piece work

**A. Nash Company.**—On December 8 Arthur Nash, president of the A. Nash Clothing Company of Cincinnati, well-known for preaching the golden rule in business, asked his workers to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. He said that his concern wanted to carry the ideals of the golden rule into the union and would assist in promulgating the principles of the labor movement. On December 10 the workers, mostly native born, voted to give the union a trial. The company's capital had risen from \$60,000 to \$3,000,000 in seven years. It is the largest special order firm in the United States, and had been the largest open-shop clothing firm. The union gained 3,000 members, which practically made Cincinnati a union clothing market.

**International Tailoring Company.**—The Amalgamated underwent a trial of strength for 19 weeks during the summer and fall. On May 1 its agreement with the International Tailoring Company in Chicago and New York ended. The union officials negotiated for two months, being unwilling to call a strike if some other way could be found. When the slack season came the company refused flatly to go on under the union scale and conditions or to renew the agreement. About 800 workers struck its Chicago plant on June 26, and 700 struck the New York plant on June 29. A constant patrol of pickets was kept up, and after work the membership in each city crowded to the scene of conflict. There were at times 10,000 workers around the New York plant, and once 500 police surrounded it. The company got some strikebreakers and many guards, who escorted them. The crowds were attacked by the police and arrested in batches. There were raids and arrests without warrants at the union offices in both cities.

In Chicago the company signed a contract for strike-breakers with the United Garment Workers, affiliated with the A. F. of L. But this did not produce an adequate force. An injunction against peaceful picketing was also not obtainable, as an Illinois law passed at the end of June forbade that sort of injunction. There were frequent arrests for "disorderly conduct" and Judge Pam's injunction ordered the union not to "interfere with the orderly course of business" of the company.

In July the Chicago Federation of Labor concurred in a resolution of its executive board which condemned the United Garment Workers for trying to break the strike, said that the United had kept the Amalgamated from belonging to the A. F. of L., hoped the Amalgamated would soon belong, and asked President Green of the A. F. of L. to look into the use of the A. F. of L.'s name to get strike-breakers. In reply the Executive

Council of the A. F. of L. advised the Chicago Federation that it would expect it to keep from "taking cognizance in any way of any strike until authorized to do so by the proper authorities of an affiliated national or international organization." On August 16 the Chicago Federation voted to concur in the Executive Council's decision, 63-23.

In New York City the International Tailoring Company on August 12 got a sweeping injunction from Justice Churchill, forbidding strike activities within 10 blocks of the plant. This area includes the men's clothing district and the union offices and hall. The union changed its signs to "We are picketing J. L. Taylor & Co.," a closely related firm. Many pickets were arrested for contempt. Justice Levy held that J. L. Taylor was a separate corporation and discharged the pickets. On October 23 in Chicago, and on September 22 and October 27 in New York, union sympathizers in the plants persuaded many of the strike-breakers to walk out. The New York City foremen left also. On November 7 the company signed up in both cities.

This company does the largest made-to-order mail business in the industry, and the strike was the most critical test for the union since 1919. The union paid out \$600,000, \$350,000 of it in benefits. The Rochester Joint Board sent \$15,000. The New York, Cleveland, and Indianapolis organizations voted special assessments.

**Other Decisive Strikes.**—The Curlee Clothing Company is the largest clothing shop in St. Louis. Its 400 workers, mostly girls, struck on June 1 for union recognition, 25 per cent wage raise, 44-hour week, and time and a half for overtime. The company changed its incorporation to Delaware, got out a federal injunction, and actively resisted picketing. During June 18-20 106 strikers were arrested, and by the middle of July, 318. At one trial 199 were released; only five were fined. In the middle of August the company's busy season closed and the strike was abandoned.

In the New York City campaign in July for recognition and for no more non-union contractors, among the 52 shops stopped was Rose Brothers, the largest producer in the city. On July 14 all of its 58 cutters struck. On July 28 it became a union shop, and other firms agreed to the union terms.

### Women's Clothing

**Agreements.**—The International Ladies' Garment Workers reached two-year agreements with the New York City dress jobbers and sub-manufacturers on February 3 and 4, 1925, taking effect February 24. These agreements extended the sanitary

"Prosanis" label and unemployment insurance from the cloak to the dress trade, guaranteed a minimum wage to piece workers, and set up a 40-hour, five-day week. The 30,000 dressmakers in 2,000 sub-manufacturers' shops stopped work March 10-16 to make the jobbers use the new price lists. It was the busy season and the New York market turns out 80 per cent of the dresses worn in the United States.

Thousands were called out to unionize the independent dress shops in New York. By the end of February 200 of these shops had signed up and 300 had not.

The agreement with the Philadelphia cloak association was renewed on January 31, 1925. Unemployment insurance was put off. On February 4 the union struck against the cloak contractors who worked for jobbers, in order to make the jobbers come to an agreement. It also struck the independent shops to unionize them. The jobbers signed on February 7 and the independents within a week.

On February 3 the international struck the cloak trade in Montreal. Among the 1,600 strikers were 400 French-Canadian girls. In a week nearly 1,000 workers were back in 60 shops under union agreements. By March 1 the trade was reported to be thoroughly unionized. On February 5 Toronto struck. A few firms formed an association and signed up the same day. The rest, except four, signed before March 1. J. W. McMillan became the Canadian impartial chairman.

A drive at the beginning of the year to sign up the Chicago dress firms was fought by the non-union association. On February 19 the international claimed to have agreements with most of them. On February 25 the two associations of the Chicago cloak trade agreed to a few raises, a sanitary label, unemployment insurance, an impartial chairman, and an investigation by the men who had examined the trade in New York City. The contract runs till December 1, 1926. The union again began a campaign among the shops in the suburbs.

In Boston, February 16-24, there was a small strike against 15 members of the dress association to enforce the agreement. A new agreement was signed, with an arbitration clause and a 42-hour, five-day week.

On March 4 terms were agreed on in the New York City white goods (underwear) and children's dress trades; 15,000 workers, 95 per cent of them girls, had struck on February 17. They flocked to the trade district every day during the strike. After two weeks the Cotton Garment Association (white goods) granted a union shop, the sanitary label, union-made trimmings, and immediate raises of \$3 a week for cutters, 5 per cent for

piece workers, and \$1 a week for others. The children's dress workers got raises from some firms.

On May 16 the Baltimore cloak trade adopted sanitary rules. In June unemployment insurance began.

The Cleveland cloak agreement expired December 31, 1925.

**Mediation Commission.**—On April 3 Governor Smith's Mediation Commission received the report of its experts, who had been investigating the New York City cloak trade.<sup>1</sup> On April 13-15 it called before it representatives of the union and of the associations of cloak jobbers, inside manufacturers, and sub-manufacturers (contractors). The union and the sub-manufacturers agreed that the number of sub-manufacturers should be limited and that this would not kill off competition. The inside manufacturers asked for the right to discharge freely and for piece work. The union asked to have 32 weeks' work guaranteed; also for a raise, equal division of work in slack times, the 40-hour week, and union examiners and union-made trimmings.

On July 10 the commission recommended that the investigation of the industry continue and that meanwhile the old agreement of the New York City market, expiring July 18, be extended for a year. On July 17 the union voted to accept, 10,337 to 3,781. The commission also recommended that the jobbers pay the employers' share (2 per cent of the sub-manufacturers' payroll) to the unemployment insurance fund directly, instead of the sub-manufacturers paying it and then trying to get it back from the jobbers; and that the jobbers should charge the sub-manufacturers for goods entrusted to them measured after shrinking. In September the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association (jobbers) agreed to do these two things for a year; but they consented only after the American Cloak and Suit Association (sub-manufacturers) had threatened to shut down their 900 shops, which employ 25,000 workers.

**Left Wing Demonstration.**—A Joint Action Committee, speaking for the Communist and other left wing members of the union who were dissatisfied with the administration, called a two-hour strike in the cloak and dress trades for 3 p. m., August 20. The strike was a protest against the national union officials' opposition to Communism, which they had expressed by removing from office 70 officers and board members of New York City Locals 2, 9, and 22, on July 14. The committee claimed that 20,000 walked out. The union said its count was 11,900. The next day 50 shops took their workers back only under pressure.

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<sup>1</sup> See *American Labor Year Book, 1925*, page 114.

Table 118—Outstanding Ladies' Garment Workers' Strikes, 1925

<i>Date</i>	<i>No. Involved</i>	<i>City and Branch of Industry</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Result</i>
Jan. 12	600	New York City, 14 celluloid button shops	.....	Not officially called off
Feb. 3-10	1,600	Montreal, 65 cloak shops	Recognition	95% of firms signed singly
Feb. 5-10	1,500	Toronto, 60 cloak shops	Recognition	Manufacturers' Assn. formed; Signed
Feb. 4-7	.....	Philadelphia, cloak contractors	.....	Won; forced jobbers to sign
Feb. 17-Mar. 4	8,000	New York City, 500 white goods, children's dress, bathrobe shops	20% raise; 40-hour week	Union shop, raises, union-made trimmings
Mar. 10-16	30,000	New York City 2,000 dress shops	Enforce agreement	Won

## BUILDING TRADES

**Increase in Disputes.**—The number of strikes and lockouts in the building trades rose markedly in 1925. The building season begins in the first half of the year, and 193, or 72 per cent, of the 267 strikes in 1924 started in those six months. In the first half of 1925, 218 strikes began.

**Jurisdiction Disputes.**—\$200,000,000 worth of work was tied up in the summer of 1925 by the fight between the Operative Plasterers and the Bricklayers. Before 1911 both unions took in plasterers. The Operative Plasterers now have 27,000 plasterers and 5,000 cement masons, while of the Bricklayers' 100,000 members 5,000 are plasterers. In 1911 each union agreed not to charter a local where the other had claimed the plastering field. There was still friction, and on January 1, 1923, the agreement was not renewed. The Plasterers began chartering locals whose members competed with the plasterers attached to the Bricklayers. The Plasterers became strong in Florida, which was building fast in 1923. In 1925 the dispute came to an open break. The Bricklayers refused to arbitrate unless the Plasterers first gave up the locals they had formed since January 1, 1923, in Florida, New York, New Jersey, and elsewhere. The Building Trades Employers' Association of the United States agreed to hire only Operative Plasterers. The bricklayers struck in protest, walking off jobs where operative plasterers were employed. The operative plasterers had done the same, with regard to the bricklayers,

beginning with the Thompson-Starret Company in New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago, on March 19. There was a truce during April and May. Florida was the scene of sharp disputes in the early summer, and strikes begun there were extended to all jobs of the companies which had been struck in Florida. On June 10 the plasterers called a national stoppage against the bricklayers, prominently in New York City, Chicago, Detroit, Washington, Philadelphia, Miami, and Toronto. On October 2, while the convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. was going on, the two unions agreed to (1) resume work, (2) re-establish the 1911 agreement and interchangeable union work cards, and (3) arbitrate which should have what territory.

A jurisdiction fight between carpenters and the metal lathers broke out in Denver, 300 men walking out. The dispute between carpenters and sheet metal workers, which led to the carpenters' leaving the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. in 1921, continues.

**Table 119—Main Building Trades Strikes, 1925**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Craft</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Result</i>
Feb.	2,000	Structural iron	New York	Recognition, closed shop	Still out at end of year
Apr. 2- June 10	3,000	Carpenters	Pennsylvania anthracite region	Raise from \$1 to \$1.13 and \$1.25	Won by some
Apr. 1	1,100	Plumbers, lathers, gasfitters	Boston	Raise to \$1.25	Plumbers raised from \$1.10 to \$1.25, lathers raised 12.5c.
Apr. 6- May 27	2,000	Painters	Boston	Raise from \$1.10 to \$1.25	Lost
Apr. 6- May 13	800	Painters & paperhangers	Washington	Raise from \$9 to \$10	Two-year raise to \$9.50
Apr. 11, 15, 16	...	Building	Washington	Sympathy	Raise; carpenters from \$9 to \$9.50
May 1-12	5,000	Carpenters	Essex County, N. J.	Raise from \$10.50 to \$11.20	Won
Apr. 1- May 12	...	Roofers	Essex County, N. J.	.....	Raise from \$9.50 to \$10
May 5-13	1,500	Building	Chicago	Organization	Non-union joined
May 4-27	2,500	Building	Gary, Ind.	\$1 raise	Lost
June 1-30	4,300	Building	Gary, Ind.	Raise	Lost
May 25- June 6	3,000	Hod carriers & laborers	Boston	Raise	Back for arbitration
July 27- Aug. 19	700	Hod carriers & laborers	New Haven, Conn.	Raise from 65c to 75c recognition	200 got 75c raise and recognition from 28 firms
Aug.	2,000	Building	Baltimore, Md.	Raises	.....

**Iron Workers.**—The Structural Iron Workers' 1924 campaign against the open-shop Iron League in New York City did not gain them recognition. But they fought a New York state injunction successfully and claimed that they made the union scale of \$12 a day the prevailing wage. On February 10, 1925, they renewed the strike. Iron League members raised the pay from \$10.50 for an eight-hour day to \$12, the union scale. But 2,000 men walked off jobs on which there were non-union workers. On March 12 Judge Knox issued a federal injunction. It forbade striking for a closed shop, advising men to quit, or advising a boycott.

On November 11 the New York iron workers were going to strike because a rival union was started, the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, Inc. Its founder, Charles A. Howard, had formerly been business agent of the New York local, and said that a new union was needed because the employers' league would not deal with the old one. President Morrin stopped the strike.

At the end of 1925 the union men were still not working for members of the Iron League, but the building trade was busy and they had jobs with independent companies.

**Bank Boycott.**—During the Washington building strike it was said that the Washington banks had agreed to refuse credit to any contractor who raised wages. After an investigation the Central Labor Union put six of the 47 banks on a white list as deserving workers' deposits.

## TEXTILES

**Total Strikes.**—The number of strikes in the textile industries rose sharply in the first half of 1925 because of widespread wage cuts. In 1924, 53, or 67 per cent, of the 79 strikes came in the first six months. There were 81 in the first half of 1925.

**Cotton.**—In January, 1925, the 10 per cent wage cut which had begun in the fall of 1924 spread rapidly among the cotton mills of New England. They pleaded southern competition. Most of the 190,000 workers were hit. The American Thread Company led off against its 3,500 workers in Willimantic, Conn., and 3,500 in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. About 41,000 were cut in New Bedford, Mass., and 25,000 in Fall River. Other centers hit were Providence, Nashua, N. H.; Lawrence, Holyoke, Adams, and Chicopee, Mass.; and Utica, N. Y. Of the 350,000 mill workers in New England, 70,000 were cut during the two-month period.

Some of the plants cut as much as 12 or 15 per cent. Some workers had just had a cut, so that the reduction in some cases

was as great as 22 per cent. Weekly wages fell to \$14 in Fall River, which has 25,000 cotton workers, while the average rate throughout New England was officially estimated at \$17.20. Hours were put back to 50, and in some places to 54. Part-time work and shutdowns were frequent in the middle of 1925.

There were many small strikes against the cut, but few were successful. The Devon mill at New Bedford was the first to be shut by a strike. By the beginning of February, 1925, it was reported that 5,000 were out in New Bedford, Fall River, and Middleboro, Mass., and Esmond, Pawtuxet, and Natick, R. I. In February the United Textile Workers' strike got the cut cancelled for 400 workers of the Forestdale Manufacturing Company at Woonsocket, R. I. In May arbitration lightened the cut to 4 per cent in the Monument Mills, Housatonic, Mass.

**Multiple Loom System.**—There was a movement to raise the number of looms tended by a worker from 12 to 16. At the Pepperell Mills, Biddeford, Me., 500 or 600 weavers and loom-fixers struck at the beginning of December against tending 20 to 22 looms. This stopped the other 3,000 workers. It is reported that the American Federation of Textile Operatives, an independent organization, agreed to go back, but that the workers stayed out, backed by the United Textile Workers.

**Wool.**—In the middle of 1925 the woolen mills also cut wages. The American Woolen Company announced "no more welfare work" and that its 16,000 workers at Lawrence, Mass., would be cut 10 per cent on July 27. Other mills cut about 40,000 workers on July 27 or the following two weeks. Hours were sometimes increased. In October the Botany and Garfield Mills, in Passaic, N. J., cut the wages of 6,000, and several hundred struck the Passaic Worsted Spinning Company because of a cut from \$16.80 to \$15.10. There were strikes at the American Woolen Company's Puritan Mill at Plymouth, Mass.; at Dunne's Mill, Woonsocket, R. I., and other smaller ones.

The outstanding woolen strike came when the Wilson, Pontoonic, Tillotson, Berkshire, and Russel mills in Pittsfield, Mass., announced a 10 per cent cut for August 3, and 3,000 United Textile Workers struck on August 16. They went back September 1, taking the cut during arbitration, which they lost, December 19. They filed legal notice that they would not be bound by the decision after 60 days.

**Silk.**—The United Textile Workers demanded a 25 per cent raise, from \$12 to \$15 a week, for the wives and daughters of hard coal miners working in silk mills in and around Scranton, Pa. The Associated Silk Workers at Paterson, N. J., had been getting \$14 to \$20. Many of the Scranton girls were under 16

and getting as little as \$6.50. The workers struck in June and July, and won a 12.5 per cent raise. On October 28, 275 workers at the Hillcrest Mill, North Bergen, N. J., struck under the guidance of a United Front Committee, largely Communist in make-up. The strike was against running three or four looms instead of two, and a cut from 10.5 and 11.5 cents to 8 cents a yard for night work. The company refused to change its terms, and was reported to be moving south for cheaper labor.

## TRANSPORTATION

**Railroads.**—The shop crafts strike which began July 1, 1922, was formally called off by the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. on February 1, 1925. Most of the men had gone back in September, 1922, without a raise. The strike is still on against the Pennsylvania and Long Island railroads.

The shop crafts and the clerks took to the United States Supreme Court their suits asking damages from the Pennsylvania Railroad for not conferring with the unions as the transportation act suggested. In the lower courts the unions had based their claim on the fact that the railroad had violated the decisions of the Railroad Labor Board. On March 2 Chief Justice Taft read a decision for the railroad. At the beginning of July the railroad announced that it had agreed with its company union of telegraphers to pay about 2 cents more an hour, but to do away with time off with pay.

In October the Locomotive Engineers and the Firemen and Enginemen called out 500 men on the Western Maryland Railway for better conditions and raises of about 5 per cent. The road announced that their seniority was cancelled.

On October 19 there was a strike of 1,184 telegraphers on the Atlantic Coast Line Railway for 7 cents more an hour and two weeks off with pay. The Railroad Labor Board had rejected both demands.

**Cases Before Railroad Labor Board.**—In 1925 the Railroad Labor Board, established under the transportation act of 1920, handed down 1,257 decisions on disputes referred to it. The majority of the decisions were in favor of the railroads.

The largest number of disputes taken before the Board by the workers was for pay claims. The next largest group dealt with re-instatement of discharged workers, nearly half of these cases involving also payment of wages lost while discharged. Several disputes dealt with more than one subject.

Table 120—Decision of Railroad Labor Board, 1925

<i>Organization Affected</i>	<i>In Favor of Railroads</i>	<i>In Favor of Workers</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Total</i>
Clerks .....	194	138	26	358
Conductors and Trainmen.....	199	141	17	357
Engineers and Firemen.....	104	85	15	204
Telegraphers .....	65	90	9	164
Maintenance of Way Men.....	20	25	4	49
American Federation of Rail- road Workers.....	11	8	3	22
Dispatchers .....	9	12	2	23
Federated Shop Crafts (A. F. of L.).....	2	6	2	10
Signalmen .....	..	4	1	5
	604	509	79	1,192
Miscellaneous organizations.....	29	23	13	65
Total .....	633	532	92	1,257

Table 121—Subjects of Disputes Brought by Workers before Railroad Labor Board, 1925

<i>Subject of Dispute</i>	<i>Granted</i>	<i>Denied</i>	<i>Remanded or Dismissed</i>	<i>Total</i>
Pay claims.....	235	315	36	586
Reinstatement and reimbursement..	29	50	11	90
Reinstatement alone.....	23	40	8	71
Maintenance of agreement.....	40	25	9	74
Withdrawal of cases.....	39	19	5	63
Seniority .....	27	19	2	48
Extra help.....	21	13	2	36
Wage restoration.....	21	14	6	41
Right to certain work.....	20	21	1	42
Wage increase.....	18	11	2	31
Right of representation by union...	15	9	5	29
Inclusion in agreement.....	12	12	9	33
Installation of mechanical devices...	7	8	2	17
Better hours.....	6	4	1	11
Removal from agreement.....	6	4	2	12
Protest against contracting out work	6	4	1	11
Request for election.....	6	1	1	8
Conference with employees.....	4	1	2	7
Leave of absence to represent workers.	4	4	..	8
Vacation allowance.....	5	1	..	6
Secret ballot.....	2	1	1	4
Free transportation.....	1	3	..	4
Protest against race discrimination..	2	..	..	2
Sickness allowance.....	1	..	..	1
Protest against contracting out em- ployees .....	1	3	2	6
Investigation of charges.....	1	2	..	3
Town for meals.....	1	1	..	2
Posting vacancies.....	..	4	1	5
Protest against physical examination ..	..	1	..	1

**Street Cars.**—Street car men at Dayton, Ohio, were locked out November 22, 1924, and the union ran free buses during 1925 to beat the company. When the agreement with the Illinois Traction System expired at the beginning of 1925 the system refused to arbitrate. The men struck for 160 hours and won recognition, a shorter day, and time and a sixth for overtime.

In Des Moines, Iowa, 800 men struck, July 4-9, against violations of the agreement. They got the non-union men discharged and the check-off clause went to the courts.

**Seamen and Longshoremen.**—About 2,000 longshoremen struck, April 10-24, at Philadelphia for the right to wear the button of the I. W. W. Marine Transport Workers. They lost. September 9-24 a large number of seamen struck in New York City and the Atlantic and Gulf ports under the direction of the Marine Transport Workers. This walk-out was in sympathy with the British seamen's outlaw strike, which broke down in November.

**Teamsters and Chauffeurs.**—Of the 39 strikes reported in 1924 among teamsters and chauffeurs, 27, or 69 per cent, came in the first six months. In the first half of 1925 there were 22.

On January 5-6, 1925, 3,000 Chicago coal teamsters struck for a \$1 a week raise. The dispute was arbitrated, and they got 60 cents. In New York 800 baggage transfer men employed by the Westcott Express and the New York Transfer Companies struck from August 25 to September 16. The employers wanted to cut wages \$1 a week, and to lengthen hours from nine to 10. The men fought against the wage cut, and for eight hours. They won a raise of \$1 a week, but the new agreement expires on September 30, 1928, after the strategic busy period around Labor Day. In September 800 Checker taxicab drivers struck in Boston for higher wages and extra pay for overtime.

## CITY EMPLOYEES

**Widespread Discontent.**—Another important group of strikes was that of city employees in several cities.

In Chicago 2,500 street cleaners struck from February 17-28, 1925, for a raise from \$5 to \$5.50 a day. They secured increases of 15 and 25 cents. On April 6 city workers in Cleveland numbering 1,200 won a 10 per cent raise for which they walked out on March 1. A strike of 2,000 city electrical workers in Baltimore in August was referred to arbitration.

Promises received by 600 city engineers of Chicago after their one-day strike at the beginning of July heartened 3,000 in New York City to demand a 25 per cent raise and better conditions, but they voted not to strike. Their demand was rejected. The Chicago men did not get the raise. The New York group called a convention on December 21 of the city engineers of New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore to draw up a standard list of salaries, 30 to 60 per cent above the present amounts.

## IV. LABOR POLITICS

### GENERAL POLITICAL INFORMATION

**Sixty-Ninth Congress.**—The House of Representatives of the 69th Congress consists of 435 members. The political composition is Republicans, 247; Democrats, 183; Farmer-Laborites, 3; Independent Progressive, 1; Socialist, 1. The Senate has 96 members, including Republicans, 56; Democrats, 39; Farmer-Laborite, 1. The term of representatives in this Congress began March 4, 1925, and expires March 4, 1927. The Congress was elected in November, 1924, and opened its first session on December 7, 1925.

**Presidential Vote.**—The popular vote for President since 1912 has been:

Table 122—Popular Vote for President, 1912-1924

<i>Party</i>	<i>1912</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1924</i>
Republican .....	3,483,922	8,538,221	16,152,200	15,725,016
Democratic .....	6,286,214	9,129,606	9,147,353	8,386,503
Progressive .....	4,126,020	.....	.....	.....
Independent, Progressive and Socialist.....	.....	.....	.....	4,822,856
Socialist .....	897,011	585,113	919,799	.....
Socialist Labor.....	29,079	13,403	.....	36,428
Workers' (Communist)....	.....	.....	.....	36,386
Farmer-Labor .....	.....	.....	265,411	.....
Prohibition .....	208,923	220,506	189,408	57,520
American .....	.....	.....	.....	23,967
Commonwealth Land.....	.....	.....	.....	1,532
Total .....	15,031,169	18,486,489	26,674,171	29,090,208

**Percentage Voting.**—It is estimated that the percentage of persons eligible to vote who actually cast ballots in recent presidential elections was:

Table 123—Per Cent of Persons Eligible to Vote Who Voted, 1900-1924

<i>Year</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
1900 .....	73.0
1904 .....	73.0
1908 .....	66.0
1912 .....	62.0
1916 .....	62.0
1920 .....	49.1
1924 .....	52.8

**Presidential Message.**—The message of President Coolidge, read in both houses of Congress on December 8, 1925, contained the following passages relating to labor:

### Immigration

While not enough time has elapsed to afford a conclusive demonstration, such results as have been secured indicate that our immigration law is on the whole beneficial. It is undoubtedly a protection to the wage-earners of this country. The situation should, however, be carefully surveyed, in order to ascertain whether it is working a needless hardship upon our own inhabitants. If it deprives them of the comfort and society of those bound to them by close family ties, such modifications should be adopted as will afford relief always in accordance with the principle that our government owes its first duty to our own people and that no alien, inhabitant of another country, has any legal rights whatever under our constitution and laws. It is only through treaty, or through residence here, that such rights accrue. But we should not, however, be forgetful of the obligations of a common humanity.

While our country numbers among its best citizens many of those of foreign birth, yet those who now enter in violation of our laws by that very act thereby place themselves in a class of undesirables. If investigation reveals that any considerable number are coming here in defiance of our immigration restrictions, it will undoubtedly create the necessity for the registration of all aliens. We ought to have no prejudice against an alien because he is an alien. The standard which we apply to our inhabitants is that of manhood, not place of birth. Restrictive immigration is to a large degree for economic purposes. It is applied in order that we may not have a larger annual increment of good people within our borders than we can weave into our economic fabric in such a way as to supply their needs without undue injury to ourselves.

### Coal

The perennial conflict in the coal industry is still going on, to the great detriment of the wage-earners, the owners, and especially to the public. With deposits of coal in this country capable of supplying its needs for hundreds of years inability to manage and control this great resource for the benefit of all concerned is very close to a national economic failure. It has been the subject of repeated investigation and reiterated recommendation. Yet the industry seems never to have accepted modern methods of adjusting differences between employers and employees. The industry could serve the public much better and become subject to a much more effective method of control if regional consolidations and more freedom in the formation of marketing associations, under the supervision of the Department of Commerce, were permitted.

At the present time the national government has little or no authority to deal with this vital necessity of the life of the country. It has permitted itself to remain so powerless that its only attitude must be humble supplication. Authority should be lodged with the President and the Departments of Commerce and Labor, giving them power to deal with an emergency. They should be able to appoint temporary boards with authority to call for witnesses and documents, conciliate differences, encourage arbitration, and in case of threatened scarcity exercise control over distribution. Making the facts public under these circumstances through a statement from an authoritative source would be of great public benefit. The report of the last coal commission should be brought forward, reconsidered, and acted upon.

### Railroads

It is gratifying to report that both the railroad managers and railroad employees are providing boards for the mutual adjustment of differences in harmony with the principles of conference, conciliation, and arbitration. The solution of their problems ought to be an

example to all other industries. Those who ask the protections of civilization should be ready to use the methods of civilization.

A strike in modern industry has many of the aspects of war in the modern world. It injures labor and it injures capital. If the industry involved is a basic one, it reduces the necessary economic surplus and, increasing the cost of living, it injures the economic welfare and general comfort of the whole people. It also involves a deeper cost. It tends to embitter and divide the community into warring classes and thus weaken the unity and power of our national life.

Labor can make no permanent gains at the cost of the general welfare. All the victories won by organized labor in the past generation have been won through the support of public opinion. The manifest inclination of the managers and employees of the railroads to adopt a policy of action in harmony with these principles marks a new epoch in our industrial life.

### The Negro

Nearly one-tenth of our population consists of the Negro race. . . . They should be protected from all violence and supported in the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Those who do violence to them should be punished for their crimes. No other course of action is worthy of the American people.

Our country has many elements in its population, many different modes of thinking and living, all of which are striving in their own way to be loyal to the high ideals worthy of the crown of American citizenship. It is fundamental of our institutions that they seek to guarantee to all our inhabitants the right to live their own lives under the protection of the public law. This does not include any license to injure others materially, physically, morally, to incite revolution or to violate the established customs which have long had the sanction of enlightened society. . . .

## CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION

Organized 1922. Chairman, William H. Johnston. National Committee: H. S. Samuels, George A. Meade, John D. Denison, Mercer C. Johnston, Robert H. O. Schulz, J. A. H. Hopkins, Mrs. Gordon Norrie, Peter Witt, Charles Kutz, Glen P. Turner, Edwin J. Spurr, A. F. Southwick, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan.

**Adjournment Sine Die.**—The December 12, 1924, meeting of the National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action voted 30 to 13 to call a Convention in Chicago on February 21-22, 1925, to consider the formation of a permanent independent political party, in accordance with the mandate of the July 4 convention which had nominated Robert M. La Follette. But the fate of the February convention was decided at this December meeting, for the representatives of the railroad unions, with the exception of William H. Johnston of the Machinists, declared that they were opposed to a third party, did not want a convention to consider the proposition, and were in favor of continuing the C. P. P. A. as a railroad men's organization for non-partisan political purposes. The members of the National Committee from the Socialist Party and third party groups outvoted the railroad unions' spokesmen. No interest was taken by the latter in the forthcoming Convention and it was not known up to the last moment whether they would attend.

Johnston presided at the February, 1925, Convention which was attended by several hundred delegates. The exact number is not known, for adjournment came before the credentials committee had completed its report. L. E. Sheppard, president of the Order of Railway Conductors, introduced a resolution which was supported by E. J. Manion, president of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, and D. B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. It called for a continuation of the C. P. P. A. along non-partisan political lines. Morris Hillquit presented the Socialist position in the form of an amendment. He argued that 5,000,000 votes constituted an encouraging beginning and urged action for the organization of an American Labor Party. J. A. H. Hopkins of the Committee of Forty-Eight, and others, supported another amendment calling for a Progressive Party based on individual enrollments. In the discussion Eugene V. Debs spoke and was given an ovation. No vote was taken on the resolution or amendments. Instead, a motion to adjourn *sine die* and permit those delegates who wished to organize a third party to re-assemble as individuals, was carried. That vote marked the end of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

**Formation of Progressive Party.**—Two views were represented by those delegates who reconvened to form a new political party. One view was held by the Socialists and sympathizers in accordance with George E. Roewer, Jr.'s, minority report; the other was expressed by six of the seven members of the committee to which the matter had been referred to bring in definite proposals. The latter were opposed to the Socialist proposal that the "National Committee and all State and local committees [of the new party] may also admit to direct affiliation organizations of workers and farmers and of progressive political and educational groups who fully accept its program and principles." The conflict was over a party with individual memberships based on state organizations which were to be autonomous, as against a party organized essentially on trade union and labor political groups within the states and nationally. The Socialist proposal was defeated by a vote of 93 to 64. The non-Socialist delegates thereupon adopted the following resolution:

#### Resolution for Independent Political Party

Resolved, That we form a new independent political party.

Resolved, That the party shall consist of state organizations constituted on geographical lines in conformity with the election laws of the different states. Such state organizations shall be autonomous and shall be formed on such lines as the states respectively shall determine.

Resolved, further, That the cooperation be sought of all organizations which in the last campaign supported the independent candidate

and of those members of the Senate and House of Representatives who are ready to join in the promotion of such a party.

Resolved, further, That in a national convention hereafter to be called the delegates from the several states be proportioned to the aggregate number of votes cast under all party designations for the Independent Progressive candidate for the presidency in the last election, and in addition the executive committee shall have power to admit other delegates on the basis of such representation as they deem proper.

Resolved, That conventions representative of those who were active in the last campaign be held in the several states to elect delegates to a national convention.

Resolved, That an Executive Committee of five be appointed by the chair to cooperate with the progressive organizations in the several states and to provide for the holding of state conventions and for such national convention to be held at such time and place as such committee shall determine. And be it further

Resolved, That where no progressive organization exists in any state or where the existing organization fails or refuses to cooperate, the Executive Committee be authorized to take such steps as may be necessary to bring about the holding of a convention representative as nearly as possible of the rank and file of progressive voters within the state. And be it further

Resolved, That the state conventions elect delegates to a National Committee, on the temporary basis of two delegates (one man and one woman) from each state.

No national convention was held during 1925.

## SOCIALIST PARTY

Organized 1901. National secretary, George R. Kirkpatrick. National Executive Committee: Eugene V. Debs (chairman), Victor L. Berger, John M. Collins, Leo M. Harkins, Morris Hillquit, James H. Maurer, George E. Roewer, Jr., Joseph W. Sharts. Conventions every two years.

**Relation to Conference for Progressive Political Action.**—At the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action on February 21 at Chicago, Morris Hillquit introduced the following:

The delegates to this convention hereby resolve that a new political party be organized on the following lines:

1. The name of the party shall be the American Labor Party; the term labor to apply to all workers, agricultural as well as industrial, mental as well as manual, and all other citizens who accept the social and political ideals and aspirations of the producing classes.

2. The party shall consist of state organizations constituted on geographical lines in conformity with the election laws of the different states, but the national committee and all state and local committees may also admit to direct affiliation organizations of workers and farmers and of progressive political and educational groups who fully accept its program and principles.

3. It shall be definitely committed to the principles of industrial and political democracy and the platform planks of the Progressive political platform in the campaign of 1924.

4. It shall uniformly nominate candidates of its own for public office in consistent opposition to the Republican and Democratic parties.

5. A national organization committee shall be elected by this convention charged with the task of organizing state parties on the principles above outlined.

6. A national convention composed of delegates from state organizations and affiliated groups shall be called by the committee in the month of October, 1925, for the purpose of perfecting the organization of the party in all practical details.

7. The national organization committee shall fix the exact date, the place and basis of representation of the convention.

When the Conference for Progressive Political Action adjourned *sine die*, and the individual delegates re-convened, the Socialists proposed a similar resolution, which was defeated by a vote of 93 to 64. That unofficially ended the connection of the Socialist Party with the new party which was formed.

The Socialist Party took official action at its own Convention which met in Chicago on February 23. A resolution adopted unanimously declared that after the leaders of the railroad unions had gone back to their non-partisan policy "the remaining delegates with but few exceptions were neither representative of the producing classes nor in harmony among themselves as to the kind of a party to be organized," and that the new party "was far more likely to be a liberal party composed of the middle class than a militant political organization of the toiling and producing masses of America." The party therefore decided not to affiliate with the newly organized party and also to withdraw from the C. P. P. A. The statement of party policy wound up, however, with the declaration that "the Socialist Party is still ready and willing to merge its political functions in a genuine independent political party of American workers and will certainly continue to put forth its best efforts to that end," and meanwhile appealed to the producing classes to join in building up "the party of their class," the Socialist Party.

**State Labor Parties.**—The Convention went on record for permitting cooperation between the state branches of the Socialist Party and *bona fide* state labor parties on approval of the National Executive Committee and providing the integrity of the Socialist Party branch was maintained. The National Executive Committee subsequently decided that in Minnesota the Socialist Party locals were not to ask their members to sever their connection with the Farmer-Labor Association. It also authorized the state branch in Pennsylvania to cooperate with the Labor Party provided that the candidates run on the tickets of the Labor Party and Socialist Party only.

**Organization Drive.**—Upon the suggestion of Debs seven regional conventions of the party were held at the following places and dates: Cleveland, May 30-31; Minneapolis, June 20-21; St. Louis, July 4-5; Los Angeles, July 25-26; San Francisco, August 1-2; Chicago, August 29-30, and New York, September 19-20. All party members in the surrounding states were admitted as delegates to discuss the revival of the party under four heads: (1) organization; (2) propaganda; (3) *The American Appeal*; and (4) finances. In connection with each of these

membership conventions mass meetings were held to which non-Socialists were invited and usually also a banquet at which a special drive for funds was made. Debs acted as chairman at each convention and was the chief speaker at the mass meeting and dinner. Debs was 70 years old on November 5.

Intensive organization work was conducted throughout the country by special district organizers, including Samuel H. Stille, Leo M. Harkins, Birch Wilson, Joseph F. Viola, Emil Herman, W. R. Snow, William H. Henry, William Coleman, Murray E. King, and Alfred Baker Lewis.

The Jewish Daily *Forward* announced a cash appropriation of \$15,000 and pledged an additional \$10,000. Debs made a special plea over his signature for a dollar contribution to wipe out the debt of the national office. A special fund for organization work was raised.

**American Appeal.**—The old *Appeal to Reason* which at one time sold up to 500,000 copies was largely built up by an *Appeal* army of rank and file workers. The Socialist Party decided to start on January 1, 1926, the publication of a national party weekly to be called *The American Appeal*, to revive the spirit which kept alive and built up the old *Appeal*. Eugene Victor Debs, chairman of the party, is editor-in-chief. Murray E. King is managing editor; he has had a varied experience as an author, newspaper man, and organizer for the Socialist Party, the Non-Partisan League, and the Farmer-Labor Party. J. Mahlon Barnes, former secretary of the party, is business manager. The paper sells at \$1 a year, and is modeled somewhat after the old *Appeal*.

**Resignation of Bertha Hale White.**—On November 4, Mrs. Bertha Hale White was compelled by illness to leave the national office. She had previously at the October 9-10 meeting of the National Executive Committee handed in her resignation. It was accepted with regret and a tribute was paid to her for her work as national secretary. George R. Kirkpatrick, who had been publicity director, and later organization director, was elected acting national secretary by the National Executive Committee.

Paul Hanna, Ethel E. Beers, Margaret Prevey, George Herron, Job Harriman, and George H. Strobell passed away during the year.

**Party Strength.**—The acting secretary claimed a membership of 25,000 at the end of 1925. This compares with an estimate of 18,000 at the end of 1924. Six language federations continue: Bohemian, Finnish, Italian, Jewish, Lithuanian, and Yugoslav. There were 44 delegates to the February, 1925, Convention from the language federations, the Young People's

Socialist League, the New England organization district and the following states:

California	Kansas	Missouri	Pennsylvania
Colorado	Kentucky	Nebraska	Utah
Connecticut	Massachusetts	New Jersey	Wisconsin
Illinois	Michigan	New York	
Indiana	Minnesota	Ohio	

**Press.**—*The American Appeal* supplanted *The Socialist World* which was issued monthly as an official organ. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of Chicago went out of business. In the spring appeared a new German weekly, the *Volkstimme*, edited in New York. *The Miami Valley Socialist* and *The Chicago Socialist* both suspended toward the end of the year. The Italian Socialists helped to found a new daily, *Il Nuovo Mondo*, edited by Vincent Vacirca, a former Socialist deputy in Italy.

**1926 Convention.**—The next convention of the party will be held in Pittsburgh, starting May 1, 1926. The locals or branches were requested to send in resolutions for the agenda.

**New York City Campaign.**—The leading candidates of the Socialist Party in Greater New York on November 3, 1925, were Norman Thomas for mayor, Charles Solomon for comptroller, and Samuel Beardsley for president of the board of aldermen. Thomas received 39,043 votes, while Solomon obtained 46,526. The vote for the Socialist Party for mayor in 1917, 1921, and 1925, together with the vote for presidential and gubernatorial candidates in New York City since 1916 follows:

Table 124—Vote of the Socialist Party in New York City, 1916-1925

Year	Office	Candidate	Vote
1916.....	President	Allan L. Benson.....	31,763
1917.....	Mayor	Morris Hillquit.....	145,328
1918.....	Governor	Charles W. Ervin.....	84,384
1920.....	President	Eugene V. Debs.....	1130,827
1920.....	Governor	Joseph D. Cannon.....	99,130
1920.....	Senator	Jacob Panken.....	145,498
1921.....	Mayor	Jacob Panken.....	82,019
1922.....	Governor	Edward F. Cassidy.....	57,218
1924.....	Governor	Norman Thomas.....	44,853
1925.....	Mayor	Norman Thomas.....	39,043

At the labor fusion convention which nominated the local candidates in 1925 there were a number of Communists as delegates from unions. Early in the sessions they were ejected for obstructing the proceedings.

The platform in the New York campaign of 1925 follows:

### Platform of the Socialist Party and the Labor Fusion Convention, New York City, 1925

The coming campaign in New York City (and to a less degree in the state) gives the people of New York a new opportunity to make

<sup>1</sup> First time women voted.

their government their servant in the struggle for better life. There are today definite and well understood steps that an efficient and progressive administration in the city and state could take to abate the evils of unemployment, lighten the burdens of old age for the workers, give better education to our children, assure us decent homes, and in a hundred ways bring to the toiling masses, both as workers and consumers, a larger share of these good things of life that our scientific progress makes available. This great service will not and cannot be performed by the old parties, both of which hide behind loud pretenses of devotion to the people a cynical determination to use government for the benefit of party politicians and for the protection of special privilege. Even when out of deference to public clamor one or other of the old parties advocates a progressive measure of public ownership, it can be trusted to betray the real purposes of such a measure by graft and corruption. Tammany Hall in control of our transportation system would merely deflect the profits of transit from the pockets of stock owners (to whom the Republican Party is devoted) to the pockets of the politicians of the machine. If the workers by hand and brain desire to control their own government they must build their own party. This is the preliminary condition of true progress in dealing with transportation, housing and all specific issues.

### Child Labor

The utter worthlessness of the promises of both parties was never better shown than in the case of the child labor amendment. Both parties endorsed it in their platforms in unequivocal fashion. Under cover of a barrage of deliberate falsehoods about the amendment circulated by the employing class both parties reversed their positions and began a hypocritical controversy as to the date of a referendum on the amendment. Nothing was done. The responsibility for this repudiation of a solemn pledge belongs equally to Governor Smith and the Republican leaders.

We pledge ourselves to work for the adoption of the federal amendment as the only effective means of dealing with a problem that is essentially national. We pledge ourselves to maintain the New York standards.

### Transit

The people of New York, forced to endure the indecency and actual physical torture of daily journeys in our shockingly overcrowded privately managed transit system, have long cried out for relief, only to be answered with a torrent of charges and counter-charges from politicians of both parties more interested in keeping transit as a political issue than in serving the people. Practically we have Mayor Hylan's program which gives us no unified system, little hope of adequate building of new lines and less hope of maintaining on the new lines a five cent fare. On the other hand, the Republican program, as developed by the Transit Commission under a camouflage of greater public control over operation, delivers us up more completely to the mercies of the same transit interests which have outrageously fleeced us in years gone by.

In opposition to both these programs we favor the establishment of a unified system of transportation to be managed and operated at cost and without profit by a public transit corporation entirely controlled by the people and the transit employees on the lines, in the shops and in the offices. Further to free the transportation system from bureaucracy and partisan politics, we advocate the rigid application of the merit system for all grades of employees. The directorate of this public transit corporation shall be chosen by the representatives of each political party in the board of aldermen in proportion to the total vote of each party in the mayoralty election, choice to be made by the executive committee of the party in any case where a party is unrepresented on the board of aldermen. Direct representation shall also be given to the employees on the directorate.

To release large sums of money within the city's debt limit now invested in the old subways for the immediate construction of new subways, we favor that this unified system of transportation be self-

sustaining. The existing lines shall be acquired by purchase or forfeiture and all existing contracts, leases and franchises cancelled. New lines shall be financed partly out of monies available and made available under this plan, partly out of fares and partly out of assessments against property directly benefited. Such lines shall be built as rapidly as possible for the relief of the people. They should be knitted together with the existing lines, transfers being given at appropriate points. By efficient management and the elimination of private profits and the present unnecessary rentals, the five-cent fare can be maintained.

Finally, it must be remembered that the transit problem is bound up with housing and zoning. Its solution requires an end of congestion of working places of the people in comparatively small places of Manhattan.

### Housing

The New York City housing situation menaces alike happiness, health, and morality. Not even the better paid workers and professional groups can afford proper homes. Over 70,000 unsanitary tenements containing some 300,000 bedrooms without direct access to the open air are not only in existence but in constant use in the city. At least 20,000 apartments should be built yearly to remedy the situation. These should be of a sort for which the rental should not exceed \$9 or \$10 a room per month. Higher rentals are beyond the reach of the 69 per cent of our population with family incomes below \$2,500. The emergency rent laws are useful and should be continued, but they will not build houses. Private profit seeking capital will not build houses at the price desired. *Bona fide* cooperatives are doing something and should be encouraged, but they cannot handle the situation. Therefore we demand the following measures from city and state:

1. Housing to be dealt with as a public utility.
2. State and municipal bonds to be issued to provide for the public construction of tenement houses or for loans at a low rate of interest for the building of tenements by trade unions, by *bona fide* cooperative societies, or by families for their own occupation.
3. Such legislation as will legalize under proper restrictions use of savings banks, compensation and other funds for housing loans.
4. The condemnation of property in congested districts so as to promote a municipal program of progressive slum clearance.
5. The creation by act of the legislature of a State Housing and Town Planning Commission with power to investigate local conditions, to take over the rights and duties of local commissions when they fail to act, and to control all state funds intended as loans for housing purposes.
6. The creation by act of municipal and town planning and housing commissions with power to carry through town planning, to condemn and purchase land and other real property to the end of wiping out slum districts and preventing real estate being made unavailable for building purposes, to build tenement houses and control loans made for building purposes.

A program of proper housing also must include provision for conveniently located parks and playgrounds for the people. To this we pledge ourselves.

### Food and Markets

The people of New York have successfully solved their water problem by treating it as a matter of public concern. Only by an extension of this principle can we find relief from our present wasteful, chaotic, competitive system of private distribution of all food products. A re-organization of our system of marketing in accordance with this principle cannot be accomplished in a day; it will require cooperation between the city, state, and federal governments and the encouragement of consumers' and farmers' cooperatives as well as of municipal enterprises. As first steps we demand:

1. That a modern, well-equipped central terminal market be at once established for the handling of perishable fruits and vegetables and other commodities reaching the city from the various

- railroads entering the city and its environs, with a view to the elimination of the wasteful congestion and speculation now taking place at the terminal markets, and that in establishing this market on one or more of the piers of the city due consideration be given to the proposals of the New York Port Authority.
2. That the city work out a plan for the development of belt line railroads for the more economic transportation of food products to markets and dealers and for the establishment of secondary terminal markets along the routes of the railroads.
  3. That the city thoroughly re-organize its public farmers' markets, in cooperation with the Port of New York Authority; that it make these markets readily accessible both to the railroad terminals and the consuming public; and that it equip them with the most modern storage refrigerating facilities and other conveniences for farmers and dealers; and that it eliminate the graft, inefficiency, and discrimination now found in many of our market places.
  4. That the public officials compile and give publicity to the conditions and demands of the markets so as to prevent both gluts and scarcity of commodities and be authorized to purchase and either store or sell at auction any food that otherwise might be wasted or be subject to speculation.
  5. That a Food Commission on which organized labor, technical experts, and housewives are adequately represented, be immediately appointed to prepare and on approval to carry out a plan for zoning the city and setting up such wholesale and retail markets and food department or unit stores as may be required to supply the consumers of the city with food in the most scientific, economical and inexpensive manner.
  6. That similar commissions similarly constituted be set up to deal with the supply of milk and ice.

### Gas, Electricity, and Super-Power

We favor the municipal ownership of gas and electric companies to be brought about as rapidly as existing franchises permit. They should be operated in accordance with the principles we have set forth with regard to transit. We favor the state development of hydro-electric power and the rapid creation of a publicly owned super-power system in which city, state and nation must cooperate.

### Health

Recognizing the immense importance of the public health service to the life of New York and the value of what has been done, we pledge ourselves to the re-organization and maintenance of the hospitals and the Department of Health along the following lines:

1. The consolidation of municipal hospitals now under three departments, under one Medical Board composed of a commissioner of hospitals as chairman, the commissioner of health, and a third member having experience in hospital administration; adequate support of hospitals and rigid scientific non-political administration.
2. The consolidation and rearrangement of functions of the Health Department into four bureaus: medical, statistics and health education, sanitation, laboratories, each under a director; a deputy commissioner to serve as a general business manager under the commissioner. This re-arrangement would mean a reduction of administrative heads under the commissioner from nine to five and would permit a considerable saving even if larger salaries were paid to attract the ablest men.
3. The appointment of the deputy commissioner and directors of the Health Department under civil service; the appointment of the commissioners of health and hospitals by the mayor from a list approved by the Academy of Medicine on the basis of especial fitness and experience.
4. The re-organization of the Board of Health charged with enacting the rules and regulations of the sanitary code. It now consists

of the commissioner of health, the police commissioner, and a physician appointed by the mayor. The police commissioner now is inactive and should not be a member of the board.

5. The granting of licenses for slaughter houses, poultry markets, barber shops, etc., should be taken from the Board of Health and referred to a special board consisting of the first deputy commissioner and the directors of the medical and sanitation bureaus, thus relieving the Board of Health from routine detail and eliminating more completely political favoritism.
6. Industrial and mental hygiene should receive more adequate recognition and support; more clinics should be established where needed to deal with the growing need for cancer diagnosis and the care of heart diseases.

### Education

Nothing is more essential to a progressive democracy than its schools. Under the Hylan administration the school system has been demoralized by disregard of the merit in favor of the spoils system in filling positions of the utmost importance. The schools have been made the football of partisan and religious politics. The building program has been for display and personal aggrandizement rather than for the needs of the children. Despite continued demagogic denunciation of "Rockefeller-Garyism" we have in many schools the Gary plan under another name. There is no democracy in education but an appalling bureaucracy in which the teachers have less direct voice over the conditions of their work than union agreements give the workers in any well organized industry. Neither the educational program nor method is adapted to the need of training thoughtful, independent citizens. Rather the desire of the employing class for docile workers, of party bosses for docile voters, and jingoistic patriots for potential soldiers, is giving us a standardized, mechanical system to grind out standardized, mechanized citizens trained to read but not to think. For this situation forces far stronger and more permanent than the Hylan administration or Tammany Hall are responsible and no mere change of administration will give us relief.

We pledge ourselves to restore the public schools to the great purposes for which the Labor movement and other pioneers of public education intended them. As steps to this end we shall appoint to the Board of Education as fast as vacancies occur men and women committed:

1. To democracy in education, direct representation of teachers, and in appropriate cases of the older pupils to provide a larger measure of self-government.
2. To obtaining and retaining the most highly competent teachers through better training courses, better facilities for study and rest during active service, an adequate salary scale, which means ultimate equalization of pay for teachers in the lower grades, and the rigid extirpation of the spoils system.
3. To the effective maintenance and development of continuation schools.
4. To a building program and an administrative policy that will curb the present inordinate size of school buildings and classes, and provide sufficient space and healthful conditions for all children.
5. To set up an educational commission composed of school officials, teachers, outside experts and citizens with special representation for labor, to inquire into our school system and propose an educational program and method better adapted to the needs of the children who must face the building of to-morrow's world. As an aid to this task there should at once be set aside a small sum for an experimental creative activity school similar to those now so highly successful under private management.

In addition to this program for the primary and secondary schools we also pledge ourselves to work for the establishment of free public colleges and universities both by municipal and state action.

### Courts and Police

Under the Hylan-Tammany administration, crime has increased, life has become unsafe for the people of the city. Labor's right to strike and picket has been reduced in a large number of cases to a special favor which must be bought from politicians affiliated with Tammany Hall.

Support and affiliation with Tammany Hall has secured for a large section of the criminal element of this city protection against adequate punishment.

To remedy these evils, we favor the vigorous enforcement of criminal law, meting out quick punishment to the guilty and rendering fair and impartial justice to the innocent. To this end we pledge ourselves:

1. To the maintenance of an adequate police force, adequately paid, thoroughly disciplined, and free from graft, favoritism, and political control.
2. The election of magistrates by popular vote instead of being appointed by the mayor as they are today; in most instances they are appointed through the recommendation of their district leaders, thereby owing allegiance to the organization instead of being free to administer the law fairly and impartially.
3. The enactment of necessary legislation to establish a bureau of public defense in all of the criminal courts to afford the people equal protection under the law.

### Taxation and Expenditure

Economy is not parsimony. It is a false saving that is at the expense of service to the people. It is true economy to eliminate waste, graft, and inefficiency. To that we pledge ourselves. In the levying of taxes we believe that the state and city as representing the people are especially entitled to claim the rental value of land—a value created by the community rather than the individual owner. Therefore we favor a plan similar to that in successful use in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for progressively putting a higher burden of taxation on land than on buildings and improvements to the land.

### City Employees

There is abundant evidence in the Fire Department alone, to say nothing of other departments, that the civil service system is consistent with a high degree of morale in the city service. Nevertheless, in the conduct of many city departments there is evidence of political interference, bureaucracy, and stagnation. We pledge ourselves to the principle of adequate pay for city employees, recognition of ability in promotions, democratic machinery for adjustment of grievances and consultation with the workers through their own organizations on the conditions under which they work.

### In Conclusion

We propose the foregoing planks as the immediate steps to be taken in order to make the government a means of emancipation rather than exploitation. But this is only the immediate part of our program. The struggle in which we enlist the people of New York is for complete economic freedom and social justice; its field is industrial as well as political; it must include the nation as well as the city and state. No single victory can be more significant or heartening than a great vote at the next election in the metropolis of America for the candidates and the political alliance pledged not merely to the specific measures of relief set forth in this platform, but to the forging of a militant political party as an instrument of our emancipation.

**Visiting European Speakers.**—Raphael Abramovitch, member of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International for the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Menshevik), began a tour of the country early in the year under the auspices of the Jewish Socialist Verband. He spoke on Russia. The Communists

organized counter-demonstrations and tried to prevent his speaking. He addressed the Socialist Party Convention in February in Chicago. The Convention sent greetings to the party which he represented, and called for financial and moral support to the political prisoners in Russia. It adopted a resolution declaring that the "Soviet Government has suppressed every vestige of free speech, free press and freedom of thought. Through the instrumentalities of economic pressure, jail sentences, and exile they prevent the working class from exercising even the elementary rights of free men and women." The Convention also called for amnesty for the prisoners in California, Massachusetts, Michigan, and elsewhere, and for the repeal of the state anti-syndicalism laws.

In connection with the Inter-Parliamentary Union sessions in the United States a large number of Labor and Socialist Party members of Parliament in Great Britain, Germany, France, Finland, Norway, and Sweden visited the country, including Arthur Henderson, Rennie Smith, Morgan Jones, and J. Rhys Davies from Great Britain, and Paul Loebe, Adolph Braun, Wilhelm Sollmann, Kurt Rosenfeld, and Louise Schroeder from Germany. A number of meetings and banquets were held at which the foreign Socialists spoke. At the Marseilles Congress of the Labor and Socialist International Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger, Jacob Panken and Abraham Cahan represented the Socialist Party of the United States.

**Wisconsin.**—A special election to fill former Senator La Follette's place was held in Wisconsin in October. John M. Work was the candidate of the Socialists. He received about 13,000 votes in a light total vote. Robert M. La Follette, Jr., was elected by a large plurality. In 1920 the Socialists secured 66,172 votes for their candidate for senator, and in 1922 did not nominate against the elder La Follette. In Milwaukee Daniel W. Hoan, who was elected mayor in 1924 for his fourth term on the Socialist ticket, holds office until 1928. In the state senate there are three Socialists, and in the assembly seven.

**Victor Berger in Congress.**—Victor Berger continues in Congress, having been re-elected in 1924 for the sixth time. His activity in 1925 in the House consisted, among other things, in criticising the revenue bill because of the elimination of the burden on the very rich; at the outbreak of the anthracite strike he called for the immediate seizure of the coal mines. He sharply took to task the Wisconsin Republicans for returning to the fold after they had supported the independent candidacy of La Follette for president. He introduced a resolution for the recognition of Soviet Russia.

## YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Organized, 1907. National secretary, Aarne J. Parker. National Executive Committee: Morris Novik (chairman), George Field, Max Wagner, Louis Bangert, Jr., Hugo Erickson, Savele Syrjala. Conventions every two years.

**Convention.**—The two-yearly convention of the Young People's Socialist League, which is an integral part of the Socialist Party, was held January 1-3, 1925, in the People's House, New York City. There were 40 regular and 12 fraternal delegates. Greetings were extended by mail or in person by Debs, Hillquit, Algernon Lee, the presidents of the Furriers' and Ladies' Garment Workers' unions, and a number of prominent Socialists and sympathizers. Morris Novik, J. Rabinowitz and George Field acted as chairmen, Louis Dickstein as permanent secretary.

Resolutions were adopted calling for compulsory education for children up to 18 years, adoption of the child labor amendment, free college education, immediate release of all political prisoners everywhere, formation of a labor party, support to the trade union movement, abolishing the power of the courts to nullify legislative acts and to act in labor disputes, assistance to labor in Mexico, support to the Rand School and *The New Leader* of New York, condemnation of the National Security League and the Sentinels of the Republic, and aid and cooperation to the Pioneer Youth of America. A proposed addition to the constitution requiring members belonging to trades where unions exist to join a union of the trade was defeated, on the ground that such a provision might require members in certain localities to join undesirable organizations. An amendment providing for the exclusion of those belonging to military organizations was also defeated, as not being properly a constitutional matter, and the resolutions committee was instructed to bring in a resolution to the same effect, and opposing war and militarism. The National Executive Committee was enlarged from five to seven members.

**Strength and Activities.**—The League officially reported a membership of 869 in 25 circles or locals for 1925, in nine states. The New England district is the largest territorial section, while New York City is chartered as a city organization embracing a number of circles. Besides New England and New York the League has circles in California, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. In addition to the directly affiliated circles, many branches of the Socialist party have young people's groups commonly accepting the name of the League, but remaining unaffiliated until sufficiently developed to insure a permanent circle. It is officially estimated that the membership of such

unattached groups is but slightly below the League membership. There are also Junior circles, including young folks between the ages of 14 and 16, attached to the organized League circles or party branches. New York City had eight such Junior circles in 1925, with a membership of between 200 and 300.

Educational activities predominate in most circles, such as debates, declamation contests, lectures, and dramatics. Athletics are also undertaken. The New England district issued a monthly paper from Worcester, Mass., called *The Mirror*. Other circles also issue bulletins. The national office issues for the Socialist Party Press a weekly news bulletin which generally has a regular Young People's section. The circles are active in all campaigns of the Socialist Party and help in the party's work throughout the year.

**Affiliations.**—The Young People's Socialist League was represented at the national Convention of the Socialist Party, the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and at the regional conventions of the party. Delegates sit on the city, state, and national committees. The League is affiliated with the Socialist Youth International and plans to send a delegation to the next Congress in 1926 at Amsterdam.

**Secretary.**—Aarne J. Parker, who was elected national director of the Young People's Department of the Socialist Party by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, was in turn elected national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League at the January Convention.

## JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (POALE ZION)

**Membership and Activities.**—The Jewish Socialist Labor Party (Poale Zion) has as its main object the building up of Palestine as a Jewish Socialist commonwealth. For 1925 it reported 4,000 members in 71 branches; 29 junior clubs with 1,200 members; and for the first time 15 women's clubs to assist the pioneer women of Palestine, with a membership of 600. It conducted 45 schools with 5,000 pupils and its teachers' seminary in New York had 100 students. It continued its official weekly organ, *Der Yiddisher Arbeiter*, edited by I. Zarr, a junior movement monthly, *Youth*, and started *The Pioneer Woman*, issued every two months. Isaac Hamlin, secretary, and I. Berkenblith attended the Congress of the Jewish Socialist Labor Federation (Poale Zion) and the Zionist World Congress, both held in Vienna in August, 1925. At the meeting of the Poale Zion Congress, the labor and Socialist wing of the world Zionist movement, emphasis was placed on the necessity for maintenance of labor's institutions and cooperatives in Palestine;

prevention of speculation in land which brings high prices and high rents; a broader immigration policy for Palestine; cooperative colonization of the land; enactment of modern labor legislation for Palestine; protection of Jewish immigrant workers and the Jewish minority everywhere. The Zionist World Congress conceded to Poale Zion that land should be held only by those actually working it, and that a certain control should be exercised over those who were buying land individually, and labor was given representation on the management of the land organization. The world confederation Socialist Zeire-Zion, with its strength mainly in Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, united with the Poale Zion at the Vienna Congress.

**Work for Palestine Labor.**—The American organization conducted a drive in 1925 to build labor temples in Palestine. It raised and sent \$20,000. It sold 2,000 shares of the Palestine Labor Bank and transmitted \$5,000. It carried out a campaign for the workers' libraries and shipped 8,000 Jewish and Hebrew books. The women's clubs which were organized in 1925 contributed \$4,000 to the women's cooperative colonies in Palestine.

### WORKERS' (COMMUNIST) PARTY

Organized, 1921. National secretary, Charles E. Ruthenberg. Central Executive Committee: (majority) William Z. Foster, Martin Abern, Philip Aronberg, Alexander Bittelman, Earl R. Browder, Fahle Burman, James P. Cannon, William F. Dunne, Bud Reynolds, Jack Stachel; (minority) Charles E. Ruthenberg, John Ballam, Max Bedacht, Louis J. Engdahl, Benjamin Gitlow, Jay Lovestone, Robert Minor, H. Schmies, William W. Weinstein, Charles White. Conventions every year.

**Decision of the Communist International.**—At the third national Convention of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America, December 30, 1923-January 2, 1924, the group headed by William Z. Foster secured majority control of the party as against the active minority under the leadership of Charles E. Ruthenberg, secretary. The maneuvers in connection with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, the St. Paul Convention of June 17, 1924, and the candidacies of Foster and Gitlow for President and Vice-President absorbed the party's immediate attention. Immediately after the election, however, on November 7, the Foster majority of the Central Executive Committee issued a statement which declared that

A general agitation campaign by the Workers' Party under the slogan of "For a Mass Farmer-Labor Party" would not be profitable or successful. . . . Our chief task in the immediate future is not the building of such a farmer-labor party but the strengthening and developing of the Workers' Party.

Toward the end of that month theses by the majority and minority groups appeared on the political situation and the

immediate tasks of the party. The thesis of the minority declared among other things that the struggle for a class farmer-labor party was one of the first duties of the party. Discussion in the official party press was conducted for six weeks and membership meetings were held in the districts to vote on the theses. The Foster group received a greater number of votes at these meetings.

The division in the party was not healed by the discussion or the results of the vote. The labor party issue was taken to the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International which met in Moscow, March-April, 1925. The Communist International decided unanimously against "the rejection of a struggle for the labor party," as distinguished from a farmer-labor party. but pointed out that "the conditions for its successful formation are not ripe as long as there is not a firm mass basis of trade union support." Hence a national labor party ought not to be launched "unless at least 500,000 organized workers are definitely won over to it." The Communist International also emphatically demanded the cessation of the conflict between the two factions. It decided that before the party Convention, which was to be held at an early date, a parity commission—with equal representation from each side—"under the chairmanship of a neutral comrade" was to settle all disputed questions. This decision was accepted by both groups, each claiming it as justification for its own position. The parity commission was thereupon set up with Foster, Cannon, and Bittelman for the majority, and Ruthenberg, Lovestone, and Bedacht for the minority, under the chairmanship of P. Green representing the Communist International. According to Green:

At the beginning of the work of the parity commission [beginning of July] there existed a split in the party; in Cleveland there were two organizations; a similar situation existed in Philadelphia; in Chicago and New York the situation was extremely sharp. The party had two central committees, two independent organizations with their own finances and connections, and their own internal discipline.

The date for the party Convention was set and a campaign to elect delegates began, which according to Green "was the basis for an extreme sharpening of the factional struggle. The dangers of a split grew to a high pitch. Especially so because apparently the struggle was not about principles, but about the majority in the party." At the Convention held in Chicago August 21-30 inclusive a bitter struggle took place over the seating of delegates. The Foster group secured 40 of the 61 delegates finally accredited. A few days before adjournment a cablegram arrived from the Communist International addressed to Green. The Communist International declared among other things:

It has finally become clear that the Ruthenberg group is more loyal to the decisions of the Communist International and stands closer

to its views; it has received in the most important districts the majority or an important minority; the Foster group employs excessively mechanical and ultra-factional methods.

The Communist International also called for not less than 40 per cent representation on the Central Executive Committee for the Ruthenberg group.

Foster stated to the Convention that his group "believed that the decision of the Comintern had been based upon information which was incorrect and they intended to appeal to the Comintern for a reversal." His group felt it could not take the leadership and hence it proposed a parity Central Executive Committee with a neutral chairman. The Convention therefore elected 10 from each side with P. Green as chairman. The new Central Executive Committee met and Green declared: "With the decision of the Communist International on the question of the groups in the American party there go parallel instructions to the Communist International representative to support that group which was the former minority (Ruthenberg group)." Thereupon the important posts in the national office and in the districts were put into the hands of the new majority. Inside the Foster group a division took place, a number led by James P. Cannon and William F. Dunne opposing Foster's position.

**Unity.**—On September 5 the Central Executive Committee issued a statement declaring that the controversy was closed and that "the task of the hour in our party is to unify all the Communist elements" for work. Membership meetings were called in all the districts and the Ruthenberg majority was sustained. The former language federations at their conventions or executive meetings also declared their support.

**Resolutions of Convention.**—Apart from the struggle for control the August, 1925, convention in Chicago adopted unanimously a series of resolutions on (1) the present situation and immediate tasks of the party; (2) instructions for the Labor Party campaign; (3) Bolshevization of the party; (4) liquidation of Loreism; (5) industrial work; (6) endorsement of the International Labor Defense; (7) agrarian program and policies; (8) the American Negro and the proletarian revolution; (9) work among women; (10) the struggle against imperialism; (11) a pledge to the Soviet Union; (12) Young Workers' League; and (13) building of Communist press. In its determination to rid itself of what it characterized as opportunist right-wing elements the party expelled Ludwig Lore, editor of the New York German daily, the *Volkszeitung*; censured Juliet Stuart Poyntz; and removed Askeli as editor of the Finnish organ, *Tyomies*.

**Membership and Finances.**—The membership of the Workers' Party since 1922 by district and federation has been as follows:

**Table 125—Membership of Workers' (Communist) Party by Districts, 1922-1925**

<i>Districts and Headquarters</i>	1922	1923	1924	<i>First Six Months 1925</i>
1—Boston .....	1,789	2,056	2,225	1,892
2—New York .....	3,125	3,194	3,433	3,577
3—Philadelphia .....	394	723	829	809
4—Up-state New York .....	.....	227	539	531
5—Pittsburgh .....	632	805	1,202	991
6—Cleveland .....	1,033	1,335	1,160	1,246
7—Detroit .....	674	1,079	1,306	1,108
8—Chicago .....	1,327	1,993	2,321	2,315
9—Minneapolis .....	1,386	1,765	1,895	1,662
10—St. Louis .....	438	495	309	.....
12—Washington .....	438	571	659	730
13—California .....	559	758	774	804
15—Connecticut .....	.....	149	298	260
Agricultural .....	.....	18	94	70
Unorganized .....	263	227	319	330
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>12,058</b>	<b>15,395</b>	<b>17,363</b>	<b>16,325</b>

**Table 126—Membership of Workers' (Communist) Party by Language Federations, 1922-1925**

<i>Language Federation</i>	1922	1923	1924	<i>First Six Months 1925</i>
Armenian .....	.....	59	61	132
Czechoslovak .....	169	431	353	295
Estonian .....	42	73	73	70
Finnish .....	5,846	6,583	7,099	6,410
German .....	463	461	442	350
Greek .....	83	142	203	256
Hungarian .....	313	374	469	509
Italian .....	138	412	581	331
Jewish .....	975	1,055	1,368	1,447
Lettish .....	397	417	443	434
Lithuanian .....	677	929	901	815
Polish .....	110	210	165	121
Rumanian .....	.....	81	65	47
Russian .....	379	959	941	870
Scandinavian .....	33	259	248	211
South Slavic .....	1,077	1,158	1,290	1,109
Slovenian .....	.....	.....	.....	14
Ukrainian .....	87	623	781	622
English .....	1,269	1,169	1,906	2,282
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>12,058</b>	<b>15,395</b>	<b>17,389</b>	<b>16,325</b>

The party had 10,000 members at the time of its organization in December, 1921. Some 20,000 new members have been taken in since then, but only about 6,000 remained. The last six months of 1925 showed a loss in membership due to the re-organization of the language federations and other causes.

The financial statement of the national office for December 1, 1923, to June 30, 1925, shows receipts of \$171,371.58 and expendi-

tures of \$175,265.54. For the national campaign receipts of \$39,896.98 are given. The *Daily Worker* during the latter part of 1925 conducted a drive for \$40,000, of which it raised \$30,628.26. Special campaigns for defense of the Michigan and other political prisoners, for the various foreign language papers, and for other activities of the party raised considerable sums. Dues were increased to 50 cents a month plus 1 per cent of the member's income above \$100 a month.

**Internal Re-organization.**—By the end of 1925 the Workers' (Communist) Party of America was largely organized into shop and factory-street nuclei, and international branches. In common with the other Communist parties of the world the American party was changing its basic unit from the election district to the factory where its members worked. Where shop nuclei cannot be started because of insufficiency of members or their scattered character, nuclei based on a larger factory-street area are organized. For members, such as housewives, who fit into neither of these groups, international branches are set up, groups of "party members, otherwise unattached, united on a street or neighborhood basis regardless of language grouping." The language federations are given up as dues collecting or separate organizational units. Members of the party speaking one language may organize fractions to work within non-party groups or conduct certain special work. Above the shop and street nuclei are subsections, sections, the city, the sub-district, the district, and the national organization.

The new constitution adopted at the Convention added the word "Communist" in the party's name, making it read: Workers' (Communist) Party of America, American Section of the Communist International. The party is no longer a fraternal but an organic part of the Communist International. C. E. Ruthenberg writes that undoubtedly the next Convention will make the name of the party: Communist Party of America.

**Election Returns.**—In the city election of New York in November, 1925, the Workers' (Communist) Party nominated for mayor Benjamin Gitlow, then out on bail on a conviction for violating the state criminal anarchy statute.<sup>1</sup> After the nominating petitions had been filed, the Board of Elections ruled Gitlow off the ballot on the ground that he had forfeited his citizenship. Nevertheless hundreds of voters wrote his name on their ballots. The candidate for controller, received 3,388 votes according to the official count. In Toledo, Ohio, at about the same time, the candidate for vice-mayor obtained 4,832 votes. In the Minneapolis election in the spring the party's candidates

<sup>1</sup> Gitlow was finally pardoned on December 11; see Civil Liberties, p. 290.

received about 1,800 votes. State elections in Michigan in April gave the Workers' Party candidates 7,037 votes. In Los Angeles the party's candidate for member of the Board of Education obtained 23,041 votes in the May election. Representative of the municipal platforms of the party is the following issued for the New York City election:

### Platform of the Workers' (Communist) Party, New York City, 1925

#### Preamble

The Tammany administration of the last eight years, like that of the Republican-Fusion administration which preceded it, has been devoted exclusively to the interests of the propertied classes of the city of New York. Under them, the conditions of the workers have grown intolerably worse. Food costs have sky-rocketed to enormous heights, overcrowding increases, dwellings are not repaired, new homes are not built except to rent at prices out of reach of the workers, and housing conditions go from bad to worse. Subways are jammed to suffocation. In the public schools the children are herded like cattle and are given part-time instruction by poorly paid teachers. The public school system has become a huge machine for turning out willing slaves for big business.

The police and courts are being used on an ever-increasing scale in the interest of the employers and against pickets and striking workers. Injunctions against picketing, supplemented by the use of the police club against the pickets, put the government of this city at the service of the employers as an organized strike-breaking machine. The treasury of the city remains at the service of grafting contractors and corrupted officials. Such are the "blessings" of any municipal administration under the rule of the capitalist parties, whether the particular servitor of big business in the City Hall be selected by Tammany or the Republican machine. Only a workers' government can eliminate these evils.

#### Waterman and Wall Street

To make it doubly clear that the municipal administration will continue to faithfully serve the propertied classes, both capitalist parties have nominated frank and open servants of big business. Mr. Waterman is no mere hired servant of Wall Street. He is one of the Wall Street crowd. He is a millionaire in his own right, having enriched himself by the exploitation of labor. He may be counted upon to faithfully serve himself and his friends, by making the city government more obedient than ever to Wall Street.

#### Walker, the Traction Tool

Walker is a hired tool of big business. He has already demonstrated that his loyalty to capitalism may always be depended upon in return for moderate fees, by his acceptance of payments from the meat trust at the same time that he was a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture which prepared measures dealing with the sale of food stuffs. It was as the servant of big business and the traction interests that he made his campaign to replace Hylan. This does not mean that Hylan was a less faithful servant of the bosses, but he represented not only the interests of property in general, but more specifically interests of smaller business and of the suburban real estate ring that was fighting the traction trust because a five-cent fare is necessary for speculation in suburban real estate. For the rest, Hylan has done what Walker and Waterman will do: Put the courts and police at the service of the bosses to break strikes and the whole city machinery at the service of the propertied classes as against the workers.

### For a Workers' Government

The nomination of the candidates of big business on both capitalist tickets and the continuous use of the machinery of government for the bosses and propertied classes against the workers, is a challenge to the workers of this city to take the government into their own hands.

This challenge finds them largely unprepared. In contrast to the powerful capitalist political machines, both controlled and backed by the immense resources of Wall Street, supported by the mighty prostitute press of New York and presenting a united front against the workers whenever the slightest interests of their capitalist masters is threatened, the workers are divided into many political fractions. The bulk of them still support the capitalist parties. There is not one representative in the city government to voice the will of the worker. The unity of labor's forces into one powerful party of all the producers, a Labor Party capable of fighting for the workers' needs, is the immediate and vital necessity of the workers of New York, as it is of the workers throughout the land.

### Non-Partisan Policy a Sham

The sham non-partisan policy imposed upon the workers by the corrupt labor bureaucracy at the service of capitalism and its political parties is a fundamental obstacle in the way of the building up of the Labor Party. This policy has divided labor's forces and has chained the local labor movement to the tail of Tammany's cart. The labor bureaucrats have become part of the local capitalist political machines and have sold their influence and their alleged power to deliver the vote of labor, in exchange for soft jobs, graft, and occasional political nominations. The slogan, "reward your friends and punish your enemies" has meant in practice the dividing of the workers and their betrayal to their enemies by corrupt labor leaders for a price. This policy has poisoned the mind of labor, made it an easy prey to class collaboration schemes in place of uncompromising struggle for its own interests. The complete eradication of this policy is a question of life and death for the workers. The complete divorce of labor from the capitalist parties and the establishment of a policy of independent political action of the working class in a Labor Party is the immediate task of the workers of the city of New York.

### United Labor Ticket

The Workers' (Communist) Party has for the past three years been the foremost fighter for the formation of a Labor Party. At the earliest opportunity this year, it proposed to the workers of New York the formation of a united labor ticket for the present campaign as a first step for the complete unity of labor's political forces in a Labor Party. It proposed to the Socialist Party, at its conference in June, the calling of a convention of all labor organizations for this purpose. But the Socialist Party in its servility to the labor bureaucrats and in its complete heedlessness of the elementary needs of the workers, gave no answer to this proposal. *Therefore the Socialist Party must bear jointly with the labor bureaucrats the responsibility for dividing the forces of labor and preventing the realization of a united labor ticket against capitalism.* The Workers' Party has therefore been compelled to put forward its own candidates. But it realizes the crying need for working-class political unity, and continues to call upon the Socialist Party and all other labor groups to join together for a united labor campaign against the capitalist class for the immediate needs of the divided and exploited workers. The Workers' Party stands ready to withdraw its candidates in favor of one united labor ticket at any time during this campaign. Workers of New York, raise this demand for a united labor ticket leading towards a Labor Party in all of your organizations and compel the labor bureaucrats and treacherous Socialist leaders to cease dividing the workers. Out of this campaign must emerge concrete steps towards the formation of a Labor Party.

## The Issues of the Campaign

The Workers' (Communist) Party, while continuing its fight for a united labor ticket, enters the campaign under its own banner and with its own candidates and calls upon the workers to unite under its banner in the fight for the following general demands of the workers of America and the vital needs of the working class of New York City:

### General Demands:

A Labor Party and a united labor ticket.

Recognition of Soviet Russia.

The building of the trade unions into mass fighting organizations through amalgamation, and the organization of the unorganized and through world trade union unity.

Freedom for the Philippines, Hawaii, Santo Domingo, Haiti, etc.

Hands off China.

For a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

## Injunctions, the Police, and the Courts

1. We demand the abolition of the use of injunctions in labor disputes.

2. The city government must in no way interfere with or limit the right of striking and picketing.

3. The police must not be used against the workers in labor struggles.

4. We demand the repeal of the criminal syndicalist law and the release of all workers imprisoned because of their activity on behalf of the working class.

## Traction and Public Utilities

1. We demand municipal ownership and workers' control through participation in the management of all public utilities such as: street car lines, elevated railways, subways, gas works, light and power, telephone, etc.

## Housing

To relieve the terrible housing situation we demand

1. The construction of dwellings for the workers by the city to be rented to them without profit.

2. The fixation by the city of a low rent scale, based upon the earnings of workers' families and their ability to pay.

3. The encouragement of workers' cooperatives for building construction by exemption from taxes and other fees and by loans from the city.

4. These demands express only two of the most pressing needs in the housing situation. We further favor all measures such as non-eviction, compulsory repairs, etc., which will curb the landlords' profit greed and help solve the housing problem.

## The Cost of Living

1. We demand the establishment of city markets which will sell food and other necessities at cost.

2. The establishment by the city of stores in workers' quarters for the direct sale of fuel, ice, bread, milk and other necessities at cost.

3. The encouragement of workers' cooperatives through credits, loans, and preferential treatment.

## Unemployment

1. We demand the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance.

2. Maintenance of the unemployed by the city at trade union rates until work can be found for them.

3. The complete elimination of the employment agency sharks through the establishment of a city monopoly in job placements, with workers' control of the agencies through participation in the management.

4. Two weeks' pay for all workers dismissed from their jobs.

## Municipal Employees

1. We demand the right of organization and the right to strike for all municipal employees of every category.

2. They shall receive the prevailing union wage, the 44-hour week and regular adjustment of their wage to keep pace with the rise of the cost of living.

### **Labor Protection Measures**

1. We demand the initiation of a full program of labor protection legislation including workmen's compensation for all trades, unemployment insurance, etc.

2. Special legislation for women, including the eight-hour day, minimum wage, equal pay with men for the same work, prohibition of night work, mothers' pensions, the establishment of municipal day nurseries, and leave of absence with full pay for eight weeks before and after child-birth.

3. In the bureau to administer labor legislation the workers must have adequate representation to insure the proper carrying out of such measures.

### **Child Labor**

1. We demand the abolition of all child labor under the age of 16.

2. A system of compensation for those families upon whom such a law would work a hardship.

### **Health**

1. Introduction of full regulations to prevent accidents and industrial disease through prohibition or limitation of industrial devices, chemicals, etc., which speedily destroy health of workers or bring on fatal results.

2. The regular, systematic inspection of factories and industrial establishments to enforce the regulations to prevent industrial accidents and disease. To insure such adequate inspection and enforcement of the regulations, labor to have adequate representation in the bodies of inspection. The violation of these regulations by employers shall be punished as a criminal offense.

3. Regular complete medical examinations for workers by competent physicians in the employ of the city, through local clinics open at night in the workers' quarters prepared to give special attention to the treating and checking of industrial diseases.

### **The Schools**

1. We demand the immediate construction of sufficient schools to accommodate comfortably all children of school age in their immediate neighborhoods, without part-time.

2. The immediate increase of the teaching force and the maintenance of the ratio of one teacher for every 30 pupils.

3. Adequate wage for teachers and the single-salary schedule.

4. The formation of teachers' councils, democratically elected and controlled, to participate in the administration of the school and the selection of supervisory officers.

5. Full maintenance of all workers' children up to age of 16, where poverty would otherwise compel such children to leave school before that time.

6. Free and adequate dental, medical, and other health treatment for all pupils.

7. Abolition of religious and military training in the public schools.

8. The unrestricted right of teachers to organize in labor unions. No teacher shall be expelled for holding beliefs inimical to the present capitalist system.

### **The Workers' Government and the Overthrow of Capitalism**

In proposing the above demands the Workers' Party points out that even such elementary demands of the workers can only be realized and maintained through the establishment of a Workers' Government. We propose them, not as a complete expression of the aims of the working class, but as an expression of their most elementary needs, knowing that the workers, in struggling for these demands, will inevitably come to understand that they cannot be realized and maintained under capitalism, but only through the overthrow of the

capitalist system, the establishment of a government of workers and poor farmers, and the adoption by this government of such measures as will lead toward the introduction of a communist system of society. To this full program the Workers' (Communist) Party is pledged.

In calling upon the workers of this city to support the candidates of the Workers' (Communist) Party, we once more point out that the two parties of big business stand directly for capitalism, for wage slavery, for government by injunction, for the open shop, for poverty, ignorance and misery for the workers, and for wealth and senseless luxury for the capitalists.

The Socialist Party which also calls for working class support in this election and pretends to be a party of the workers, is, in reality, a pacifist, social reform party most dangerous to the workers because it destroys their fighting spirit, is the ally of the labor bureaucrats who are wrecking the unions, sponsors class collaboration policies in place of the class struggle, and is tying the workers to the politics, ideology, and leadership of small business men and professional elements.

The Second or "Socialist" International, of which the Socialist Party is a part, has behind it a history of 10 years of working-class betrayal, of the slaughter of revolutionary workers and the chaining of the working-class of the world to capitalist imperialism. This party, so meek and gentle in its dealings with and apologies for capitalism, has shown unbelievable energy in fighting the militant section of the working-class. It has blocked every effort for labor unity. It has this year abandoned even its platonic acceptance of the Labor Party idea, has discarded all semblance of militancy, and makes no pretense of being a party of class struggle. The Socialist Party is not a party of workers; it cannot and will not serve their needs.

The Workers' (Communist) Party is the only party that provides the means by which the workers may free themselves from exploitation and wage slavery, which is their lot under the existing capitalist system. In nominating its candidates and carrying on its campaign, it aims to unite the exploited masses against the capitalist system. The support of the Workers' (Communist) Party by the working class of New York means the preparation of the workers for their liberation from exploitation and oppression. Rally to the Workers' (Communist) Party and hasten the day when the workers shall rule and through their rule attain to freedom.

**Activities.**—Members of the Workers' Party participated in the convention of the Pennsylvania Labor Party and in the Labor Fusion Conference of New York City, where after they protested against the form of proceedings they were ejected. They were active in the Non-Partisan League gathering in North Dakota. They were unable to prevent the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association from adopting a constitution prohibiting affiliation of the Communist Party or admission of individual Communists.

The party conducted demonstrations and agitation during the trial of Lanzutsky, the Polish Communist deputy; while the young Cuban Communist Julio A. Mella was on a hunger strike following his arrest; when the British delegates to the Inter-Parliamentary Union landed in this country, following the exclusion order against Saklatvala; when Rakosi, Weinberger, and the other leading Hungarian Communists were being held before a special court; against the Italian Fascisti; and in defense of the Chinese workers. The party held tremendous meetings to com-

memorate the anniversary of Lenin's death, the Paris Commune, and the eighth year of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It organized aggressive counter-demonstrations at the meetings addressed by Raphael Abramovitch of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. It conducted campaigns for the release of political prisoners. It succeeded in having Benjamin Gitlow pardoned on December 11, 1925, after he had been re-committed to jail in November on the charge of violating the New York criminal anarchy statute. It raised bail for C. E. Ruthenberg when he was put in prison in January, 1925, where he remained 20 days, after his conviction for participation in the Communist Convention at Bridgman in 1921 was upheld by the Michigan Supreme Court. The case then went to the United States Supreme Court. The prison terms of the American soldiers Crouch and Trumbull for Communist agitation in the army were shortened from 40 years to three, and from 26 years to one, respectively, through the party's agitation. The party carried on campaigns for world trade union unity, against American imperialism chiefly through the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, against unemployment and wage cuts, and assisted in all the work of the Trade Union Educational League.

The party sought to build up a large body of "worker correspondents" for its press. These worker correspondents are ordinary workers in the factory, mill, or mine, who report actual details of the workers' lives and struggles in order to awaken them to action and to bind them to the Communist movement. It helped to organize the American Negro Labor Congress. It maintained organizers among the farmers and farm hands.

### YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE

Organized, 1921. National secretary, Samuel Darcy. National Executive Committee: Joseph Angelo, Samuel Darcy, Samuel Don, John Harvey, William Herberg, Nat Kaplan, Valeria Metz, George Papcun, H. V. Phillips, Max Salzman, Al Schaap, Max Schachtman, Peter Shapiro, Morris Schindler, William Schneiderman, Jack Stachel, Patrick J. Toohey, John Williamson, Sam Winocur, Herbert Zam. Conventions every year.

**Convention.**—The Young Workers' League, affiliated with the Young Communist International with headquarters in Moscow, held its third national Convention in Chicago October 4-6, 1925, inclusive. There had been among the young Communists, as in the Workers' Party, a serious division between the followers of Foster and Ruthenberg, which had not been ended by the time the Convention met. The report of the credentials committee seating a majority of the Ruthenberg group's delegates was adopted by 29 to 20 votes. In the debate on the report Jack Stachel for the Ruthenberg group declared that the total membership of the League was estimated at between 1,800 and 1,900,

and claimed that between 1,200 and 1,300 were for his group. James P. Cannon, formerly of the Foster group, spoke to the Convention on his difference with Foster. He declared that he had won over those delegates who were supporters of Foster to "take a position openly in the Convention condemning any attempts to agitate the party or the League on the question of the appeal [to the Communist International for reversal of its decision cabled to the Workers' Party Convention], to discredit the decision of the Communist International, or to put up the appeal as a political platform of opposition in the party." Foster also addressed the Convention and wound up by saying: "I am for the Comintern from start to finish . . . and if the Comintern finds itself criss-cross with my opinions, there is only one thing to do and that is to change my opinions to fit the policy of the Comintern."

Herbert Zam was elected permanent chairman, John Williamson vice-chairman, and Morris Yusim secretary. Patrick Toohey, one of the elected delegates, was at the time in jail in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., for activity in connection with the anthracite coal strike. The Convention sent greetings to him and the others in jail and promised financial assistance. Max Bedacht reported officially for the Workers' Party. By a vote of 29 in favor, with 22 abstaining, a resolution was adopted which said among other things that the Young Workers' League supported the results of the Workers' Party Convention which were "of Communist character and free from the right-wing sectarianism which for the past year and a half have endangered and obstructed the development of the party toward the goal of becoming a Leninist party," and pledged the League to the Ruthenberg group's leadership as well as all efforts to bring about unity. Under date of November 27, the Young Communist International sent a cablegram to the League which called for "immediate application of unity resolution [of Workers' Party] throughout League and energetic fight for liquidation of factions."

**Activities.**—The League continued its industrial work in 1925 chiefly in the textile and mining centers. Youth conferences were organized. For a time the *Young Worker* appeared weekly but for lack of funds it had to revert to a fortnightly. The League was most active in re-organizing itself into shop nuclei and in the party's training schools.

The Young Pioneers' League of America replaced the junior section of the Young Workers' League. As a national organization it developed more systematic educational plans. The *Young Comrade* continued to appear monthly as the organ of the Pioneers.

The members of the Young Workers' League were active in the various campaigns and tasks of the Workers' Party.

**National Executive Committee.**—Like the leading committee of the Workers' Party, the National Executive Committee of the Young Workers' League as constituted by the latest Convention contains 20 members, 10 from each faction. The representative of the Central Executive Committee of the party is also a member.

Paul Crouch, the Communist soldier in the United States military prison at Alcatraz, Calif., was elected an honorary member of the National Executive Committee.

### SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Organized, 1877. National secretary, Arnold Petersen; national treasurer, August Gillhaus; National Executive Committee: Max J. Michel, John P. Johnson, John L. Lindsay, Peter O'Rourke, Mrs. William N. Nelson, John C. Butterworth, Patrick E. De Lee, A. Zavelle, George B. Sargent, Theodore Gramaticoff, Alexander Kudlik, Ernest Kellman, S. Kontrin. Conventions every four years.

**Election Campaigns.**—The Socialist Labor Party of Greater New York held a mass convention on March 18, 1925, with Henry Kuhn in the chair. It nominated a city ticket headed by Joseph Brandon for mayor, Olive M. Johnson for president of the Board of Aldermen, and William Woodhouse for controller. The party put up an active campaign and the official returns gave Brandon 1,886, Johnson 1,965, and Woodhouse 2,617 votes. The municipal platform of the party was as follows:

#### Municipal Platform of the Socialist Labor Party, New York City, 1925

The Socialist Labor Party of Greater New York enters this campaign as it has all previous campaigns, the sole organization championing the interests of the working class. Politicians of all shades and hues are intent on keeping the great mass of workers befuddled and confused by means of various so-called campaign issues. The Socialist Labor Party, however, calls emphatic attention to this trickery of capitalist politicians as but so much dust thrown into the eyes of the workers to blind them to the real issue, the robbery of the fruits of their labor.

In each election, the capitalist politicians make it a point to bring some one issue to the forefront and create a furor over it. At each election, we troop to the polls and cast our ballots so as to put the finishing touches on that particular issue. But despite the many elections, despite the overwhelming vote cast for the removing of these evils, today we find ourselves beset not only by the same ills, but cursed with many others besides.

This time it is being made to appear that the issue is traction; that the question of subways and car-fares is the paramount question of the day and that it remains with the voters of this metropolis to settle this question at the ballot box.

The Socialist Labor Party without hesitancy labels this as so much buncombe. The transportation systems, like all other capitalist ventures, are operated, not for the purpose of serving the people primarily, but for the sake of yielding a profit to their owners.

It is a shame, of course, that people have to be pounded and jammed into trains, but then it is much more profitable to run fewer trains,

and when private profits and public comfort come into conflict "the public be damned." To expect the capitalists to provide decent transportation at the expense of their profits is as to expect a tiger voluntarily to relinquish its hide so that you might make a comfortable rug of it.

The Socialist Labor Party declares that the traction problem will not be solved until capitalism is overthrown. The same applies to all other evils and problems that confront us from time to time. All are but manifestations of our present system of production for profits. They are all effects of capitalism; and an effect can never be effaced unless its cause is first removed. So long as production and distribution are organized for the sole purpose of profit-making, so long will we continue to be beset on all sides by problems that are unsolvable. Only by taking away from production and distribution their only present purpose, profits, and substituting in its stead the purpose of use, will we be taking a step in the right direction.

Nor can capitalism be reformed. We cannot make life any better or more bearable under the present system. Cancer-like it daily grows worse and the longer the operation is put off the worse the patient becomes.

The Socialist Labor Party engages in no utopian dreams of alleviating the misery of the working class while the profit system endures. It unqualifiedly and without equivocation or double-meaning of any sort, declares that capitalism must be done away with, root and limb, and that a new society must be built in its place. This new society will have for its basis not the aim to see how much profit can be extracted from the muscle and sinew of the working class, but how much comfort and ease we may all enjoy as a reward for our labors. Production for use will take the place of production for profit.

Obviously, under such a system there can be nothing like the traction problem of today; nothing like the housing problem of today; nothing like the school problem of today. Crowded subways, disease-breeding tenements, poorly equipped schools, with all the other innumerable evils of today will have become things of a forgotten past. Human comfort and safety will be restricted only by the limits of industrial development.

In a larger sense, unemployment, low wages, with the attendant desperate struggle for existence, crime waves, panics, wars, etc., are also part and parcel of the profit or capitalist system and are inseparable from it. Only when capitalism is overthrown and the Industrial Commonwealth established will they disappear.

These are all evils the workers of New York City suffer from, but they are not peculiar to us. The working class all over America, and the rest of the earth where capitalism holds sway, suffers with us. None of these evils can be solved by the working class of New York City alone. To eradicate them requires the organization of the whole of the working class of America, in city and country, into a class-conscious political party with "The Abolition of Capitalism" as its only demand. And that political party must be backed up by a class-conscious, aggressive, Socialist industrial union which will be the might behind the right of their ballots, and at the same time constitute the framework of the new social system, Socialism.

The Socialist Labor Party has fearlessly, for more than 25 years, been calling upon the workers to stop tinkering with the effects of capitalism and to strike a blow at the root of all the evil. Events have demonstrated the correctness of its position. We call upon all class-conscious workers to strike a blow in their own interest by supporting at the polls the only political party representative of working class interests.

If you would vote for better subways, better homes, better living and working conditions, better schools and education, better things in general, cast your vote under the arm and hammer of your organization, the Socialist Labor Party, for the establishment of Socialism.

**Activities.**—The party maintained Adolph Silver as national organizer throughout 1925. Silver addressed numerous meetings

throughout the country and "secured respect and admiration for the party from the workers in general, while at the same time confounding the opponents of the Socialist Labor Party." A new pamphlet was issued entitled *Workers' Party versus Socialist Labor Party*, by Joseph Brandon. The latter and others debated with spokesmen of the Workers' (Communist) Party on several occasions. The party and its press carried on a vigorous campaign against the deportation of Vojnovic, who was the secretary of a branch of the South Slavic Federation of the Socialist Party before he became an active member of the Socialist Labor Party. At the close of the year Vojnovic's case was still undecided.

### FARMER-LABOR PARTIES

**Farmer-Labor Party of the United States.**—The National Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States met in Chicago immediately prior to and after the Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in February, 1925. In the absence of W. M. Piggott, national chairman, and Bert Martin, secretary, Parley P. Christensen of Illinois was elected chairman of the session and Carl Mullen of Indiana secretary. The committee decided to participate by sending delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action Convention. After the formation of the new third party the committee voted to ratify the action taken and pledged its support, "pending the action of the convention to be held as provided in the fall of 1925 [by the new party], and that meantime the Farmer-Labor Party maintain its organization and prepare to function as may be necessary until such time as the Farmer-Labor Party shall be merged into such Progressive third party." The committee adjourned subject to call of the permanent chairman.

At a later date Piggott wrote to the National Committee from his headquarters at Ogden, Utah, that he had become apprehensive of the outcome of the efforts to form a new party because of the inactivity, and suggested a national convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, should another third party convention be called, at the same time and place.

**Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association.**—The Farmer-Labor Federation which had been organized in Minnesota in 1923 to control the Farmer-Labor Party was dissolved in 1925 and the Farmer-Labor Association took its place. Between 200 and 300 delegates, representing 54 counties of the state, and including the economic, political, and individual elements behind the Farmer-Labor Party, met in St. Paul on March 20, 1925. The former name was dropped on account of the disagreements in 1924 with the Communist and other elements, but the general structure was retained, with provision for affiliation of labor and farmer

economic groups and individual memberships in political divisions. The fundamental principles remain the same; to restore government to the people and abolish monopoly by means of the public ownership and operation of all monopolies; to unite the agricultural and industrial workers for their protection and advancement. The Communists were excluded. The officers named were ex-Senator Magnus Johnson, president; Frank Starkey, member of the legislature and president of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, secretary; Louis Enstrom, a farmer legislator, treasurer. These three officers and the following constitute the executive committee: William Mahoney; Floyd Olson, former candidate for governor; and Victor Lawson. The declaration of principles also stated that a national movement was necessary and that the Minnesota association was ready to cooperate on a national scale. The state federation of labor at its convention unanimously endorsed the Farmer-Labor Association.

Although the labor and Socialist forces in Minneapolis made a hard fight for re-election of their aldermen in June, 1925, with one exception all the seven were defeated by small pluralities. The Communists ran candidates in the primaries, receiving about 1,800 votes.

**Pennsylvania Labor Party.**—In the middle of May 60 representatives of the trade unions, Socialist Party, and progressive groups met in Harrisburg, and decided to continue the Pennsylvania Labor Party. The new preamble and platform are based on recognition of the class struggle, with a direct working class appeal. The party permits the affiliation of the Socialist Party but definitely excludes the Workers' Party. The convention elected Charles Kutz of the machinists, chairman; Charles Ogler, secretary; and James Kelley, treasurer. John Brophy and William J. Van Essen are, among others, on the executive committee.

**Northwestern States.**—In December, 1925, evidence of revival of activity for a Farmer-Labor Party appeared in North Dakota in connection with a conference of the Non-Partisan League. A move for a national party was made by representatives of the Farmer-Labor parties of South Dakota, Montana, Washington, and Minnesota in the course of the Non-Partisan League meeting. A Labor Party was started in Texas toward the end of the year.

**Congressmen.**—Three Farmer-Labor Congressmen, William L. Carss, O. J. Kvale, and Knud Wefald, all of Minnesota, are members of the present, the 69th Congress, which began on March 4, 1925, and will end March 4, 1927. The last two named served in the 68th Congress also.

## V. LABOR LEGISLATION

### SUMMARY

**Few Outstanding Measures.**—Regular sessions were held by 42 state legislatures, two territories, and two insular possessions; several held special sessions in addition. The Sixty-eighth Congress held its second session. The most important enactment of Congress was the postal pay increase. Many states changed their compensation measures, on the whole for the better. Illinois made injunctions in labor disputes illegal. Idaho passed the most rigorous criminal syndicalist law on record. Wage laws and mine safety laws, where altered, were generally weakened. Attempts to pass the Howell-Barkley bill to abolish the Railroad Labor Board failed.

### TRADE UNIONS AND TRADE DISPUTES

**Settlement of Disputes.**—Most of the states have permanent boards of conciliation and arbitration, whose duty it is to go to the scene of labor disputes and try to negotiate a settlement. A similar bureau exists in the federal Department of Labor. In about half the states compulsory investigation of industrial disputes is provided for. A few states require an arbitration award to be lived up to if workers and employers have agreed beforehand to do so. Colorado prohibits strikes and lockouts except after 30 days' notice.

**Strikes and Lockouts.**—The Kansas industrial court law, prohibiting strikes and lockouts in the food, clothing, fuel, and transportation industries, was repealed, and those of the court's powers which have not been declared unconstitutional were transferred to the public utilities commission (C. 258). The Wisconsin law requiring statement concerning strikes and lockouts in advertising for labor was amended to define strikes and lockouts (C. 332).

**Injunctions.**—Illinois prohibited the issuance of injunctions to prohibit strikes or other peaceful activity relative to labor disputes (S. B. 442). New Jersey gave the vice-chancellor hearing injunction cases relating to labor disputes the power to submit the facts to a jury (C. 169).

**Criminal Syndicalism.**—Idaho amended its criminal syndicalism act by defining sabotage to mean, among other things, work done in an improper manner, improper use of materials,

loitering at work, slowing down work or production, scamped work, waste of property, and publication of trade secrets (C. 51).

**Union Activities.**—New York permitted labor unions to take out group life insurance covering not less than 50 members engaged in the same work (C. 523). Wisconsin exempted property of labor unions from taxation (C. 147).

## MINIMUM WAGE

**Public Employees.**—In North Carolina wages of state employees are to be fixed by a commission of five appointed by the governor (C. 125). Rhode Island raised the pay of forest fire fighters from 30 to 50 cents an hour. (C. 654). Wisconsin fixed a minimum wage of \$90 a month for charwomen employed in the capitol (C. 363). The federal government increased the wages of postal employees (Public 506, 68th Congress, 2nd session).<sup>1</sup>

**Private Employment.**—The Wisconsin minimum wage law for women, declared unconstitutional in 1924, was re-enacted in amended form. It now requires a reasonable and adequate compensation, instead of a living wage; compensation to be determined by the industrial commission; employers may be exempted from the provisions of the act by the industrial commission (C. 176).

New Jersey appointed a commission to study working conditions among women and to report to next session of legislature as to cost of living and wages (J. R. 9).

Table 127—Minimum Wage Laws in Force, 1925

Arizona, 1917	Massachusetts, 1912	South Dakota, 1923
Arkansas, 1915	Minnesota, 1913	Utah, 1913
California, 1913	North Dakota, 1919	Washington, 1913
Colorado, 1913	Oregon, 1913	Wisconsin, 1925
Kansas, 1915	Porto Rico, 1919	

**Equal Rights Amendment.**—Since 1921 the National Women's Party has been seeking the adoption of the following amendment to the federal constitution:

Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Almost every organized group of working women, and of women interested in improving working conditions, is against the proposed amendment. They maintain that it will destroy all the special protective laws that have been secured for working

<sup>1</sup> See page 167.

women in states where it was impossible to secure similar protection for working men. These laws include, in addition to minimum wage acts, those which limit hours, restrict night work, and establish standards for health, comfort, and decency.

## HOURS

**General Employment.**—California limited the hours of drug clerks to 108 on 13 days in two consecutive weeks, instead of 54 hours on 6 days in one week, and made more definite provisions regarding rest-days and emergencies (C. 394). Connecticut extended its 58-hour law for women and children to include shoe-shining parlors and pool rooms; the governor may suspend limitations on night work in emergencies (C. 153, 156, and 158). In Connecticut no women or children under 16 may work more than six days a week in restaurants, barber shops, hair-dressing and manicurist establishments, or photograph galleries (C. 208).

New York reduced the work week for children under 16 in factories and mercantile establishments from 48 to 44 hours (C. 622). North Dakota exempted workers in small telephone exchanges from the eight-and-one-half-hour law for women (C. 219). Wisconsin clarified the power of its industrial commission to regulate the hours of labor for women (C. 27).

Table 128—Daily Hour Laws for Women, 1925

<i>Eight-Hour Laws</i>		
Arizona	Montana	Utah
California	Nevada	Washington
Colorado	New Mexico	Wyoming (8½)
District of Columbia	North Dakota (8½)	
Kansas	Porto Rico	
<i>Nine-Hour Laws</i>		
Arkansas	Minnesota (9½)	Oklahoma
Idaho	Missouri	Oregon
Maine	Nebraska	Rhode Island
Massachusetts	New York	Texas
Michigan	Ohio	Wisconsin
<i>Ten-Hour Laws</i>		
Connecticut	Louisiana	Pennsylvania
Delaware	Maryland	South Carolina (10, 12)
Georgia	Mississippi	South Dakota
Illinois	New Jersey	Virginia
Kentucky		
<i>Over Ten Hours</i>		
New Hampshire (10¼)	Tennessee (10¼)	Vermont (10¼)
North Carolina (11)		
<i>No Daily Limits</i>		
Alabama	Indiana	West Virginia
Florida	Iowa	

Eighteen states and one island possession prohibit night work for women, 10 p. m. to 6 a. m. being the period most frequently barred.

**Public Work.**—Kansas limited the work day of public employees in cities of the first class to 12 hours, except in emergencies (C. 190).

## CHILD LABOR

**Federal Amendment.**—Arizona (H. J. R. No. 1), California (A. J. R. 1), and Wisconsin (J. R. No. 7), ratified the child labor amendment to the federal constitution. A very active campaign against the amendment developed; chief among the arguments used against it was that it unduly extended the power of the federal government at the expense of the state. In response to adverse propaganda 21 states have refused to ratify. Only 4 states have accepted the measure, Arkansas having ratified in 1924. The lower house in New Mexico has voted for it.

The amendment reads as follows:

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operations of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.

**State Action.**—California strengthened its child labor law (C. 123 and 141). Connecticut dropped the provision permitting physical examination to determine whether a child is fit for employment (C. 252). The Delaware commission appointed in 1923 to examine the existing laws relating to minors was continued; it is to report to the legislature in 1927 (C. 247). In Georgia children between 14 and 16 were forbidden to work in factories at night unless they had met the requirements of the compulsory education law; employment of children under 16 in dangerous occupations was forbidden; children between 16 and 18 may work in dangerous occupations upon obtaining an employment certificate; children over 12, dependent on their own labor, are no longer exempt from the law; the law does not apply to agricultural pursuits and domestic service (No. 247).

Massachusetts changed the provisions for granting children under 14 limited employment certificates (No. 47). Michigan raised the age under which employment certificates are required, from 16 and 17 to 18 (No. 312).

New Mexico raised from 14 to 16 the age at which employment permits become unnecessary; children under 16 may not work in dangerous trades; boys under 16 may not work at night; girls under 21 may not work as messengers or in delivery of goods (C. 79). In Ohio children judged "mentally incapable,"

if over 14, may be excluded from public schools and given work certificates marked "non-standard" (S. B. 146). Rhode Island raised the compulsory school age from 14 to 15 (C. 678). It appointed a commission to study child labor conditions and recommend legislation not later than February 1, 1926 (C. 589). Tennessee required a statement from the employer as to the character of the work, and a physical examination of the child (C. 90). Regulations regarding proof of age were amended (C. 115). Texas forbade children to work in theaters and amusement places; child labor was allowed on farms, ranches, and dairies; hours for children under 15 were reduced from 10 to 8; night work was forbidden; completion of the fifth grade and a physician's certificate were made pre-requisites for granting work-permits (C. 42). Wisconsin empowered the industrial commission to issue certificates of age of minors (C. 256). The industrial commission was authorized to fix employment regulations for children under 16 in market-gardening controlled by canning companies, in cherry orchards, and the culture of sugar beets and cranberries (C. 187). All children, including those with work permits, now come under the Wyoming law; making metal lath was added to the forbidden trades (C. 11). In the District of Columbia the compulsory school period was extended to cover children from 7 to 16, instead of from 8 to 14, excepting those between 14 and 16 who have completed the eighth grade and who are regularly employed (Public 361, 68th Congress, 2nd session).

## SAFETY AND HEALTH

**Mines.**—In Colorado inspectors of coal mines were made subject to civil service regulations; regulations governing certificates of competency for mine foremen and fire bosses were changed; mine superintendents were required to examine daily the foreman's report on the condition of the mine; inspectors may order gas-filled portions shut off; all mines must have first-aid outfits; inspectors may permit use of blow torches and other than permissible powder in certain cases (C. 134). Illinois improved laws regulating mine ventilation (S. B. 375), and safety in coal mines generally (H. B. 479). Indiana required telephone communication in mines; abandoned oil and gas wells in coal seams are to be plugged, and maps showing their location are to be filed (C. 171). Iowa required washing facilities in mines employing 20 or more persons (C. 29, 30). Nevada empowered mine inspectors to examine all parts of mines instead of only stopes; if the mine is unsafe, notice of the fact may be served by posting in a conspicuous place (C. 8). Smelters and reduction

plants were put under supervision of the mine inspectors (C. 97). Oregon abolished its bureau of mines and transferred its records to the school of mines of the agricultural college (C. 296); the work of the bureau is to be done by a board known as the mining survey (C. 304).

In Pennsylvania all parts of storage battery locomotives in gaseous mines that can be enclosed must be covered with flame-proof casings (C. 123). Qualifications of mine-foremen and fire-bosses were changed (C. 124). Electric lights may be used in mines where gas is generated; foremen and certain other persons may use flame safety lamps to detect gas (C. 125). When two mines owned by different operators work seams one above the other, the operators are to exchange maps showing where one seam is super-imposed on the other (No. 126). The West Virginia law is made to apply to all mines instead of to mines employing five or more persons; foremen are required in mines employing five or more persons; rock-dusting is permitted; only the outside of magazines for storing explosives need be of non-combustible material; other buildings near mines need not be of such material; machine runners must prove fitness to detect gas; miners finding conditions dangerous may not return to work until the place is made safe; the clause prohibiting employment of women in mines is omitted (C. 88). Wyoming permitted rock-dusting (C. 64); main fans at gaseous mines are to be kept in operation night and day; fans must have been in continuous operation for six hours before a working force is allowed to enter a mine (C. 66). All gaseous mines employing more than 10 men must have shot inspectors or shot firers (C. 67). Certification of mine inspectors was transferred to the state coal mining board; reciprocity in certificates with Colorado, Utah, and Montana was established; men injured in mines employing no foremen may no longer base action for damages on that fact (C. 69). Locked safety lamps are permitted; no person shall carry into mines any means of opening lamps, or of producing fire (C. 71 and 74). Safety regulations governing cars were relaxed (C. 72). Mines employing less than 10 men are to be inspected once in 12 months instead of once in three months (C. 79).

**Construction Work.**—New York reduced the maximum pressure under which an employer of compressed air workers has discretion as to the length of the shift from 21 to 18 pounds; where pressure is 48 pounds or more a one-hour day is required (C. 123). Rhode Island strengthened regulations for protection of construction workers (C. 591).

**Foundries.**—New Jersey required foundries to provide washing arrangements and dressing rooms separate from work-rooms, but connected with them (C. 119).

**Occupational Diseases.**—Nevada directed its industrial commission to collect information about occupational diseases; the chief medical examiner is to report to the legislature in 1927 (C. 65).

## EMPLOYMENT

**Private Employment Agencies.**—Iowa limited employment agency fees to 5 per cent of the first month's wages and made provisions to prevent fraud (C. 39). In Michigan employment agency license fees and licensees' bonds were increased; registration fees were abolished; all agencies except those for teachers are to limit their fees to 10 per cent of the first month's salary, and the full fee was made returnable if the applicant, through no fault of his own, failed to obtain employment (C. 255). Minnesota assumed greater control over employment agencies (C. 347). North Carolina fixed the agency fee at 10 per cent for temporary employment of 60 days or less; for permanent employment the fee is 15 per cent of the first month's pay; agents must obtain licenses costing \$1 from the state (C. 127), and must pay an annual license tax of \$50 (C. 101). Oregon revised the schedule of licenses and bonds required of employment agents, and set aside \$600 to investigate violations of the law (C. 244). Wisconsin established a schedule of license fees ranging from \$25 to \$150, according to the agency's income; agents must file a detailed statement of receipts with the industrial commission (C. 400).

**Public Employment Offices.**—Arkansas raised the appropriation for its free employment bureau from \$1,000 to \$2,400 (C. 316). New Hampshire increased its appropriation for the same purpose from \$4,800 to \$7,600 (C. 181, 182).

**Public Work.**—Nevada made it unlawful for a public officer to employ a relative in behalf of the state; penalty \$100-\$1,000, imprisonment from 30 to 60 days, or both (C. 75). New Jersey amended its civil service law in regard to dismissals, credits for military service, and wages (C. 161, 186, 239). South Dakota established the office of director of employment, who is to control all state employees (C. 114).

**Right to Vote.**—Michigan raised the penalty for discharging or threatening to discharge an employee for the purpose of influencing his vote, from \$200, to \$500 and 90 days in jail (No. 351).

## IMMIGRATION

**Federal Quotas.**—Since the heavy cut of 1924, there has been no change in the immigration quotas allotted to each country.

Table 129—Yearly Immigration Quotas

<i>Country or Area of Birth</i>	<i>Annual Quota</i>	<i>Country or Area of Birth</i>	<i>Annual Quota</i>
Afghanistan .....	100	Muscat (Oman).....	100
Albania .....	100	N a u r u (proposed British mandate) .....	100
Andorra .....	100	Nepal .....	100
Arabian peninsula.....	100	Netherlands .....	1,648
Armenia .....	124	New Zealand (incl. apper- taining islands).....	100
Australia, including Papua, Tasmania, and all islands appertaining to Australia..	121	Norway .....	6,453
Austria .....	785	New Guinea, and other Pa- cific islands under proposed Australian mandate.....	100
Belgium .....	512	Palestine (with Trans-Jordan, proposed British mandate)	100
Bhutan .....	100	Persia .....	100
Bulgaria .....	100	Poland .....	5,982
Cameroon (proposed British mandate) .....	100	Portugal .....	503
Cameroon (French mandate)	100	Ruanda and Urundi (Belgian mandate) .....	100
China .....	100	Rumania .....	603
Czechoslovakia .....	3,073	Russia, European and Asiatic	2,248
Danzig, Free City of.....	228	Samoa, Western (proposed mandate of New Zealand).	100
Denmark .....	2,789	San Marino.....	100
Egypt .....	100	Siam .....	100
Estonia .....	125	South Africa, Union of.....	100
Ethiopia (Abyssinia).....	100	Southwest Africa (proposed mandate of Union of So. Africa) .....	100
Finland .....	471	Spain .....	131
France .....	3,954	Sweden .....	9,561
Germany .....	51,227	Switzerland .....	2,081
Great Britain and North Ire- land .....	34,007	Syria and The Lebanon (French mandate).....	100
Greece .....	100	Tanganyika (proposed British mandate) .....	100
Hungary .....	473	Togoland (proposed British mandate) .....	100
Iceland .....	100	Togoland (French mandate).	100
India .....	100	Turkey .....	100
Iraq (Mesopotamia).....	100	Yap and other Pacific Islands (under Japanese mandate)	100
Irish Free State.....	28,567	Yugoslavia .....	671
Italy, incl. Rhodes, Dode- kanesia, and Castellorizzo.	3,845		
Japan .....	100		
Latvia .....	142		
Liberia .....	100		
Liechtenstein .....	100		
Lithuania .....	344		
Luxemburg .....	100		
Monaco .....	100		
Morocco (French and Span- ish Zones and Tangier)...	100		
		<b>Total .....</b>	<b>164,667</b>

## WAGE PAYMENTS AND LIENS

**Payment of Wages.**—In Alaska a worker may now contract to accept wages in other than lawful money; the penalty for an employer's refusal to pay wages is changed from \$500 fine or 60 days' imprisonment to \$1,000 fine (C. 45). California provides an additional fine of \$10 for each failure to pay wages as required by law (C. 76). Michigan regulates time and manner of paying wages and specifies persons to whom wages shall be paid in case of death of an employee (No. 62). In Nevada failure to pay all wages due is punishable by a fine of \$50 to \$300 (C. 160). Oregon requires employers to pay in legal money and to establish regular pay days within 30 days after performance of labor; maximum penalty, \$500 (C. 252). In Pennsylvania (No. 292) municipalities, and in Tennessee (C. 121) contractors for public work, are now required to furnish bonds guaranteeing payment for labor. In West Virginia wages due at a future date may be paid with orders redeemable in merchandise (C. 87).

**Liens.**—Alaska (C. 42, 49), Arizona (C. 27), Massachusetts (C. 175), Minnesota (C. 274), Montana (C. 23), Nebraska (C. 58), Nevada (C. 136), New Hampshire (C. 90), Oklahoma (C. 108), South Dakota (C. 221), Tennessee (C. 144), Texas (C. 17), Wyoming (C. 16 and 30), extended their mechanics' lien laws to cover classes of labor not hitherto included. Procedure under lien laws was changed in Alaska (C. 8), California (C. 155), Connecticut (C. 130), Indiana (C. 94), Kansas (C. 197, 198), Michigan (C. 304), Nevada (C. 169), New Hampshire (C. 90), Oregon (C. 322, No. 129, No. 176), Pennsylvania (No. 300), and South Dakota (C. 216).

## WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

**Present Conditions.**—All states except Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, and South Carolina now have laws providing compensation for work accidents. The federal government also has an act covering its more than 750,000 civilian employees. The percentage of workers covered in each state varies from 20.5 in Porto Rico to 99.8 in New Jersey, depending on whether only workers in selected hazardous occupations and factory hands in establishments of a certain size are brought under the law, or all employees including farm hands and servants. Almost every act provides for reasonable medical, surgical, and hospital care. Usually there is a waiting period of from three to seven days at the beginning of disability for which no compensation is paid. The most common scale of compensation is  $66\frac{2}{3}$  per cent of wages, but some states allow 65, 60, or even as low as 50 per cent.

In about half the states, compensation lasts during the entire period of total disability. For permanent partial disability some states allow a percentage of the loss in earning power, while others award a definite amount for each specific loss of a part of the body. In case of death, burial expenses ranging from \$75 to \$200 are allowed. The widow receives from 15 to 66 2/3 per cent of her husband's wages, according to the scale of the law and the number of dependent children. In about a quarter of the states compensation is paid for occupational diseases as well as for accidents. To make sure that claims will be paid, employers are usually required to insure with a state fund or a casualty company if they cannot prove ability to carry their own risk. Seventeen states have state funds, and in some states a state fund is the only method of insurance permitted.

**New Laws.**—The Arizona compensation act was replaced by a new law. The 1925 statute establishes an industrial commission of three, a competitive state fund, and a separate accident benefit fund to insure medical care; all are covered except casual employees, agricultural workers, and domestic servants; workers in specified hazardous occupations may waive protection prior to injury; the waiting period is seven days; medical care is provided for 90 days to one year; compensation for total disability is 65 per cent of wages for life; for temporary disability, 65 per cent for 100 months, with \$10 a month if there are resident dependents; for permanent partial disability compensation is 55 per cent of earnings for specified periods and temporary disability compensation; in fatal cases \$150 is paid for burial and the widow receives 35 per cent until death or re-marriage, and 15 per cent for each child under 18 up to 66 2/3 per cent of earnings (C. 83). A constitutional amendment prepared the way for this law by wiping out former restrictions; it provided for the passage of an elective act and forbade curtailment of benefits of the 1925 law except by initiative and referendum (C. 82).

Missouri passed a new elective act which was suspended by referendum petition for action at the 1926 elections (C. S. H. B. 112).

**Amendments.**—Alaska allowed employers to tax workers \$2.50 monthly for medical care (C. 63). The court may allow a lawyer's fee when unwarranted proceedings are brought under the act (C. 59). California made compensation claims equal to wage claims as preferred debts (C. 355); burial allowance was raised from \$100 to \$150 and was made additional to maximum death benefit (C. 354). Colorado directed its highway department to insure its construction workers (C. 182). Connecticut

increased its weekly maximum disability payment from \$18 to \$21 (C. 247). Georgia dropped the term "casual laborer" and specifically defined excluded workers; election to accept the act is effective until withdrawn by joint action of both parties, and is binding on future employees (C. 432).

Illinois extended coverage to aviators, workers using sharp-edged tools, and workers hired in the state for work outside; firemen in certain cities were excluded; compensation paid for disability is to be deducted from death benefits; death benefits where there are dependents were increased; time and cost limits on medical care were removed; injuries showing only subjective symptoms were made not compensable; minimum weekly disability payments were increased from \$8.50-\$10.50 to \$11-\$14; maximum benefits were increased from \$15-\$17 to \$15-\$19 (S. B. 162). In Iowa, if an employer of more than five persons rejects the act his employees may collect ordinary compensation or bring suit for damages, in which case the employer's defenses are barred (C. 162). Maine raised the weekly maximum from \$16 to \$18 (C. 201). In Minnesota accrued but unpaid compensation was made payable to legal heirs; a widow with three or more children (formerly four or more) is allowed  $66\frac{2}{3}$  per cent of wages (C. 161); compensation for persons engaged in emergency work for municipalities is to be based on the eight-hour day (C. 175); compensation claims were given preference in receivership proceedings (C. 224), and in case of assignment for the benefit of creditors (C. 256).

Montana included elevator operation among hazardous occupations (C. 117); excluded agricultural occupations are listed, and voluntary coverage is provided for them; public, quasi-public, and public service corporations are included as employers; weekly maximum benefit is raised from \$12.50 to \$15, minimum from \$6 to \$7; for permanent disability, full payment continues for 500 weeks, instead of 400, but is no longer followed by a reduced allowance for life; medical care is extended from two weeks to six months, and from \$100 to \$500 (C. 121). Nevada made the act compulsory for contractors on public works (C. 114); burial allowance was raised from \$125 to \$150; death benefit to widow for each child was raised from 10 to 15 per cent of wages (C. 168); period of medical care was extended from 90 days to six months (C. 61). New Jersey provided for compensation of members of the national guard and of the naval militia injured in course of duty on the basis of the earnings of the injured person as a civilian (C. 46); fees for medical witnesses ranging from \$50 to \$150 may be allowed (C. 98); waiting period was reduced from 10 to seven days (C. 163).

In New York failure to file claim within a year no longer bars compensation unless the employer or insurer raises the issue at the first hearing in the presence of all parties (C. 658); minor changes were made (C. 660, 657, 656). North Dakota more specifically defined injury to include occupational disease (C. 222); uninsured employers are no longer penalized by an additional 50 per cent award and are allowed 30 days instead of 10 to pay awards (C. 225). The appropriation to start a state fund was withdrawn (C. 84). Bonds of contractors for public work must guarantee proper payroll returns and premium payments to the compensation bureau (C. 96).

Ohio created a bureau for prevention of industrial accidents and diseases, and gave compensation claims the same preference as tax claims in receivership proceedings (S. B. 238). Oregon included working contract gangs; illegitimate children are to be compensated (C. 133); the annual state contribution for administration of the state fund was discontinued from 1925 to 1927 (C. 360).

Pennsylvania amended the act regulating insurance carriers (C. 17, 314, 322); protection was extended to volunteer fire companies (No. 387); \$6,000 was appropriated to compensate persons hurt and killed in forest fires and not otherwise covered (No. 153). Porto Rico covered all farming pursuits; weekly maximum was increased from \$12 to \$15; maximum benefits to relatives of the secondary group were reduced; occupational disease coverage, formerly general, was restricted to a specified list; collection of compensation from uninsured employers was provided for (No. 102). In South Dakota the industrial commissioner was made an independent officer (C. 302); other slight changes were made (C. 303, 304, 305). In Utah all persons in the service of the state are now covered (C. 73). Vermont fixed the weekly minimum benefit at \$6; failure to claim is no longer a bar to recovery if employer had knowledge of accident (No. 101). West Virginia included traveling salesmen, and superintendents; maximum allowance was raised from \$300 to \$800, and minimum weekly benefit from \$5 to \$8 (C. 68). Wisconsin permitted farm laborers and domestics to be included (C. 171); payment for total disability was extended from 900 to 1,000 weeks, and some benefits were increased (C. 384); regulations governing compensation procedure were slightly changed (C. 405). Wyoming established by taxation of coal operators a \$100,000 catastrophe fund to cover compensation losses in excess of \$25,000 from any one accident (C. 159); allowances were increased; common law wives were excluded as beneficiaries (C. 124).

Members of the United States naval reserve injured while on duty in time of peace are entitled to compensation; the United States Employees' Compensation Commission has jurisdiction in such cases (Public 512, 68th Congress, 2nd session).

**Employers' Liability.**—Michigan made "ambulance-chasing" illegal (No. 280). Wyoming made it unlawful to solicit business in collecting through court action, outside the state, damages for injuries received inside the state (C. 108).

### VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

**State Action.**—Colorado (C. 156), New Hampshire (C. 18), and Oklahoma (C. 226), accepted the provisions of the federal rehabilitation act for industrial cripples.

Colorado furthermore (C. 156), established a division under its board of agriculture for rehabilitation of all vocationally incapacitated persons. Montana granted a monthly maintenance allowance not to exceed \$30 for single persons or \$50 for married persons, for a maximum of eight months, while under the direction of the state rehabilitation bureau (C. 20). New York extended the provisions of the law, now called the physically handicapped law, to children under 14 incapacitated for physical reasons other than blindness or deafness (C. 227).

**Federal Action.**—The federal government appropriated \$914,000 for the administration of the vocational rehabilitation act (Public 292, 68th Congress, 2nd session).

### OLD AGE PENSIONS

**Public Employees.**—Connecticut (C. 215), Massachusetts (C. 152, 244), Minnesota (C. 200, 335), New Jersey (C. 47), and New York (C. 594, 669), extended their retirement systems for public employees. Nevada put its pension system under the boards of county commissioners, instead of a state commission; boards may tax up to 2.5 mills per \$100; retirement age was raised from 60 to 65 (C. 14, 121). Pennsylvania extended and liberalized its system for public employees and teachers (No. 55, 106, 107, 108, 109, 119, 404), and appointed a commission to study the contributory system (No. 374). Public employees in Porto Rico are to pay 3 instead of 2 per cent of salary; retirement is allowed after seven years' service instead of five; pension is to be 2 per cent of salary, multiplied by years of service, instead of 50 per cent of salary; retirement regardless of age after 20 years, instead of 15 (No. 104). South Dakota authorized cities of the first class to establish retirement systems (C. 239).

The federal government established a pension system for lighthouse employees (Public 322, 68th Congress, 2nd session).

**Private Employment.**—Alaska excluded non-citizens from its pension system (C. 65), and increased its appropriation from \$60,000 to \$110,000 (C. 71).

Wisconsin established an old-age pension system which may be adopted in any county by a two-thirds vote of its elected board; citizens for 15 years, who are 70 years old, residents of state and county for 15 years preceding application, and not owners of property exceeding \$3,000, may receive pensions; pensions and income together must not exceed \$1 a day; the state may appropriate not more than \$200,000 annually (C. 121).

## MATERNITY INSURANCE

**Federal Aid Accepted.**—Rhode Island (C. 618) and Vermont (J. R. 223) accepted the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner maternity benefits act. Forty-one states and territories now are operating under this law.

## ENFORCEMENT

**Powers, Salaries, Appropriations.**—Alaska will continue co-operation with the federal Department of the Interior for the inspection of all mines except coal mines, until March 3, 1927; the biennial appropriation for the purpose was increased from \$7,000 to \$20,000 (C. 33).

California raised the salary of the commissioner of the bureau of labor statistics from \$4,000 to \$5,000; he may appoint assistants and fix their salaries subject to the board of control and the civil service commission (C. 282); the labor bureau contingent fund was abolished (C. 256). Connecticut raised the pay of compensation commissioners from \$4,500 to \$5,000 (C. 202); 15 deputy factory inspectors are provided for, instead of 10, and of these four, formerly three, must be women (C. 13).

Illinois increased salaries of industrial commission from \$5,000 to \$6,000 for the four members, and \$7,000 for the chairman; the salary of the assistant inspector of mines was increased from \$3,000 to \$4,000 (H. B. 303); the state mine inspector's report on metal mines is to be published as part of the coal report (H. B. 480). Michigan empowered factory inspectors to inspect all state institutions (No. 364); there are now four commissioners of labor and industry, instead of three; one of these must be an attorney; three commissioners administer the accident compensation law; the other is in charge of all other labor laws; salary of each commissioner was increased from \$4,000 to \$5,000; the commission may appoint a secretary at \$4,500 (No. 377). Minnesota authorized the industrial commission to establish a

division of standards; all state inspection powers, except those relating to grain, are under this division (C. 426). Nevada authorized a trust fund to pay the expenses of civil action undertaken by the labor commissioner for law enforcement (C. 95); the term of the inspector of mines was extended from two to four years (C. 145); authority of the state board of examiners to regulate state employments and pay was repealed (C. 21). New Jersey requires the commissioner of labor to keep a registry of all laundries, newspaper plants, and all other establishments engaged in productive industry coming under the department of labor (C. 117).

New York empowered the industrial commissioner to seize and destroy goods unlawfully made in tenement houses unless claimed by owner in 30 days (C. 623). North Dakota decreased the appropriation for the minimum wage department from \$9,100 to \$6,500 (C. 40). Oregon raised the maximum salaries for deputy labor commissioners from \$150 to \$200 a month (C. 55). Pennsylvania abolished the boiler fund (No. 159).

In Rhode Island inspectors were empowered to bring complaint in the district court against bakeries, confectioneries, and ice cream plants that do not improve working conditions after five days' notice (C. 586). Tennessee raised its biennial appropriation for the department of labor from \$140,200 to \$172,800 (C. 114). West Virginia increased its biennial appropriation for the department of mines from \$223,040 to \$325,540; there are now 25 mine inspectors instead of 22 (C. 89). In Wyoming the governor is to appoint a state inspector of coal mines and two deputies, instead of two state inspectors; inspectors' salaries were increased (C. 79); the appropriation for coal mine inspectors' salaries is \$40,800 as against \$17,794 for the preceding two-year period (C. 142); \$750 was appropriated for printing the coal mining laws (C. 165).

## VI. COURT DECISIONS AFFECTING LABOR

### ANTI-LABOR TREND

**Unfavorable Decisions.**—Important court decisions during 1925 were generally unfavorable to trade unionism, labor laws, and civil liberties. The United States Supreme Court in affirming the conviction of Benjamin Gitlow sustained the New York criminal anarchy statute and presumably the great majority of state criminal anarchy and criminal syndicalism laws. The suit of the railroad shop crafts and clerks against the Pennsylvania Railroad failed. Enforcement of minimum wage laws was enjoined in Arizona and Wisconsin, and the Kansas law on the subject was stricken out. An injunction against enforcement of the Pennsylvania old age pension law was made permanent.

**Favorable Decisions.**—The Kansas compulsory arbitration law was deprived of practically all force, and the Illinois law prohibiting the enjoining of peaceful persuasion and picketing was sustained.

### SUITS AGAINST UNIONS

**Contempt Cases.**—In *Vulcan Detinning Company v. St. Clair* (145 N. E. 657, 1925) the Supreme Court of Illinois held that strikers in Streator, Ill., did not violate an injunction against the use of offensive epithets such as "scab," by calling former members of the Vulcan Federal Union No. 15, 107 who had gone back to work, "traitors." It said that if this injunction were used to punish such a statement at a union meeting, held February 18, 1923, remote from the strike, the immunity given to free speech by the Illinois constitution would be taken away.

Fifty men and women were found guilty of contempt in picketing the Consolidation Coal Company in West Virginia after an injunction against it had been issued. The court further threatened foreign-born members of the group with refusal or cancellation of citizenship papers, and deportation, if they did not desist (*Leonard v. Bittner*, Circ. Ct., Marion Co., W. Va., Oct. 15, 1925).

An injunction had been issued in a railroad strike by the United States District Court for the western district of Oklahoma. It was decided that men might be arrested in the eastern district for violation of the injunction and extradited for trial by the court which issued the injunction (*Sullivan et al v. U. S.*, 4 Fed. (2d) 100, 1925).

The Illinois Appellate Court reversed convictions of members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for disregarding an injunction, on the ground that the plaintiffs in the contempt proceedings were not the same parties who had obtained the injunction (*Daniel Boone Woolen Mills v. Laedeke*, Appellate Court, Illinois, June 27, 1925).

**Conspiracy to Violate Federal Injunction a Crime.**—In *Taylor v. U. S.* (2 Fed. (2d) 444, C. C. A. VII, 1924, certiorari denied 45 Sup. Ct. 226, 1925) Judge Evans in affirming various convictions held that a conspiracy to violate an injunction growing out of the 1922 railroad shopmen's strike issued by the Illinois Federal Court, constituted a conspiracy to commit an offense against the United States within the meaning of section 37 of the criminal code.

**Strikes Involving Interstate Commerce.**—The case of the Coronado Coal Company against the United Mine Workers of America was again before the Supreme Court (*Coronado Coal Company v. United Mine Workers*, 45 Sup. Ct. 551, 1925). Chief Justice Taft held in accordance with the prior decision<sup>1</sup> that although there was no evidence that the international union was guilty of conspiring to interfere with interstate commerce, the additional evidence submitted made it a question of fact for the jury to determine whether District 21 and the local unions had conspired. Consequently the court affirmed the judgment exonerating the international union, but reversed it as to the district and local organizations with directions for a new trial as to their guilt.

Justice Sutherland, speaking for the Supreme Court, reversed last year's judgment<sup>1</sup> enjoining various California employers and employers' associations in the building trade from combining to carry out "the American plan."<sup>2</sup> By this plan the employers refused to issue permits to, or to use materials sold by, persons not employing half non-union and half union men, under a non-union foreman. (*Industrial Ass'n. of San Francisco v. U. S.*, 45 Sup. Ct. 403, 1925). The Supreme Court, after de-

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<sup>1</sup> For previous decisions see *American Labor Year Book*, 1923-24, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *American Labor Year Book*, 1925, pp. 183-184.

claring that it had "nothing to do" "with the conflict between the policy of the 'closed shop' and that of the 'open shop', or with the 'American plan' *per se*" dissolved the injunction because there was no evidence of any intent to interfere with the free flow of materials in interstate commerce.

Two longshoremen who had been blacklisted at Portland, Ore., brought suit in their own behalf and that of others similarly situated, charging an illegal combination of shipowners in restraint of interstate commerce. Dismissal of the case was upheld on the ground that while certain persons were denied employment, commerce was not impeded (*Tilbury v. Oregon Stevedoring Co.*, U. S. Circ. Ct. of Appeals, 7 Fed. (2d) 1, 1925).

By his decision in *Toledo Transfer Company v. International Brotherhood of Teamsters* (U. S. Dis. Ct. Ohio, Jan., 1925) Judge Killitz enjoined any interference with the Toledo Transfer Company in performing its contract with the railroads to transport passengers in interstate commerce from one railroad line to another in Toledo. The taxicab companies, being engaged in interstate commerce, were held to be entitled to the protection of the federal courts regardless of the merits of the strike.

In *Brims v. United States* (6 Fed. (2d) 98, 1925) various convictions of employers, contractors, and union officials under the Sherman law were set aside. Judge Evans held that the evidence of a trade agreement providing against the use of non-union made building material did not support the indictment for conspiracy to interfere with shipments in interstate commerce.

Limestone quarry owners in Bedford, Ind., sought an injunction to prevent the stone cutters' union from instructing its members in other states not to work on stone cut by non-unionists organized into a company "association." The employers' request was refused, and the refusal was sustained (*Bedford Cut Stone Co. v. Journeymen Stone Cutters' Ass'n.*, U. S. Circ. Ct. of Appeals, Oct. 28, 1925).

The conviction of Ernest Schleifer at New Haven for alleged solicitation of sabotage in the railroad shop crafts' strike was reversed for errors in the trial tending to prejudice the jury against him (*State v. Schleifer*, Sup. Ct. of Errors, Conn., 130 Atl. 184, 1925).

**Injunctions in Labor Disputes.**—In *Danz v. American Federation of Musicians* (233 Pac. 630, 1925) the Supreme Court of Washington held that all picketing was illegal in the state. The court therefore struck from a previous injunction the proviso permitting the union to have observers and not more than one picket near the struck premises.

Judge Page sustained the order granting a preliminary injunction<sup>1</sup> to the Western Union Telegraph Company restraining various unions and employees from compelling their employers not to deal with the telegraph company, which ran a non-union shop, (*Intl. Bro. of Electrical W. v. W. U. Tel. Co.*, 6 Fed. (2d) 444, 1925). The unions contended that requiring them to work with non-union men violated the 13th amendment to the federal constitution, against involuntary servitude. The court held otherwise because the things were not done "to induce the payment of higher wages, better working conditions, or for any other lawful purpose," but to cause their employer or owners of premises where the telegraph company was doing installation work to annoy and violate contracts with the telegraph company.

In *McFarland Co. v. O'Brien* (6 Fed. (2d) 1016, 1925) an injunction was refused because the damage occasioned by a jurisdiction dispute and a strike to procure unnecessary work had already been suffered. Hence an action at law and not an injunction was the proper remedy.

In *Schlessinger v. Messing* (N. Y. Law Jnl., Dec. 17, 1924) a threatened injunction against picketing was averted by entering into a stipulation suggested by the trial judge. After Local 100 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union had struck against his bakeshop, Messing entered into an agreement with the "United Bakery Workers of America, Inc.," a strike-breaking organization, and sought an injunction against Local 100. The court recognized that the second organization, while "perhaps" "technically a labor union," "did not have so much at heart the interest of working bakers as of master bakers." The stipulation provided there be no interference with the contract between Messing and the "United Bakery Workers of America," that his employees be admitted on equal terms into Local 100, that he employ no other members of the "United Bakery Workers" with whom his contract expired in about four months, and that he be protected against liability for damages on account of any breach of such contract.

In *McManus Troup Company v. International Typographical Union*, and *Roberts Printing Company v. International Typographical Union* (Ct. of Appeals, Lucas Co., Ohio, Dec. 31, 1924), the court, because the unlawful picketing was limited in extent, dismissed the action against the unions and the other defendants, except nine who were enjoined from picketing.

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<sup>1</sup> *American Labor Year Book*, 1925, p. 184.

In *O'Brien v. Fackenthal* (5 Fed. (2d) 389, 1925) Judge Denison speaking for the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Ohio (Judge Mack dissenting) sustained an injunction restraining interference by the Sheet Metal Workers' Union with the Central Metal Products Corporation. The company was employing carpenters to instal sheet metal doors in violation, the union claimed, of an award of the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards. A strike to enforce the award, and a threat to strike for this purpose, were held unlawful.

In *Waitresses' Local Union 249 v. Benish Restaurant Co.* (6 Fed. (2d) 568, 1925) the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit sustained an injunction against the union, its officers, and some of its members, restraining peaceful picketing. The court took the position that there was no strike and no grounds for any dispute with the employer, and that two corporations of the same name against which strikes had been in existence had been bought out by the present Benish Company.

In *Lovinger & Schwartz Company v. Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit, Skirt, & Dressmakers' Union, I. L. G. W. U.* (Common Pleas Court, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Feb. 13, 1925) the union was enjoined pending trial from interfering with the company or its employees and from representing that a strike existed, when only one employee had gone out. The court, however, refused to uphold individual contracts which the company got its employees to sign after a closed shop agreement expired, and which were contrary to the union's regulations.

In *Willson & Adams Co. v. Pearce* (Sup. Ct., Westchester County, N. Y., July 3, 1925) a temporary injunction was granted against the Building Trades Council of Westchester County, and the locals making it up, to prevent their striking against the company's non-union materials or any employer using such materials.

In *International Tailoring Co. v. Hillman* (N. Y. Law Jnl., Aug. 13, 1925) Justice Churchill granted a temporary injunction against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in New York City because of violence, holding that the union must suffer for the misconduct of its members if it did not control or get rid of them. The injunction, in addition to forbidding violence, forbade all picketing and "congregating or standing in the street within 10 blocks in any direction from" the International Tailoring Com-

pany. This area included most of the large factories of men's clothing in the city.<sup>1</sup>

**Closed Shop.**—An injunction was issued because a painters' union, in violation of an agreement, refused to work on the same building with non-union mechanics (*Strassel Co. v. Bro. of Painters, Decorators, & Paperhangers*, Jefferson Circ. Ct., Ky., March 10, 1925).

Taxicab drivers in Boston were enjoined from "annoying or interfering" with other drivers or customers when they struck a second time to secure a closed shop after having in an earlier strike accepted an agreement providing for employment of union and non-union men without discrimination (*Checker Taxi Co. v. Gallagher*, Sup. Judicial Ct., Suffolk Co., Mass., Nov. 10, 1925).

Waiters, cooks, and waitresses were enjoined from picketing employees and tenants of a family hotel in Cleveland to compel the hiring of a complete union force (*Ct. of Common Pleas, Cuyahoga Co., Ohio*, Nov. 10, 1925).

The court compelled the city council of Minneapolis to issue a restaurant license to one Denios where the only reason for the council's refusal was Denios' refusal to agree to employ only union labor.

In *Polk v. Cleveland Railroad Company* (Ct. of Appeals, Cuyahoga Co., Ohio, Apr. 4, 1925) the court relieved the street railway company from abiding by an arbitration award. Reasons given were that the contract providing for the award was illegal and against public policy as it was a closed shop agreement, that the company was the sole operator of street railways in Cleveland so that the agreement affected the entire industry, and that the fifth arbitrator was unfairly selected.

In *Rutan Co. v. Local 4, Hatters' Union of America* (N. J. Eq., 128 Atl. 622, 1925) the court upheld the right of employees to strike because their employer discharged its hat makers and sought to close down his shop. No effort was made to prevent others from working for the company.

**Unincorporated Association Not Subject to Suit.**—Suit was brought against two Illinois locals of the Plumbers' union. Demurrers of the unions were sustained because under the law of Illinois an unincorporated association cannot be sued at law. (*Cahill v. Plumbers, Gas & Steamfitters*, App. Ct., Ill., July 20, 1925).

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<sup>1</sup> See *Civil Liberties*, p. 296. For Chicago decision in the same strike, see p. 285.

## DISPUTES WITHIN UNIONS

**Union Membership.**—After the refusal of the New York Appellate Division to re-instate David Simons, leader of the New York unofficial pressmen's strike of 1923, in the International Pressmen's Union<sup>1</sup>, Simons applied for an injunction to restrain the union from depriving him of the privileges of membership, on the ground that he had not been duly expelled but other members merely instructed not to work with him. The appellate division again dismissed the action on the ground that no cause of action was stated, but Judge Cardozo, speaking for the Court of Appeals, sustained Simons' complaint and held the case to be one for equitable relief (*Simons v. Berry*, 211 App. Div. 704, rev'd 240 N. Y. 463, 1925).

Recovery by a sheet metal worker of a verdict of \$3,000 against a Cleveland local of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers for refusing to accept his transfer card contrary to the international union's constitution was sustained (*Local 65, Amalgamated Sheet Workers' Intl. All. v. McNalty*, C. C. A. VI, June 8, 1925).

A member of the United Mine Workers in Arkansas was expelled because he joined the Ku Klux Klan. His old local threatened to strike unless the Western Coal & Mining Company, where he was employed, discharged him, and he was discharged. The court did not allow him to recover damages (*Harmon v. United Mine Workers*, 266 S. W. 84, 1925).

A Colorado railroad conductor who resigned from the union and worked during a strike was awarded \$50,000 damages against the union for frequently causing his discharge thereafter. The union was held to have acted without justification, but the judgment was set aside and a new trial ordered because the award covered some damages occurring too early to be actionable under the six-year statute of limitations (*Jones v. Railway Conductors*, 239 Pac. 882).

**Dissolving a Local.**—In *Sarner v. Sigman* (N. Y. Law Jnl., Jan. 9, 1925) Justice Gavegan granted a temporary injunction upon the application of Local 17 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to restrain the national office from consolidating that local with others. The court declared that maintaining the existing status pending the trial was the only way to protect the local's interests, and that the international's constitution did not give it a right to dissolve subordinate bodies for administrative reasons, and that the consolidation would deprive the local of its property.

<sup>1</sup> *American Labor Year Book*, 1925, p. 187.

**Jurisdiction Dispute.**—Carpenters struck all work under way by a building company in several cities to compel a sub-contractor to employ carpenters instead of metal lathers in erecting metal lath and trim on jobs in New Orleans and Omaha. The building company secured an injunction against the sympathetic strike, and also an order compelling the union to rescind the strike order (*Selden-Breck Construction Co. v. Bro. of Carpenters & Joiners, Dist. Ct. of the U. S., Sept. 11, 1925*).

### SUITS AGAINST EMPLOYERS

**Railroad Labor Board Cases.**—The judgment denying the right of a group of trade unions known as the Pennsylvania Railroad System and Allied Lines Federation No. 90 to recover against the Pennsylvania Railroad<sup>1</sup> was affirmed (45 Sup. Ct. 307, 1925) for substantially the same reasons as were given by the lower courts. These were, first, that a mandatory injunction can not be used to compel compliance with a decision of the Railroad Labor Board; and second, that the transportation act of 1920 made it a moral though not a legal duty of the railroads to confer in good faith with their employees before breaking off agreements.

Also against the workers was the decision in *Schuppan v. Peoria Railway Terminal Co.* (Ill. U. S. Dist. Ct., Nov. 8, 1924). Here the court refused to recognize claims made against the receiver of a railroad for the difference in wages between the amount paid and the rates fixed by the Railroad Labor Board. In *Coffee v. Gray* (Sup. Ct., Ga., Apr. 29, 1924) the court refused to compel a receiver to pay the wages fixed by the Board, where, according to the road's statement, its earnings did not warrant them.

On the other hand, acceptance of a decision by the Board makes the decision binding, and a Louisiana suit for wages in accordance with the decision was successful (*Hoey v. New Orleans Gt. Northern Ry., 105 So. 310, 1925*).

While it is not a case against an employer, it is convenient to note here that D. B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and a resident of Cleveland, was subpoenaed as a witness by the Railroad Labor Board to appear in Chicago. He refused to appear and the Supreme Court upheld this stand (*Robertson v. Railroad Labor Board, 45*

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<sup>1</sup> *American Labor Year Book, 1925, p. 188.*

Sup. Ct. 621, 1925) on the ground that a district court can not subpoena a witness from outside of its jurisdiction. The main question, whether the Railroad Labor Board can compel attendance and participation in its proceedings, remains unsettled.

**Observance of Union Rules and Agreements.**—The rule of the Brotherhood of Painters, requiring an employer whose home office is in one city to pay the wage of that city to workmen he employs in another city where the scale is lower, was held to be within the rights of the union. An injunction against the union was denied (*Douglas v. Mallette*, Sup. Ct., Providence, R. I., Oct. 28, 1925).

In *Androff v. Building Trade Employers' Association* (Appellate Ct., Div. No. 1, Indiana, June 12, 1925) the court sustained the forfeiture of a bond of \$1,000 deposited by a member of the Building Trades Employers' Association and conditioned upon his observance of its rules where he failed to maintain the wage scale fixed by the association.

The International Fur Workers in Boston secured an injunction to compel an employer to live up to his agreement to hire only union workers (*Pearlman v. Millman*, Sup. Ct., Suffolk Co., Mass., July 3, 1925).

The Des Moines City Railway Company was compelled to live up to its agreement with the street railwaymen's union requiring two men on each car (*Des Moines City Ry. Co. v. Amalgamated Ass'n of Street & Electric Ry. Employees*, Dist. Ct., Iowa, Nov. 10, 1925).

**Enforcement of Labor Laws.**—A South Carolina cotton mill worker was discharged and demanded under the law the payment inside of 24 hours of \$19.20 wages due him. The company refused to pay until he vacated the company house he lived in, claiming that was the custom. A judgment for the worker in the magistrate's court was affirmed in the county court, but the employer again appealed. The state supreme court (*Cato v. Grendel Cotton Mills*, South Carolina, Sept. 10, 1925), affirmed the two previous judgments for the worker, saying:

if the object of the statute can be thwarted by custom or contract then the statute might as well be repealed, because it will not be long before the owner of every factory, mill or other corporation employing labor, subject to the provisions of the statute, will establish customs and enter into contracts that will completely nullify the statute.

Where a child who was injured brought a damage suit against his employer the trial court was justified in instructing the jury that the employer was guilty of negligence as a matter of law

where the child was employed in violation of the Arkansas child labor law (*Cox Cash Stores, Inc., v. Allen*, 268 S. W. 361, 1925).

The Wisconsin law requiring a person advertising for employees to give notice in the advertisement if a strike exists was held by Judge Eschweiler not to be violated by a failure to give such notice where the employer's business was "not materially affected by the strike" and after four months only three men were on the picket line and receiving benefits (*West Allis Foundry Co. v. State*, 202 N. W. 302, 1925). Judge Crownhart wrote a strong dissenting opinion stressing the right of prospective employees not to be deceived as to conditions.

A verdict of \$300, won by a discharged motorman because the company had not given him the sort of service letter required by Missouri law, was reversed because the motorman could not prove that lack of the proper letter prevented his securing new employment (*Soule v. St. Joseph Ry., Light, Heat, & Power Co.*, Kansas City Ct. of Appeals, 274 S. W. 517, 1925).

**Bonus and Pension Payments.**—In *Wellington v. Con P. Curran Co.* (268 S. W. 396, 1925) the court held that an employer's offer to pay a bonus and the continued service of the employee constituted an enforceable contract. The bonus having been set aside, its payment could not be refused to an employee who had gone out on strike.

On the other hand, in *Cowles v. Morris & Co.* (C. C. Cook County, Ill., March 21, 1925) it was held that employees had no vested right in a pension fund, and that upon the dissolution of the company the fund could be distributed to its original contributors.<sup>1</sup>

## LABOR LAWS DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL

**Kansas Industrial Court Act.**—In 1923 the United States Supreme Court held that wage fixing by the Kansas Industrial Court was unconstitutional in the *Charles Wolff Company's* meat packing establishment.<sup>2</sup> In 1925 the court completed the practical annihilation of the act by determining (*Chas. Wolff Packing Co. v. Court of Industrial Rels.*, 45 Sup. Ct. 441, 1925) that it was also unconstitutional insofar as it provided for compulsory arbitration of hours and working conditions.

**Minimum Wage Laws.**—The Kansas minimum wage law was declared unconstitutional in *Topeka Laundry Co. v. Court of Industrial Relations* (238 Pac. 1041, 1925). The United States Supreme Court affirmed without opinion "on the authori-

<sup>1</sup> See *Industrial Pension Systems*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> *American Labor Year Book*, 1923-24, p. 202; 1925, p. 189.

ties cited," the judgment of the lower court enjoining the enforcement of the Arizona minimum wage law (Murphy v. Sardell, 46 Sup. Ct. 22, 1925). A temporary injunction was granted against the enforcement of the Wisconsin minimum wage law which was later made permanent (Folding Furniture Works, Inc., v. Ind. Com. of Wisconsin, 300 Fed. 991, 1925). Enforcement of the Oklahoma statute requiring the wages of employees on public work to be "not less than the current rate of *per diem* wages in the locality where the work is being performed" was also stopped by an injunction (Gen'l Contracting Co. v. Connolly, 3 Fed. (2d) 666, 1925).

**Old Age Pensions.**—The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (Busser v. Snyder, 128 Atl. 80, 1925) sustained the injunction granted in Busser v. Snyder<sup>1</sup> against the enforcement of the old age pension law on the ground of its unconstitutionality.

**Weekly Rest Day.**—The Minnesota law providing for one day of rest in seven was held unconstitutional because the classification of industries was arbitrary (State v. Pocock, 201 N. W., 610, 1925).

**Compensation Contests.**—The North Dakota law providing severe penalties for unsuccessfully contesting an award of the compensation commission was held unconstitutional (State ex rel. Dushek v. Watland, 201 N. W. 680, 1925).

## LABOR LAWS UPHELD

**Anti-Injunction Law.**—In International Tailoring Company v. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (Sup. Ct., Cook Co., 1925) Judge Pam upheld the Illinois anti-injunction law. This statute provided that no injunction should be issued in a labor dispute, forbidding an employee to leave his employment, peacefully to picket, or peacefully to persuade others to do likewise or to cease employing any one.

**Minimum Wages.**—In Stevenson v. St. Clair (201 N. W. 629) the Minnesota minimum wage law was held valid with regard to children.

**Industrial Accident Indemnity.**—In Stargo Mines Company v. Coffee (238 Pac. 335, 1925) the provisions of the Arizona employers' liability act allowing the estate of an employee killed at work to recover damages was held constitutional. The United States Supreme Court upheld the Nebraska law limiting attorney's fees for suits under the compensation law to the amount allowed by the court (Yeiser v. Dysart, 45 Sup. Ct. 399, 1925).

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<sup>1</sup> *American Labor Year Book, 1925, p. 191.*

**Prison Labor.**—Judge Harrison of Oklahoma issued an injunction restraining the warden of the state penitentiary from selling prison-made pressed brick not marked convict-made in violation of a statute providing such goods should be so marked. (*Choctaw Pressed Bricked Co. v. Townsend*, 236 Pac. 46, 1925). In Arkansas an injunction against the Board of Penitentiary Commissioners to restrain their hiring out convicts was granted upon the application of the officers of the Arkansas Federation of Labor (*Green v. Jones*, 18 Law Reporter 79).

**Anti-Picketing Ordinance.**—An Indianapolis ordinance prohibiting all picketing was upheld as a proper exercise of the police power (*Thomas v. Indianapolis*, 145 N. W. 550).

**Miscellaneous.**—The New Jersey law providing for the licensing of employment agencies was upheld (*McBride v. Clark*, 127 Atl. 550, 1925). The United States Supreme Court upheld the New York law permitting judgment creditors to garnish up to 10 per cent of the wages of the debtor (*Endicott Johnson Corp. v. Encyclopedia Press*, 45 Sup. Ct. 61, 1924).

## CRIMINAL ANARCHY AND CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM CASES

**Gitlow.**—In *Gitlow v. New York* (45 Sup. Ct. 332, 1925) Justice Sanford, writing for the United States Supreme Court, sustained the conviction of Benjamin Gitlow for violation of the New York criminal anarchy statute.<sup>1</sup> The court, although it recognized that the due process clause of the 14th amendment protected the right of free speech, found that Gitlow's publication of the *Left Wing Manifesto* was such an abuse of that right as the state could constitutionally punish. The opinion fails to indicate the line of demarcation between free speech and its abuse, but definitely declares that the "clear and present danger" test laid down in the espionage cases is inapplicable where the statute is directed against proscribed utterances and not against specified acts which may accidentally but do not necessarily take the form of language. The dissenting opinion applies the "clear and present danger" test, and finds the *Left Wing Manifesto* "had no chance of starting a present conflagration." Presumably the Supreme Court's ruling in the Gitlow case will pave the way for holding criminal anarchy and syndicalism statutes of other states constitutional.

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<sup>1</sup> Gitlow returned to jail on November 8, 1925, and was pardoned by Governor Smith on December 11.

**Whitney.**—In *Whitney v. California* (46 Sup. Ct. 22, 1925) the Supreme Court refused to consider the constitutionality of the California criminal syndicalism statute, on the ground that it was without jurisdiction. Later (December 14, 1925), the court ordered a rehearing of the case fixed for March, 1926, as to the merits and on the question of jurisdiction.

**I. W. W.**—Because there was some question whether the I. W. W. preamble advocated criminal syndicalism a conviction under the Oklahoma statute was held constitutional in *Berg v. State* (233 Pac. 497, 1925). In *People v. Powell* (236 Pac. 311, 1925) the I. W. W., despite the introduction of evidence as to its changed methods and policies, was found not so clearly an innocent organization as to warrant setting aside the jury's verdict of guilty found against certain members under the California criminal syndicalism law. Judge Neterer of the Washington federal court refused to naturalize Olson (*In re. Olson*, 4 Fed. (2d) 417, 1925) because he was a member of the I. W. W.

Elmer Smith was disbarred by the Supreme Court of Washington (*ex parte Smith*, 233 Pac. 971, 1925) because he "both advocated and approved sabotage and criminal syndicalism." The dissenting opinion noted that Smith was not a member of the I. W. W. and was not responsible for all the views it expressed.

## FREE SPEECH

**Protected by Injunction.**—The Kentucky Court of Appeals enjoined the city of Louisville and its police officers from preventing Lougher from making a speech on a vacant lot. The injunction left the police free to act with reference to the speaker and his audience in the event the assembly subsequently became unlawful. The rule against enjoining criminal proceedings was held to be inapplicable where the police had no duty to perform, and consequently were not engaged in performing the proper duties. (*Louisville v. Lougher*, 272 S. W. 748, 1925).

## DEPORTATION RULINGS

**Radicalism.**—An alien may exercise his constitutional right against self-incrimination by maintaining silence before the Department of Labor concerning his radical activities here and abroad, where such activities are criminal as well as a ground for deportation, without having that silence construed against him.

Nevertheless he may be deported for failing to bear the burden imposed by the act of 1924 of proving that he entered the country lawfully, even where he has a passport and a certificate of landing, and has not been charged with illegal entry (U. S. ex rel. Vajtauer v. Commissioner, 1925). An alien properly deportable only to Soviet Russia must be released because the government cannot effect his deportation within a reasonable time (Petition of Brooks, 5 Fed. (2d) 243, 1925).

**Rights at Hearings.**—Aliens have not been accorded a fair hearing in deportation proceedings where their statements to inspectors, made before they were advised of their right to counsel, were introduced against them and the inspectors were not sworn as witnesses and subjected to cross-examination (Unger v. Seaman, 4 Fed. (2d) 80, 1925).

## VII. CIVIL LIBERTIES

### GENERAL CONDITIONS

**Arrests Decrease.**—Interference with civil liberties continues, but the number of people arrested and the number of convictions are both decreasing. The spy system in the Department of Justice, set up under William J. Burns, was abolished under Attorney General Stone, and was not renewed under Attorney General Sargent. Efforts to repeal criminal syndicalist and sedition laws were made in several states, but proved unsuccessful.

### POLITICAL PRISONERS

**Ninety-five State Prisoners.**—All political prisoners held by the federal government have now been released. In the various states 95 persons were at the end of 1925 still held for political offenses. These were distributed as follows:

Table 130—State Political Prisoners, December 31, 1925

California .....	82	Kansas .....	1
Washington .....	5	Texas .....	6
Oklahoma .....	1		
Total .....			95

**Mooney and Billings.**—Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, convicted in 1917 on perjured testimony of having thrown a bomb during a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco the preceding year, are still in San Quentin and Folsom prisons, respectively.

**Mexicans in Texas.**—Public hearings were held in the cases of Charles Cline, Jesus Rangel, Jesus Gonzales, Abraham Cisneros, Pedro Perales, and Leonard Vasquez, imprisoned in Texas for smuggling arms into Mexico in 1922 to overthrow the De La Huerta dictatorship<sup>1</sup>. Representatives of trade unions and of Mexico, and individuals attended the hearings. Harry Weinberger, attorney for the men, believes that Governor Miriam A. Ferguson will pardon them in 1926. Rangel was paroled from Christmas to New Year's, to visit his family.

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<sup>1</sup> See *American Labor Year Book*, 1925, p. 195.

**Sacco and Vanzetti.**—On January 5, 1925, Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the Italian worker imprisoned at Charleston, Mass., since 1921 for alleged murder of a pay-roll guard, was transferred to the State Hospital for the Insane. He was returned to the State Prison as much improved on April 24. Hearing of arguments for a new trial was scheduled for January, 1926. Nicola Sacco, convicted at the same time, is still in prison at Dedham<sup>1</sup>.

**Ford.**—Richard Ford was paroled on September 18, after serving 12 years of a life term in prison for alleged complicity in the murder of E. T. Maxwell during the Wheatland, Calif., strike riots in 1913. He was at once re-arrested, and indicted on September 18 on the charge of having murdered Deputy Sheriff Riordan, who was killed in the same struggle in which Maxwell was killed. The I. W. W. declared that the new charges against Ford savored of persecution, and undertook a vigorous campaign for his defense. His trial was scheduled for January 4, 1926.<sup>2</sup>

**Connors.**—Tom Connors, former secretary of the California branch of the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., who was convicted in 1923 and in 1924 on charges of violating the criminal syndicalist law and of attempting to influence a juror during an I. W. W. trial, was given a third trial, beginning May 27. He was again convicted on June 2.

**Schleifer.**—The conviction of Ernest Schleifer, at Hartford, Conn., on the charge of inciting railroad strikers to violence in 1922, was vacated. A new trial was ordered for July 30; this was later postponed. Schleifer is free on \$10,000 bail.

**Ruthenberg.**—Charles E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers' Party, who was sentenced for attending the Communist Party convention at Bridgman, Mich., in August, 1922, went to jail on January 2, 1925, and was released on a writ of *supersedeas* on January 26.

**Gitlow.**—The United States Supreme Court on June 8 upheld the New York criminal anarchy statute and sustained the conviction of Benjamin Gitlow for violation of the law. Gitlow had signed with others a left wing Socialist manifesto published

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<sup>1</sup> See *American Labor Year Book, 1923-24*, p. 211; 1925, p. 195-6. The hearing took place January 10-13, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Ford went to trial January 4, 1926, and was acquitted January 24.

in the *Revolutionary Age* in July, 1919. Gitlow was not pardoned by Governor Smith in 1923, when the governor pardoned Larkin and others, because his case was still in the courts. Gitlow was ruled off the ballot when the Workers' Party nominated him for mayor of New York City in 1925, on the ground that as a felon he had lost his citizenship rights. He returned to jail on November 9, after the election. He was pardoned on December 11.

**Charlotte A. Whitney.**—The United States Supreme Court refused in October to take jurisdiction in the case of Charlotte Anita Whitney, the San Francisco teacher and civic worker convicted in 1920 for membership in the Communist Labor Party. Governor F. W. Richardson of California refused to consider an appeal for pardon unless Miss Whitney signed the application. This she refused to do. On November 28 she appealed to the Supreme Court for a rehearing; this appeal was granted and the hearing set for March 15, 1926.

**Horacek and Other Pennsylvania Cases.**—The trial of Fred H. Merrick, Edward Horacek, Voytuck, Urbon, Pasternak, Jenkins, Rostrom, John Kovalski and Thomas Myerscough, charged with violation of the Pennsylvania sedition law, was opened at Pittsburgh on November 30 after several postponements. Merrick, the first to be called, had been arrested as district secretary of the Workers' Party. He entered a plea of *nolle contendere*. He stated that he had severed connections with the Workers' Party, and pledged himself not to engage in its activities in future. Upon this statement he was paroled for 10 years. The Central Executive Committee of the party expelled him for not taking a stand with the other defendants.

Horacek, a machinist, came to trial on December 2. He defended his membership in the Workers' Party, and proved by official election ballots that the party was legal. On December 4 he was found guilty; the case was appealed, and bail was renewed.

Andrew Kovacovitch, who was convicted in Pennsylvania in 1924 for violation of the sedition act, and whose case is being appealed, was arrested in Farrel, Pa., on November 1 for distributing allegedly seditious literature. He was detained in jail for several days, and was finally fined \$25 and costs.

**Virgin Islands.**—Rothschild Francis, editor of the *Emancipator*, was sentenced to prison for 30 days on January 1, 1925, for criminal libel. He had charged a policeman with unnecessary brutality. He was tried without a jury by Judge Williams, his personal and political opponent. His case was appealed to

the United States Circuit Court in Philadelphia. Francis was later cited for contempt of court in connection with this case.

## EXCLUSIONS AND DEPORTATIONS

**Saklatvala.**—The passport visa of Shapurji Saklatvala, a Communist member of the British Parliament, was cancelled by Secretary of State Kellogg of the United States on September 16 after British Conservatives and government officials had objected to Saklatvala's proposed attendance at the meetings of the Interparliamentary Union at Washington. Saklatvala's exclusion was officially based on statements he had made in a speech in the British Parliament on the question of India, among which was:

You are talking to the 20th century in the terms of 18th century lawyers when you refer to subversive propaganda, sedition, and revolution. They are the birthrights of modern nations, and they are the birthrights of the Indians just as much as they were your birthrights. I, for one, will not yield to terrorism. I am going to carry on subversive propaganda, revolutionary propaganda, Communist propaganda with the assistance of the Russians, and the Chinese, and the Germans, and the British.

His exclusion was protested by the Workers' Party, the Socialist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other radical and liberal groups. Saklatvala sent a written protest to the Interparliamentary Union, pointing out that "The validity of most meetings of members of an organization becomes doubtful if any member entitled to attend same is forcefully kept out of it." The council of the Interparliamentary Union recognized the right of the United States government to bar Saklatvala. At the meeting the Union, Ben Riley, a British Labor M. P., spoke against the exclusion as tending to destroy the very foundation of the work of the Union.

**Karolyi.**—Count Michael Karolyi, former President of the Hungarian Republic, was admitted to the United States on January 8, only after signing a pledge not to speak or write on political subjects. Karolyi had come to visit his sick wife. Count Szechenyi, Hungarian ambassador to the United States, declared that Karolyi was a Communist. Karolyi denied this, and described himself as a Socialist and an opponent of Communism. Appeals to Secretary of State Hughes to release him from his pledge were unsuccessful. At a protest meeting of the Civil Liberties Union in New York, Charles A. Beard quoted Secretary Hughes as stating to the Harvard law alumni in 1920:

We went to war for liberty and democracy with the result that we fed the appetite for autocracy. Through a fiction permissible only because the courts cannot know what everyone else knows, we have seen the war powers, which are essential to the preservation of the nation in time of war, exercised broadly after the military exigency had passed and in conditions for which they were not intended, and we may well wonder in view of the precedents now established whether constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this republic could survive another great war even victoriously waged.<sup>1</sup>

Beard showed that Hughes was guilty in the Karolyi case of the same conduct he had condemned in his earlier speech.

On October 22 Countess Karolyi, who had returned to Hungary, was barred from the United States by action of the State Department.

Hungarian Republicans charge that in both these cases the State Department acted at the instance of Admiral Horthy, head of the repressive Hungarian government. A new plea was made for Countess Karolyi on December 14, after Secretary of State Kellogg, who succeeded Hughes, had asserted the right of the State Department to exclude anyone whose presence might endanger the country.

**Deportations.**—The right of aliens to bail pending appeals in deportation cases, which had been continually refused in New York after the decision in *United States ex rel. Carapa v. Curran*<sup>2</sup>, has been re-established by virtue of the new judiciary act (Public No. 415, 68th Congress). This act takes away the right of direct appeal to the United States Supreme Court, and transfers appeals in deportation cases to the circuit courts of appeal. The circuit court of appeal of the second circuit, which includes New York, has passed a rule providing that the district judge who conducted the hearing upon the original writ of *habeas corpus* is granted authority to allow bail pending appeals to the circuit courts.

John C. Shedel, of Fort Wayne, Indiana, was arrested for illegal entry into the United States. He had been deported to Germany in 1920 for Communist activity. The American Civil Liberties Union asked permission for him to remain in this country on parole, but he was again ordered deported in November. Emanuel Vajtauer, of Chicago, was sentenced to deportation for alleged Communist views. He is free on bail pending review of

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<sup>1</sup> Charles A. Beard, "Count Karolyi and America," *The Nation*, April 1, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> *American Labor Year Book*, 1925, pp. 192-193.

his case by the United States Supreme Court. Warrants deporting Herbert Mahler and three other former political prisoners were cancelled by the Department of Labor. On March 17 Judge Wilkerson had decided, in *habeas corpus* proceedings, that in view of the President's pardon of these four men, the deportation proceedings were invalidated. Sylvestro Develli was ordered deported on the ground of illiteracy. The warrant was held up on a writ of *habeas corpus*.

John Dobrinich, and Milos Vojnovic of the Socialist Labor Party, both of Missouri, were ordered deported. Both of them had been arrested in the Palmer "red" riots of 1919-1920. The Socialist Labor Party raised a defense fund and appealed Vojnovic's case.

W. H. Norris of Australia, Jack MacDougall of New Zealand, and Aage Jensson of Denmark, seamen members of the I. W. W., were arrested in San Francisco for illegal entry and were forced to leave the country. Pat O'Hara, a member of the I. W. W. of New Zealand, was deported on August 12, after being kept in jail, pending execution of the warrant, for eight months. Robert Ayner, of the I. W. W., was arrested in Phoenix, Ariz., on January 27, and held for 10 days on the charge of vagrancy. He was later held for deportation to Canada.

Manuel Rey, an I. W. W. member, was arrested for illegal re-entry and was again deported to Spain. He had been previously deported, at the end of a term in prison, on parole of the President, conditional upon his never returning to the United States.

**Raids on Chinese.**—Federal authorities raided the Chinese sections of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Chicago without warrant, ostensibly to put an end to tong warfare. In New York City, on September 14, more than 1,000 Chinese were illegally searched and examined. Six hundred were taken to the Federal Building, and 134 were held for deportation; most of these were seamen who had come here during the war and who had overstayed their leave. A second raid followed five days later. Both times doors were broken down and left unguarded, so that homes were found sacked when the occupants were released.

In Cleveland 612 Chinese, including old men and children, were jailed without warrant in a two-day round-up beginning September 22. More than 100 Chinese places of business were closed by the police, whose head stated, "Not a Chinese restaurant or laundry will be permitted to open in the city until we get the information we want." The police explained that Yee Chock, a

Chinaman, had been murdered, and that the raids had been undertaken to prevent tong warfare. By September 26 all had been released but 13 who were held for further investigation by federal officials.

## STRIKES AND PICKETING

**Injunctions.**—Injunctions continued to be used by employers to prevent picketing in strikes. Many of these injunctions were so sweeping in character that continuation of the strike implied violation of the injunction. In Illinois an anti-injunction law was passed, which was later held to be constitutional.<sup>1</sup>

**Paterson.**—Roger Baldwin<sup>2</sup> and seven co-defendants, arrested September 4, 1924, on charges of unlawful assembly in connection with the silk strike, were found guilty on March 31. Baldwin was sentenced to prison for six months; the others were fined \$50 each. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of New Jersey.

**West Virginia.**—The last indictments arising out of the armed march to Logan County in 1921 have been *nolle prossed*. Four members of the United Mine Workers of America were arrested in Wheeling for violation of the 1909 injunction, which forbids the attempt to organize miners who have signed "yellow dog" contracts agreeing not to join the union. At Grant Town 127 men and 11 women were arrested, May 13, for violation of an injunction forbidding more than three persons in a picket line; 11 more were arrested on May 16 on the same charge.

On May 8 Judge Baker, at Wheeling, held that peaceful persuasion to join the union was not in violation of the 1923 injunction granted the Virginia Pittsburgh Coal Company. The company at once applied for a new injunction to restrain organization work. On June 2 Judge Baker granted the new injunction to 19 coal companies in the Panhandle district. On October 16, injunctions sought by 300 mining companies to prevent the United Mine Workers from organizing coal miners, were made permanent by Judge George W. McClintic of the United States District Court at Charleston, W. Va.

**Other Mine Cases.**—At Zeigler, Ill., 25 members of the United Mine Workers were arrested for conspiracy. The charges grew out of a conflict at a union meeting at which one man

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<sup>1</sup> See Labor Legislation, p. 260, and Court Decisions Affecting Labor, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> See *American Labor Year Book*, 1925, p. 201-202.

was killed. A meeting of members of District 8 at Yankeetown, Ind., was prevented by force on June 4. The miners filed an injunction against Sheriff Malcolm and the coal companies to prevent the breaking up of their meetings. On August 14, Gomer Jones, of Arkansas, vice-president of District 21, United Mine Workers, was cited for violation of an injunction issued in 1917. Six pickets were later also arrested. There have been few clashes in the anthracite strike regions.

**Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Strikes.**—In Chicago the police raided the headquarters of the joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America on August 14 and arrested 63 persons. Of these, 14 were held for conspiracy to intimidate strike breakers employed by the International Tailoring Company. On September 2 the Chicago police arrested five striking members of the Amalgamated, who were later released on bail. A second raid on the union headquarters was made on September 12. On this occasion a meeting of business agents was disrupted. Ten men were arrested, but only one was held for trial.

In New York, Supreme Court Justice Levy on August 29 released five members of the Amalgamated who were arrested while picketing the J. L. Taylor Company. The workers were charged with violating the anti-picketing injunction previously secured by the International Tailoring Company in the same building, from Justice Churchill on August 12. The injunction forbade picketing within 10 blocks of the International shop, an area which included most of the large men's clothing factories in the city. In dismissing the pickets Justice Levy called the injunction a "high-handed procedure." When the police dispersed a crowd of strikers in front of this shop on September 22, they arrested two women.

**Miscellaneous.**—Justice Morschauser of the Supreme Court in Westchester County, N. Y., issued an injunction restraining labor unions from calling sympathetic strikes in protest against the use of non-union chauffeurs. Albert Weisbord, an organizer for the United Front Committee of the Textile Workers, was arrested in Lawrence, Mass., on April 30 on charges of speaking without a permit, and of blocking traffic. William T. Christopher, formerly business agent for the Belleville, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Assembly, was sent to jail for 90 days for violation of an anti-picketing injunction. Dorothy Ferguson was arrested in Washington, D. C., in April while picketing the Young Men's Shop. She was found guilty on September 14, and fined \$10.

## FREEDOM OF SPEECH

**American Legion.**—The Fort Harrison Post of the American Legion at Terre Haute, Ind., adopted a resolution asking the Open Forum of that city to permit it to censor its speakers. This action was taken after Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, had addressed the forum. Legionaries tried to disrupt the Armistice Day parade in Boston, which they called a pacifist demonstration, but failed. After the parade had disbanded, the Legionaries held an opposition meeting and adopted a resolution saying that "never again do we want to see such a demonstration on this day as disgraced the fair name of Boston."

**Communist Meetings.**—Many meetings held by Communists were broken up by mobs and by the police. On March 13 the Bomb Squad under Inspector Gegan raided Workers' Party headquarters in New York and seized a number of obsolete muskets which were to be used in a Paris Commune celebration pageant. Three men were arrested, and later discharged.

On March 28 a meeting in Detroit, Mich., called to protest against the proposed railroading to death of Stanislaw Lanzutsky, on trial in Poland charged with attempting to overthrow the government, was dispersed and eight persons were arrested. All these were later dismissed. A meeting of the Committee for the Relief of Political Prisoners in Poland was broken up by the Cleveland police on April 16; no arrests were made. The Cleveland police also disrupted a meeting of the International Red Aid on April 13. In Buffalo the police interrupted a street meeting of the Workers' Party. Two men were arrested, but both were later discharged. On April 30 the offices of the Workers' Party in New York were raided, and five persons were arrested for distributing handbills. On May 9, four members of the Young Workers' League were arrested in Philadelphia for distributing literature. In New York City a meeting of the Workers' Party in Union Square to call for "Hands Off China" was broken up by the police on July 17. Two arrests were made. A second meeting was held on July 24 to test the right to speak on the streets; this meeting was not disturbed. On September 29 a meeting of the Hungarian Communists was stopped by the police; four arrests were made. Ernest Careathers, a Negro Communist, was arrested in Pittsburgh on October 1, charged with distributing the *Daily Worker* in violation of an ordinance. He was fined \$3. Ten men and five women, all Communists, were arrested on October 17 for participating in a demonstration

in front of the Hungarian Consulate in New York, to protest against the intended execution of Mathias Rakosi, on trial with 40 other radical workers in Budapest. On October 27 the demonstration was repeated; 37 persons were arrested and given suspended sentences.

Meetings of the Workers' Party in the anthracite coal fields were broken up. On September 26 Alexander Reid, Patrick Toohey, Alex Zarek and Dominick Valentine were arrested while attempting to address a meeting of miners at West Scranton. Zarek and Valentine were released when they showed by possession of money and bank books that they were not "vagrants." Reid and Toohey were sentenced to prison for six months. On October 27 they, too, were freed.

Herbert Benjamin, district secretary of the Workers' Party, was arrested in Cleveland on October 30, while distributing literature. He was offered a release on condition that he sign a waiver of his right to sue for false arrest; this he refused to do. Judge Corlett in releasing him expressed his regret that there was no law under which Benjamin could be held. Police Commissioner Barry admitted that a previous arrest of Benjamin, while he was speaking against the Horthy regime in Hungary, was unjustified.

A demonstration of the Left Wing of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Union Square, near the national headquarters of the union, was broken up by the police on April 25. On September 9 eight pickets representing the Joint Committee of Action of the rebel New York locals in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union were arrested and fined \$5 each. Through the efforts of the American Flag Association and similar organizations the Workers' Party was refused the use of the new Madison Square Garden, the largest hall in New York City, for a Lenin memorial meeting to be held in January, 1926.

A meeting of the International Red Aid at Benwood, W. Va., was stopped by the police on May 21. The sponsors of the meeting were threatened with arrest under the anti-red flag law if the meeting was held elsewhere.

**Communism in the Army.**—Paul Crouch and Walter Trumbull, privates in the United States army stationed in Honolulu, were arrested on February 19, and court-martialled for Communist views and activities. They had formed the Hawaiian Communist League, and had applied to the Communist International for recognition. They had also written to the *Honolulu Advertiser* protesting against editorial criticisms of Soviet Russia.

They were found guilty on April 7. A prison term of 40 years was imposed on Crouch, and 26 years on Trumbull. A storm of public protest against the severity of these sentences followed. On May 12 Major General William R. Smith reduced Crouch's term to three years, and Trumbull's to one year. The men were removed to Alcatraz Prison, in California. The American Civil Liberties Union retained counsel to bring the case into the civil courts on the ground that the military court violated the articles of war.

**Demonstrations against Right Wing and Conservatives.**—A meeting held in Town Hall, New York City, on March 10 by the International Committee for Political Prisoners was stopped when members of the Workers' Party refused to let B. Charney Vladeck of the Socialist Party continue a speech on political prisoners in Russia. Meetings held by Raphael R. Abramovitch, a Menshevik opponent of Soviet Russia, in various parts of the country were the scenes of hostile demonstrations by members of the Workers' Party. The American Civil Liberties Union asked the Workers' Party to state its position on free speech. The Central Executive Committee of the party stated that while it did not endorse breaking up meetings, it reserved the right to conduct demonstrations against its opponents "which have had the practical effect" of so doing.

Members of the Irish, Italian, and Hungarian delegations to the Interparliamentary Union were met at the piers in New York and Hoboken with displays of hostile feeling by Communist and radical labor groups.

**I. W. W.**—Persecution of members of the Industrial Workers of the World continues. Charles D. Griswold, of Westwood, Calif., was convicted on March 9 of violating the Busick injunction, which makes membership in the I. W. W. a crime. He was sentenced to jail for six months. Five members of the I. W. W. were arrested in Sacramento on March 9, on charges of vagrancy. They were released on March 18. Vagrancy was also charged against Allan Doble, arrested on March 3 in Los Angeles. On March 27 three members of the organization were arrested in Phoenix, Ariz., on vagrancy charges. They were found not guilty. Local headquarters of the Marine Transport Workers, the I. W. W. seamen's union, in Mobile, Ala., were raided by the police on July 8. Five men were arrested for alleged violation of the state criminal anarchy law. They were dismissed on July 20. In North Dakota 118 members of Industrial Union 110, I. W. W., were turned over to an armed mob on August 25 and were deported into Minnesota.

Elmer Smith, attorney for the I. W. W., was disbarred in Washington on February 24 on the ground that he had advocated the aims of the I. W. W. Smith had been tried for murder in connection with the organization's defense of its headquarters at Centralia against armed attack on Armistice Day, 1919, and had been acquitted. He had later exposed the Armistice Day conspiracy against the organization. It was his activities in this connection that caused disbarment proceedings.

**Fascisti.**—Vincenzo Vacirca, formerly a member of the Italian Parliament, was arrested in Newark, N. J., on August 18, following a disturbance made by Fascisti at an anti-Fascist meeting. He was released on \$5,000 bail. The case was later dropped. The Anti-Fascisti allege that he was arrested at the instigation of the Fascisti. A dramatic satire attacking Mussolini, written by Carlo Tresca, was stopped by Inspector Gegan and the Bomb Squad of the New York police on Sunday, December 13, after the opening of the first act. The ground given was that the performance violated the Sunday law.

**Birth Control.**—Mayor Curley of Boston announced that it was his intention to prohibit birth-control meetings. The American Civil Liberties Union tried to hold a meeting to test his rights in this respect on March 2, but could find no licensed hall owner willing to rent a meeting room for the purpose.

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

**Tresca.**—The year and a day sentence of Carlo Tresca, editor of the New York Italian syndicalist paper *Il Martello*, was cut by President Coolidge to four months. Tresca was released on May 6. He had been imprisoned on the charge of publishing an advertisement of books on birth control. The real cause of his imprisonment was generally believed to be his vigorous attacks on the Fascist movement in Italy and in the United States.

**Revolutionary Symbols.**—In New York the Allied Patriotic Societies adopted a resolution urging prohibition of the use of the arm and torch, and of the crossed sickle and hammer, on the ground that these were revolutionary symbols.

## ACADEMIC FREEDOM

**Expulsion of Teachers.**—The dismissal of Benjamin C. Glassberg was affirmed by the New York State Board of Education<sup>1</sup> on August 13. Glassberg, a teacher in the Commercial High-

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<sup>1</sup> See *American Labor Year Book*, 1923-24, p. 212; 1925, p. 203.

School in Brooklyn, was convicted by the city Board of Education in 1919 on charges of telling his pupils that the United States government was systematically suppressing true reports about Soviet Russia. His appeal to the New York State Board of Education was denied in 1924. Manley H. Harper and Harry B. Smith, teachers of English in the Geneseo, N. Y., Normal School, were discharged on charges of radicalism. Several teachers were dismissed in New Jersey and Iowa on similar charges.

**National Defense.**—No person may be employed in the state colleges or schools of Missouri who "teaches or advocates in public or in private that citizens of this state should not protect the government of the United States from aggression by other nations."

**Compulsory Military Training.**—The Conference of Youth Organizations held at Far Rockaway, N. Y., May 16-17, 1925, opposed compulsory military training in the schools. At Howard University, a Negro university at Washington, D. C., 400 students attended a demonstration against compulsory military training on May 7. One of the signs shown on that occasion read: "What is this going to be—an army or a university?"

The Students' Curriculum Committee at the College of the City of New York recommended on May 16 that military training be made an elective instead of a compulsory subject. In November, Felix Cohen, editor of the *Campus*, published at the college, attacked compulsory military training. To show that brutality was systematically taught, he published the following excerpts from the *Manual of Military Training* used at the college:

The object of all military training is to win battles. . . . The principles of sportsmanship and consideration for your opponents have no place in the practical application of this work. . . . To finish an opponent who hangs on, or attempts to pull you to the ground, always try to break his hold by driving the knee or foot to his crotch and gouging his eyes with your thumbs. . . . This inherent desire to fight and kill must be carefully watched for and encouraged by the instructor. . . . America needs invincible infantry.

By a vote of 2,092 to 345 the students decided in favor of making military training elective and not compulsory. President Sidney Mezes forbade further discussion of military training in the *Campus*. On December 4 the Student Council decided to hold a referendum by mail among parents of students on the subject. On December 10 the faculty recommended, by an overwhelming majority, that the board of trustees retain the course. The *Campus*, in December, barred from its columns a

a letter from President Mezes announcing the faculty vote, on the ground that the president himself had prohibited discussion of military training in the paper.

Officials of the Ohio State University appointed a committee to investigate the feasibility of making military training elective.

The War Department lists 382 universities, colleges, and secondary schools as maintaining some form of military training. Some require it for two years, some for four.

**College and University Freedom.**—After a spirited debate behind closed doors, the 27th annual convention of the Association of American Universities at New Haven, Conn., on October 31 rejected the following report on academic freedom made by the American Council on Education:

1. A university or college may not place any restraint upon the teacher's freedom in investigation unless restriction upon the amount of time devoted to it becomes necessary in order to prevent undue interference with teaching duties.

2. A university or college may not impose any limitation upon the teacher's freedom in the exposition of his own subject in the class room or in addresses and publications outside the college except in so far as the necessity of adapting instruction to the needs of immature students, or in the case of institutions of a denominational or partisan character, specific stipulations in advance, fully understood and accepted by both parties, limit the scope and character of instruction.

3. No teacher may claim as his right the privilege of discussing in his class room controversial topics outside of his own field of study. The teacher is morally bound not to take advantage of his own position by introducing into the class room provocative discussions of irrelevant subjects not within the field of his study.

4. A university or college should recognize that the teacher in speaking or writing outside of the institution upon subjects beyond the scope of his own field of study is entitled to precisely the same freedom and is subject to the same responsibility as attaches to all other citizens. If the extra-mural utterances of a teacher should be such as to raise grave doubts concerning his fitness for his position, the question should in all cases be submitted to an appropriate committee of the faculty of which he is a member. It should be clearly understood that an institution assumes no responsibility for views expressed by members of its staff, and teachers should, when necessary, take pains to make it clear that they are expressing only their personal opinions.

The report was voted back to the individual universities composing the association.

## MOB VIOLENCE

**Lynching.**—No fewer than 18 Negroes were killed by lynchers during the year for real or alleged offenses. In the North property holders have resorted to mob rule to force Negroes out of neighborhoods where they had begun to settle. Lynchings of Negroes in the United States since 1915 have numbered:

**Table 131—Lynching of Negroes in the United States, 1915-1925.**

1915 .....	54	1922 .....	51
1916 .....	50	1923 .....	29
1917 .....	36	1924 .....	16
1918 .....	60	1925 .....	18
1919 .....	76		
1920 .....	53	Total .....	502
1921 .....	59		

On September 19 a mob stormed a jail in North Carolina in an attempt to lynch a Negro; 29 men were arrested, of whom 20 were convicted on November 20. Prison sentences were imposed on 15 of these men.

**Ku Klux Klan.**—The influence of the Ku Klux Klan declined during the year. Critical observers attribute this to factional dissensions, to loss of interest, and to repeated political failures. It is believed that the Klan reaches the peak of its effectiveness in the second year after its formation in any given locality. Thereafter, interest declines and the power of the Klan wanes.

In Marlinton, W. Va., on April 10, Lawson McMillion was beaten by a mob led by the town sergeant. He had had a conflict with the Klan in 1924, and court charges against him had been dismissed on April 10. A mob of 200 men attacked a meeting of the Klan at Northbridge, Mass., on April 29. In Denver, Colo., on April 23, a mob of 400 Klansmen disrupted a meeting of the United Sons of America, an anti-Klan organization. In Oklahoma two Klansmen were convicted on a charge of complicity in the flogging of S. S. Llewellyn on May 4. Further cases of violence in which the Klan was implicated occurred in Herrin, Ill., on January 24; Millbury, Mass., May 20; Berlin, Mass., May 30; Chester, Pa., May 30; Boston, Mass., June 10; Illington, Mass., August 2; Framingham, Mass., August 10; Long Island City, N. Y., August 18; Brookfield, Mass., September 18; Kentucky, October 9; Los Angeles, Calif., October 15.

## DEFENSE AND RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS

**American Civil Liberties Union.**—The American Civil Liberties Union carried on during the year an aggressive campaign for tolerance, for restoration of civil rights to prisoners convicted under the espionage act and under special war laws, and for release of state political prisoners. It opposed House Resolution 11796, which would allow the Department of Labor to deport, for cause, any alien at any time after entry into the United

States. This law was intended to be retroactive. It also opposed the adoption of state constabulary bills. It favored citizenship for the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands. In connection with the miners' difficulties in West Virginia it asked of Governor Gore the right of peaceful picketing. It also demanded the repeal of the war-time passport control laws and the repeal of the espionage act. It guided the Scopes defense, and the movement of protest against the exclusion of Count and Countess Karolyi and Saklatvala.

**International Labor Defense.**—The International Labor Defense was organized in Chicago on June 28, as a dues paying, non-partisan organization, pledged to defend all workers, regardless of affiliations or convictions, who are attacked for their activities in the labor movement. The organization supplies material aid to class war prisoners and their families. It is defending Communists and members of the I. W. W. who are on trial for their activities. It is relieving the families of the West Virginia miners. Its program includes release of class war prisoners, repeal of all anti-labor legislation, abolition of the use of injunctions in labor cases, and furnishing of legal aid.

Local conferences were held on September 13 in 25 cities and 35 towns to set up branches. These conferences sent resolutions to the embassies of Bulgaria, Esthonia, Poland, and Rumania, protesting against the persecution of workers. The War Department of the United States was asked to release Crouch and Trumbull. The case of the miners arrested in Zeigler, Ill., was also taken up.

**Anti-Fascisti Alliance.**—The Anti-Fascisti Alliance of America, organized in 1922, made progress in its double campaign to acquaint American workers with the nature and purposes of Fascism, and to prevent Mussolini from securing a moral and financial foothold among the 4,000,000 Italians in America. The Alliance, which is composed of delegates from trade unions, labor parties, and other progressive groups, is supported by donations from these bodies. It has the endorsement of several liberal Italian papers published in America, and of the American Federation of Labor. National headquarters are in New York, with branches in about 15 other cities, including Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and San Francisco.

## VIII. WORKERS' EDUCATION AND HEALTH

### WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

**Aim.**—The Workers' Education Bureau of America, organized in 1921, aims "to collect and disseminate information relative to efforts at education on the part of organized labor; to coordinate and assist in every possible way the educational work now carried on by the organized workers; and to stimulate the creation of additional enterprises in labor education throughout North America."

**Members.**—At the end of 1925, 41 national unions were affiliated and paying  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent a year dues for each of their members. Fourteen state federations belonged, 60 city centrals, and 322 local unions. Several other state bodies had endorsed the Bureau.

**Reorganization.**—The 1925 Convention was held April 17-19, 1925, in Philadelphia. The Workers' School of New York (Communist), and the Rand School of Social Science (Socialist) were denied representation. A new constitution was adopted limiting membership to "labor organizations not dual or seceding in character," "workers' educational enterprises under trade union control and devoted to general education for workers," and interested individuals. The interval between conventions was set at two years, and delegates were apportioned as follows:

1. National unions, one for less than 20,000 members, two for 20,000 or more, three for 50,000 or more, four for 100,000 or more, five for 200,000 or more, six for 400,000 or more.
2. State and city bodies and local unions, one each.
3. American Federation of Labor, five.
4. Workers' study groups, one for each 25 enrolled students or major portion thereof.

The delegates in the first, second and fourth groups are to nominate Executive Committee members to represent their group. The convention elects three to represent the national unions; one

for the state, city, and local unions; and two for the study groups. The A. F. of L. has three representatives appointed by its president. The convention is to elect a president and secretary, who also become members of the committee, and the committee elects its own chairman and treasurer.

**Committee.**—The Executive Committee for 1925-26 is:

*General officers:*

James H. Maurer, president, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor,  
(president)  
Spencer Miller, Jr., (secretary)

*Representing national unions:*

Thomas Burke, secretary-treasurer, Plumbers and Steamfitters  
Fannia M. Cohn, director, educational department, Ladies' Garment  
Workers  
Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer, United Mine Workers

*Representing American Federation of Labor:*

John P. Frey, editor, *Molders' Journal*  
George W. Perkins, president, Cigar Makers  
Matthew Woll, president, Photo-Engravers

*Representing local and district organizations:*

John Brophy, president District 2, United Mine Workers

*Representing workers' educational enterprises:*

David J. Saposs, Brookwood Workers' College  
John Van Vaerenwyck, Boston Trade Union College

**Libraries.**—During 1925 the Bureau campaigned to interest librarians in workers' education. Some local and city central unions sent members to the libraries with a list of 30 essential books on labor problems, made up by the Bureau for the A. F. of L. The American Library Association got its members to see how many books on the list were in their libraries. The libraries began buying more books useful for workers' classes when they learned of a demand for them. Librarians gave workers talks on how to use books and called attention to suitable books in local libraries.

**Publications.**—During 1925 the Bureau put out *Readings in Trade Unionism* by David J. Saposs of Brookwood, and *Co-operative Railroading* by Otto Beyer, consulting engineer at work on the B. & O. plan. It also published a series of pamphlets, *The Voluntary Basis of Trade Unionism*, by Samuel Gompers, *The American Federation of Labor* by Matthew Woll, *Child Labor* by William Green; and *Women's Auxiliaries and Workers' Education* by Theresa Wolfson. Stuart Chase, of the Labor Bureau, had in preparation a pamphlet on *How to Run a Union Meeting*. A reading list on *Coal* was also drawn up. The quarterly *Workers' Education*, and the monthly news service were continued.

## BROOKWOOD

**Students.**—Brookwood is a resident workers' college established at Katonah, N. Y., in 1921, for students who have worked in industry and been union members for at least a year. Among the 45 students in 1925-26 were textile workers, miners, garment workers, carpenters, teachers, millinery workers, hosiery workers, machinists, shoe workers, painters, plumbers, railway clerks, and farmers. Scholarships of \$450 a year have been provided by the Ladies' Garment Workers; the Machinists; Railway Car-men; Painters; Paper Hangers, and Decorators; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Districts 1, 2, and 9 of the United Mine Workers; Detroit Federation of Labor; Virginia Federation of Labor; United Textile Workers; Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers; United Cloth Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers; and others.

**Course.**—The course is two years, but certain well prepared students may begin with the second year. Subjects covered are English, psychology, statistics, labor laws and their administration, history of civilization, social problems, labor history and trade union programs, administration, organization, and strategy. An elective course in dramatics was added in 1925. It suggests ways of solving the recreational problems of industrial communities, gives training in acting and staging plays, and encourages writing plays about workers' lives. A course has also been added in labor journalism, including handling news, editorial, and feature material for the labor press and for general publication, problems of the labor press, placing labor news, and practice in editing, proof-reading, and make-up.

**Publicity.**—During the winter and spring of 1925 Clinton S. Golden made a tour of the important labor educational centers in the country as Brookwood field representative, interesting the trade union organizations in sending students and in establishing scholarships at Brookwood and also giving encouragement and advice where desired to those active in local labor educational centers. He also attended trade union conventions in the interest of Brookwood and of workers' education in general. The *Brookwood Review* continued to appear, and the teachers spoke before several adult education groups.

**Summer School.**—Brookwood conducted two summer school sessions in 1925, with a total attendance of about 100. The first was a Railroad Labor Institute, August 2-9, on the problems of the railroads and railroad labor organizations. The institute was developed with the help of an advisory committee which included Bert M. Jewell, head of the Railway Employees'

Department of the A. F. of L.; Otto S. Beyer, Jr., consulting engineer for the Railway Employees' Department; and the editors of several railroad labor journals.

The second summer session was a General Labor Institute, August 9-22, held with the endorsement of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and other organizations. Discussion during one week centered upon the problem of the control of wages, and during the second week on the war and post-war history of American labor.

**Conferences.**—A teachers' conference on Methods in Mass Education was held at Brookwood, February 22, 1925. Attendance was limited chiefly to members of the American Federation of Teachers active in workers' education. The proceedings of the 1924 conference on Teaching Methods in Workers' Classes and also the proceedings of the 1925 conference have been published.

**Reorganization.**—In the spring of 1925 Brookwood was incorporated as a labor educational institution. The corporation has four classes of membership: labor, faculty, student, and graduate. The labor membership consists of the 10 men and women who acted as a labor cooperating committee during Brookwood's experimental years and who retain labor membership in the corporation for life or until they sever their connection with the labor movement, and in addition representatives designated by trade union organizations establishing Brookwood scholarships. The board of directors consists of 19 members, 10 of whom are designated by the labor membership, five by the faculty, two by the students, and two by the graduates. The labor directors are:

John Fitzpatrick, Chicago Federation of Labor  
James H. Maurer, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor  
John Brophy, United Mine Workers of America  
Rose Schneiderman, National Women's Trade Union League  
Abraham Lefkowitz, American Federation of Teachers  
Charles Kutz, International Association of Machinists  
Jay G. Brown, International Union of Timber Workers  
Fannia M. Cohn, International Ladies' Garment Workers  
Phil. E. Ziegler, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks

## INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS

**Department.**—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is the national union most active in helping its members to learn. Fannia M. Cohn is executive secretary and Alexander Fichandler is director of its educational department, which in 1925 celebrated its eighth anniversary. In conducting the department, effort is made to ensure that it

not only offers the individual an opportunity for self-development, but also tends to make him more useful to our international and to the labor movement. It offers him an opportunity to serve his class and equips him for the struggle for economic and social change.<sup>1</sup>

**New York.**—In New York City the union has unity centers in public schools, where elementary courses are given in the evening. The city board of education furnishes English teachers. The union provides teachers of history, economics, and the labor movement. Advanced classes in the social sciences are organized into the Workers' University and meet at Washington Irving High School and at union headquarters. Classes were held in 1925 in union history, policies, and finances; economics; economics of the ladies' garment industry; women in industry; history; psychology; literature; and public speaking.

The union conducts more classes for English-speaking members than it does in Jewish and Russian. More and more of the classes are being held in union buildings. More men are joining the classes than previously, and they take more economics, while the women take more of the cultural subjects. Successful efforts are being made to interest the women members in social sciences, especially in the economics of their industry. Plans for 1926 included special instruction for members of local union executive boards and committees, to help them fit themselves for their duties. Special classes for promising young members, for business agents and officers of locals, and some for the wives of members, were also conducted.

**Extension.**—Extension work included concerts and socials for union members and their families, lectures at local business meetings, and speakers. Similar activities are arranged in other cities. Eleven New York groups met weekly outside of the unity centers and the Worker's University.

## UNITED MINE WORKERS

**Clearfield.**—The educational work begun in 1924 by the district organization of the United Mine Workers in the soft coal region around Clearfield, Pa., resulted by the end of 1925 in 16 classes in operation with over 500 students. The classes were conducted at Defiance, Portage, Hastings, Nanty-Glo, Patton, Lilly, Anita, Skyeville, Brockway, Rossiter, Madera, Betz, Winburne, Sagamore, and Six Mile Run, and a women's class at Six Mile Run. They took up the coal industry and

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<sup>1</sup> Fannia M. Cohn, in *Justice*, November 27, 1925.

nationalization of the mines, history of the American labor movement, social and political history of the United States, and elementary English. Two pamphlets issued by the League for Industrial Democracy, *How America Lives* and *Roads to Freedom*, were used.

Ten labor chautauquas were held, usually where there were classes. The young folks in the classes entertained and labor leaders spoke. The chautauquas sometimes lasted a week. They popularized labor problems and increased the number of classes and students. The interest the chautauquas and classes aroused, even in the women and children, strengthened the union in its struggles with the mine operators, and caused several local Labor Party groups to form.

### AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS

**Papers.**—The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America educates its members largely through the weekly *Advance*, fortnightlies in Jewish, Italian, Bohemian, Polish, and Lithuanian, and the Russian monthly. The union education department aims thus "to give the members a clearer realization of what the union is, what it stands for, its place in the labor movement, its rights and obligations to the movement, the industry and to society as a whole."

The department organized correspondence courses on the economics of the clothing industry, and on the place of the clothing workers in the social order. Students enrolled in each city met with a local leader to discuss the lessons.

In 1925 the Amalgamated gave entertainments for the children of its members in New York City and tried to tell them of the problems their parents were facing. In the spring it put out for the children a pamphlet *So This Is the Amalgamated*.

Educational mass meetings were continued in Rochester and Chicago. A study group has grown up at the Brooklyn Amalgamated library. Cincinnati became an Amalgamated center in December after the A. Nash Clothing Company signed an agreement. The union undertook education among its new members by getting up clubs, social gatherings, mass meetings, and lectures. Among the 1925 publications was a pamphlet on the *First of May*.

### STATE AND LOCAL ACTIVITY

**Extent.**—The Workers' Education Bureau reported to the A. F. of L. Convention in November that there were 300 study groups, including labor colleges or separate classes, in 200 industrial centers. There were about 35,000 students.

**Leaders.**—In 250 cities educational committees of trade unionists were formed to look after study groups, to organize a labor college, and to try to get representatives of organized labor on the local boards of education. Seven state federations, those in Arkansas, California, Colorado, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Wyoming, and the trade union education enterprises in Chicago, Philadelphia, and the Clearfield, Pa., mine district have full-time educational directors. The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor had a temporary vacancy in 1925; that in Ohio voted to have a director when it should have the money. The New York City and Baltimore city centrals voted to have part-time directors. The Montana, Colorado, and Wyoming Federations of Labor together appointed a Rocky Mountain director.<sup>1</sup> The Ohio Federation put out a pamphlet on *Workers' Colleges* by its president, John P. Frey.

**Methods.**—In Milwaukee the library sends books to be taken out at the meeting of the Federated Trades Council. At Salem, Mass., and Columbus, Ohio, local unions appointed members to attend classes and report what they had learned to the local meetings. In Colorado many locals elected 10 students and paid their fees at local labor colleges. The Portland, Ore., college pays special attention to history, economics, and dramatics. It began in 1921, and in 1925 achieved an average attendance of 84, in seven classes. Workers' classes usually get teachers from local schools and colleges. In the Clearfield, Pa., mining district the leaders are chosen from the class. Philadelphia Labor College students compiled figures that threw light on such subjects as earnings, profits, and seasonal changes in their own trades.

**Fur Workers.**—The New York Joint Board of the International Fur Workers' Union maintained two classes in English. It also held 12 lectures in trade unionism and live current question, in Jewish, and six concerts with lectures in English. A circulating library of 250 volumes reached about 50 union members.

**Consumers' League.**—To get the New York state factory laws better enforced, the Consumers' League sent representatives to continuation schools in New York City to inform the children, aged 14 to 17, of their rights under the laws.

**Labor Bureau.**—The Labor Bureau, Inc., organized in New York in 1920, conducts investigations, statistical research, and

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<sup>1</sup> See also State Federations of Labor, p. 175.

financial audits for trade unions and others in the labor movement.

Branch offices are maintained in Chicago and San Francisco. The Bureau in 1925 assisted a number of unions in wage negotiations and arbitration proceedings. Notable among these was the struggle of 8,000 members of the Shoe Workers' Protective Association, at Haverhill, Mass., against a 25 per cent. wage cut demanded by the employers. The decision was almost a complete victory for the union. In New York the employers asked a 10 per cent cut in the wages of 1,200 bindery women, while the union sought a \$5 increase. The decision gave the union a raise of \$2.

Special investigations made included analysis of profits of numerous corporations in the railroad, printing, and textile industries; pension plans for municipal employees in New York and Chicago, and for the National Association of Letter Carriers and the Amalgamated Lithographers; wages and cost of living for several local unions.

The monthly *Facts for Workers* was continued, featuring a number of articles on basic industries.

The technical staff of the Bureau includes Alfred L. Bernheim, Sara Bernheim, Otto S. Beyer, Jr., Stuart Chase, H. P. Melnikow, David J. Saposs, George Soule, and O. Zimrring.

**Speakers' Service Bureau.**—The Speakers' Service Bureau does research for unions and similar groups, principally the Electrical Workers. During 1925 it prepared wage briefs and sold 100 correspondence courses in public speaking. It puts out study outlines for workers' classes, aiming at immediate needs of the workers.

**Labor Temple.**—The Labor Temple, in New York City, began in 1913 with settlement work, an employment bureau, and a forum. In 1914 it opened two classes, which met once a week for 35 weeks a year, taught by Will Durant, its director of education. The Labor Temple School began in 1921 and added about 25 short courses of five or 10 weeks. In 1925-1926 there were about 600 registrations for the long courses, and the same number for the short. The students are half workers and half middle class, about equally divided between men and women. There is discussion after each lecture. Courses include philosophies of history and of the state, poets, modern Russian literature, contemporary English and American literature, the drama, biology, care of the teeth, problems of women, international relations.

## SUMMER SCHOOLS

**Colorado.**—The Colorado Federation of Labor, the Colorado Farmers' Union, and the Colorado Springs, Greeley, Pueblo, and Denver labor colleges held a week's farmer-labor summer school at Idaho Springs, June 28-July 4. The students were organized workers, organized farmers, and Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. secretaries. The general subject was "Science, the Workers' Way Out."

**Pennsylvania.**—The educational department of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor held a summer school on labor problems at Pocono People's College, Henryville, Pa., July 26-August 3.

**Textile.**—Textile Local 33 of Salem, Mass., had a two-week vacation school for 20 of its girl members at Derry, N. H.

**Unity House.**—At their vacation resort, Unity House, at Forest Park, Pa., the Ladies' Garment Workers conducted systematic lecture work through the summer. The talks were usually given in series covering three or four days. Among the topics discussed were the contribution of the immigrant to the labor movement, woman's place in the labor movement, organization of women, and aims and policies of the union. An exhibition of art by workers' children was held.

**Bryn Mawr.**—Bryn Mawr College, near Philadelphia, Pa., conducted in 1925 its fifth Summer School for Women Workers in Industry. The school ran eight weeks, from June 14 to August 9. Graduates of the college gave money to bring 114 women, whose ages ranged from 21 to 42. Fifty-eight were unionists and 56 were not; 36 were foreign-born; 22 had foreign parents, 56 had native parents. The course was cultural. It used tutors and the discussion method.

**Wisconsin.**—Forty-eight chosen girls from 20 industries in Wisconsin and eight near-by states took a six-week course in economics, English, and physical education at the University of Wisconsin, June 29-August 8.

## WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

**National.**—The National Women's Trade Union League was a pioneer in workers' education. In 1913 it began offering scholarships in Chicago to union girls who had shown an aptitude for leadership. A scholarship finances a six months' intensive

course, including field work and study. The aim is not to complete gaps in the student's previous education, but to train them for the labor movement. Matilda Lindsay, of the League's Executive Board, is assistant director of the Bryn Mawr Summer School.

**New York.**—The New York City branch gives classes in English, public speaking, parliamentary law, social and economic history, and social hygiene, for about 80 students.

### RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

**Courses.**—The Rand School of Social Science, "an educational auxiliary of the Socialist and labor movement," was organized in New York in 1906. During 1925 it conducted study courses in history of civilization, modern world history, sociology, psychology, economic geography, economics, Socialism, trade unionism, journalism, public speaking, and English. Popular lecture courses in literature, drama, science, music, labor legislation, and the class struggle were also given, as well as courses in psychology, hygiene, gymnastics, and dancing. About 600 students were enrolled in the study courses, while attendance at lectures totaled about 1,500. *The Labor Student*, giving brief articles on labor education and announcements of school activities was continued under the editorship of Algernon Lee, educational director.

A Women's Committee was organized to assist the school, and has been active in raising money, caring for the building, and developing plans for further expansion.

**Labor Research Department.**—The Labor Research Department connected with the school has issued seven volumes of the *American Labor Year Book*, beginning with 1916. It also conducts studies of industrial and political problems, maintains a research library open to students of the labor movement, and supplies information on questions within its field.

**Camp Tamiment.**—Camp Tamiment, the vacation resort conducted by the school at Forest Park, Pa., completed its fifth season. One-week lecture courses were given in psychology, psycho-analysis, sex problems, economic geography, music, poetry, and Socialist history. About 1,500 persons visited the camp, many of them more than once.

## WORKERS' SCHOOL.

**Scope.**—The Workers' School in New York City began in October its third year as a training center for Workers' Party (Communist) members and progressive working class elements from Boston to Baltimore. Bertram D. Wolfe is director.

**Campaign Work.**—In New York City the Workers' Party held weekly meetings of party speakers and writers from September till election day. They analyzed campaign issues and brought out the ways in which the platforms and points of view of the Workers' Party and the Socialist Party differed. They were taught how to run a street meeting, and given training in fact-finding and public speaking.

**Courses.**—In the season beginning in 1925 the immediate task of the school was to train workers to lead group discussions of the fundamentals of Leninism in every shop nucleus. The party instructed each nucleus to send its leading member to a six-months' shop nucleus training course. About 140 registered in this course. Only active trade unionists and party members were admitted, after examination. The studies were Marxism and Leninism; party history, structure, and problems; theory and method of work in trade unions. An additional 230 registered for courses in fundamentals of Communism, research, public speaking, history of the American working class, Marxian economics, modern literature, workers' correspondence (journalism), materialistic philosophy of life, and Russian. There were 300 registrations in English. About 80 per cent. of the students were union members.

**Extension.**—The New York school runs courses for workers' clubs, unions, and party branches in their localities and in their languages. English-speaking classes in Communism were conducted in Harlem, the Bronx, Williamsburg, Brownsville, and South Brooklyn, within New York City; and at Passaic, Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, and Union Hill, N. J.

**Other Cities.**—In addition to its regular courses in Marxian economics, Communism, labor history, imperialism, and workers' correspondence, the Workers' School at Chicago supervised classes among the soft coal miners of southern Illinois. Workers' Party classes or groups of classes were carried on in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and about 10 other cities.

**Workers' Theater.**—In December, 1925, 300 delegates from Jewish unions and societies in New York City, met at the call of the *Freiheit* (Jewish Communist daily), and planned to form a Jewish Workers' Theater like the Russian proletarian theaters, which give plays dealing with problems of the worker's life. The question was further discussed at the Sunday lectures at the Schildkraut Theater.

## LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

**Twentieth Anniversary.**—The League for Industrial Democracy, organized in 1905 under the name Intercollegiate Socialist Society, completed in 1925 its 20th year of activity. Its object is "to promote an intelligent understanding of the labor movement and of the movement toward a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

**Lecture Work.**—During 1925 Paul Blanshard, its field secretary, visited 82 colleges and one academy, making return visits to 13 of them, and addressing 35,600 students. About 1,000 students joined the League as student members following these addresses. He also gave more than 50 addresses before city groups with an aggregate attendance of over 5,000.

Norman Thomas, one of the two executive directors, directed the L. I. D. editorial service and addressed 5,675 college students at 29 colleges and schools, at some of which he spoke more than once. Three of the college meetings were inter-college conferences. He spoke to 44 non-college groups with an aggregate attendance of about 10,200 in addition to numerous campaign and other political party meetings.

Harry W. Laidler, the co-executive director, devoted most of his effort to administrative and research work. He also conducted three assembly meetings, attended by about 2,000 students each, at the Summer School of Colorado State Teachers' College, spoke before 1,000 students in various college classes and student groups, and lectured before about 20 city groups, in addition to addresses during political campaigns.

The League helped to arrange addresses for William Pickens, field secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in six colleges in the Middle Atlantic states and the Middle West. It arranged a New England trip for Frank Tannenbaum at seven or eight colleges, and helped to schedule Rennie Smith, a Labor member of the British Parliament, at several

colleges. Numerous speakers also addressed the chapters and affiliated college and city groups of the League.

**Publications.**—Norman Thomas continued to send his editorial service twice a month to about 130 labor and farm papers. The League issued during the year a pamphlet, *What Is Industrial Democracy?* by Norman Thomas. Stuart Chase's *Challenge of Waste* was revised. H. S. Raushenbush's *The People's Fight for Coal and Power* was prepared for the printer.

**Research.**—As a result of action taken at the June conference, the League secured a special appropriation for a study of plans for the nationalization of coal and power by H. S. Raushenbush, author of *The Anthracite Question*, aided by an independent Committee on Coal and Giant Power.

**Conferences.**—On June 26-28 the League held a conference on The Struggle for Public Ownership in America, at Camp Tamiment, Pa. The winter conference was held at New York on December 29-30. The student sessions were attended by more than 80 undergraduates from 28 colleges and more than 50 alumni. The sessions were devoted to social thinking in the colleges, the intellectual in the labor movement, students in industry, humanized economics, and imperialism and labor. The conference ended with a 20th anniversary dinner on Twenty Years of Social Pioneering.

**Other Activities.**—During the winter of 1924-25 the League secured a large quantity of clothing for the miners of West Virginia. As a result of Blanshard's contacts with the Chinese labor movement in the summer of 1925, when he took a steerage trip around the world, it helped to organize a Committee for Justice for China which sent more than \$1,000 to the Chinese strikers. It also was largely responsible for the formation at the students' conference in December of the Student Committee on Industry, to stimulate students to get a first hand knowledge of industrial conditions.

**Officers and Membership.**—Officers are Robert Morss Lovett, president; Zona Gale, Vladimir Karapetoff, John Haynes Holmes, James H. Maurer, Vida D. Scudder, vice-presidents; Stuart Chase, treasurer; Norman Thomas, chairman of the board of directors; Harry W. Laidler, secretary. The regular membership of the League outside of the colleges is about 1,200. It has student correspondents in about 100 colleges, and city chapters in New York and Washington, with affiliated groups in Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities.

## COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE

**Aim.**—Commonwealth College “seeks to equip young people of native intelligence with the means to be of greater service to the labor movement,” in a school “free from bias against their class.” The school is not committed to any particular faction within the labor movement, but encourages discussion of all points of view. It seeks to develop teachers, statisticians, research workers, organizers, and executives. Believing that independence of teachers and students can be achieved only through self-maintenance, every one in the college works four hours a day. Tuition is \$100 a year. Teachers receive no wages aside from maintenance.

The school was organized in April, 1923, at Newllano, La., where students and teachers worked for the Llano Cooperative Colony. On January 1, 1925, it moved to Mena, Ark. William E. Zeuch is director and Harold Z. Brown is executive secretary.

**Course.**—There is a preparatory department which takes qualified persons over 14 and gives two years' work. The collegiate department gives three years. It offers accounting, journalism, business law, teaching, modern languages, literature, philosophy, psychology, social psychology, history, government, economics, labor problems, statistics, economic thought, social origins, social problems, Latin America, the Far East, modern imperialism, and social reconstruction. A student may take six recitation hours a week.

**Students.**—In 1925-26 there were 13 men and 14 women students, from 12 American states, Russia, and Germany. Ages ranged from 14 to 34. The students represented 15 occupations, and 10 of them were members of seven unions.

## WORKERS' HEALTH

**Union Health Center.**—The Union Health Center gives medical examination, treatment, and instruction to members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York City. In 1925 the dental clinic moved to new quarters and left the entire original building to the medical department. The American Fund for Public Service voted \$10,000 to have the Center carry on intensive health propaganda among the union members during 1926. Dr. George M. Price is director.

The work in the past three years took in:

Table 132—Work of Union Health Center, 1923-1925

<i>Medical</i>	1923	1924	1925
Examinations .....	16,021	22,943	23,362
New applicants.....	3,368	5,811	4,181
General clinical.....	5,289	5,436	5,716
Special clinical.....	5,410	6,429	5,506
Sick benefit.....	1,029	1,735	1,361
Life extension.....	605	359	343
X-ray .....	176	170	180
Other .....	144	1473	2139
Physio-therapeutic baking.....	1,784	2,530	2,763
Persons dealt with.....	....	10,536	9,299
Income .....	\$27,270	\$37,625	\$31,376
<i>Dental</i>			
Patients .....	4,502	4,586	4,611
Treatments .....	26,778	28,939	25,202
Income .....	\$59,117	\$64,079	\$64,590

In 1925 \$17,662 of the income was from charges to patients; 15,460 examinations were of men and 7,902 were of women; 1,369 of the special clinical examinations were of the nose and throat, 993 surgical, 886 digestive system, 709 eye, 598 hay fever, 472 feet, 280 skin, and 199 nerves.

**Joint Board of Sanitary Control.**—At the end of 1925 the Joint Board of Sanitary Control completed its 15th year of sanitation and safety inspection in women's clothing shops in New York City. The New York City Joint Board of Cloak, Skirt, Dress, and Reefer Makers' Unions, a subdivision of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, pays \$5,000 a year to support the sanitary inspection service. Members of the various cloak and suit, or dress and waist associations, and independent union shops pay \$10 a year. The Joint Board of Sanitary Control reported that at the end of 1925 there were 2,490 union shops. It found 6 per cent of them insanitary and refused to sell them sanitary labels. It also found and inspected 1,246 non-union shops and found 12 per cent of them insanitary. No labels are sold to non-union shops. Of all the shops inspected, the Board found 92.11 per cent. in excellent or passable condition. It made 22,459 sanitary inspections in 1924 and 23,215 in 1925. About 1,200 shops paid \$10 additional to have the Board run fire drills. There were 12,570 drills in 1924 and 14,215 in 1925.

<sup>1</sup> Includes examinations of children for Pioneer Youth Camp.

<sup>2</sup> Operation and X-ray examinations for members of other unions.

Power to deny sanitary labels to insanitary shops gives the Board for the first time an adequate means of enforcing its sanitary standards. The sanitary label was recommended in June, 1924, by Governor Smith's Mediation Commission in the cloak and suit trade. It was put into effect in that trade in New York on September 22, 1924. By May, 1925, 1,507 of the 1,575 cloak shops were using it. On April 20, 1925, the New York City dress manufacturers also began using the label. By November 7 the Board had issued 10,172,700 labels in both trades.

**Workers' Health Bureau.**—The Workers' Health Bureau, organized in New York City in 1921 to serve labor unions in the field of health, is supported by affiliated trade unions, which elect representatives to an advisory health council. The technical advisory committee comprises such well-known health experts as Alice Hamilton, Charles E.-A. Winslow, Yandell Henderson, James P. Warbasse, and Emery R. Hayhurst. The directors of the Bureau are Grace M. Burnham and Harriet Silverman.

The Bureau publishes a *Monthly News Service* of health facts. It distributes leaflets concerning the prevention of diseases and information on trade dangers, and issues posters and exhibits on occupational hazards. It also investigates occupational hazards; analyzes sick and death benefit records to determine occupational causes; analyzes poisonous work-materials; drafts recommendations for control of occupational hazards in trade union agreements; secures data for reduction of hours in hazardous trades; drafts regulations for city and state legislation on dangerous working conditions; instructs union members on handling claims for workmen's compensation and drafts amendments to compensation laws; gives advice on medical care; and organizes trade union cooperative clinics.

The Bureau has 155 labor bodies affiliated, in 22 states and British Columbia, representing 500,000 workers. The trades covered include bakers, building trades, cement finishers, cigar-makers, federal employees, garment workers, hatters, lithographers, machinists, moving picture operators, garage workers, painters, plumbers, printers, and stone cutters.

The Bureau is making an intensive study of the health hazards in these trades with recommendations for their control. Some of its recommendations are already in operation in New York, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, while health agreements were at the close of 1925 being negotiated in New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Washington. These agreements cover the

prohibition of poisonous materials, control of dusts, fumes, gases, dangerous machinery, sanitation, and other occupational hazards.

A national campaign was conducted arousing labor to the danger of tetra-ethyl lead following the deaths of five workers in the Standard Oil Company plant at Bayonne, N. J. The campaign included a scientific study of tetra-ethyl lead, and put forth the demand for a United States Public Health Service conference with labor representation to consider the control of this new hazard. Campaigns to include all occupational diseases in the compensation laws were carried on in 11 states.

Organization of a Workers' Cooperative Medical Association is planned for 1926, to bring within the reach of workers a high standard of medical service in all branches.

## PIONEER YOUTH OF AMERICA

**Children.**—The Pioneer Youth of America is an organization for workers' children. It aims at developing their critical and creative faculties, acquainting them with industrial and social conditions, and preparing them to assist in building a new social order. It was formed in 1924 in New York City. Its strength still lies there, though an active Philadelphia branch, backed by the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, was organized in November, 1925, at a meeting of 160 union delegates.

In two years Pioneer Youth reached 700 children of eight to 18 years through clubs and camps. The summer camp at Pawling, N. Y., was repeated in 1925. Scholarships are given to children whose parents are out of work or on strike. A camp was conducted during Christmas week, 1925. There were 28 clubs in New York City at the end of 1925, which carried on discussions, dramatics, music, athletics, and outdoor activities. A children's orchestra began rehearsals in December. There is a children's central committee, which governs all affairs that are purely of interest to the children.

**Adults.**—The second national conference on January 28, 1925, changed the name of the adult organization from National Association for Child Development to Pioneer Youth of America. At the end of 1925 there were 1,000 grown-up members. The National Council, made up of unionists and educators, meets each year. National officers are: Thomas J. Curtis, of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors, president; A. J. Muste, of Brookwood, and Maude Swartz of the Women's Trade Union League, vice-presidents; A. Baroff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, treasurer; Joshua Lieberman, secretary.

A New York City Pioneer Youth Leaders' Council met monthly during 1925-26, and 25 leaders took the training course. Leaders are recruited partly from members who reach 18.

**Support.**—By the end of 1925 unions with 700,000 members had given endorsement, cooperation and financial support. These included 10 national unions, 16 city central bodies, joint boards, and union districts, and 123 locals. Pioneer Youth is also able to draw on the resources of other child organizations, experimental schools, teachers, and settlements, and has the cooperation of many leading educators.

### MANUMIT SCHOOL

**Organization.**—Manumit School is a farm boarding school for workers' children, founded in 1924 at Pawling, N. Y. Students and teachers work together in keeping up the school and vote together on its policies.

The school is controlled by the Manumit Associates, a group of 125 union officers, educators, and publicists. It has been endorsed by the Brotherhood of Painters, the International Longshoremen, the American Federation of Teachers, Teachers' Union Local No. 5, and the Pennsylvania and New York Federations of Labor. Members of 14 unions sent their children in 1925-26. The charge is \$30 a month for unionists.

**Course.**—The school takes children ready for the fifth grade and is carrying them through high school age. The first year there were 26 students, the second year 47; the staff consists of 15 grown-ups. The students do an hour and a half's work on the farm or in the house daily. There is individual research and group discussion, with constant experimentation, in mathematics, carpentry, arts and crafts (modeling, weaving, drawing, painting), language and literature, cooking, food values, sewing, natural science, agriculture, economic interpretation of history and geography, social institutions and movements, appreciation of music, interpretive dancing, piano, and violin.

## IX. LABOR BANKING, INVESTMENT, AND INSURANCE

### TWO POINTS OF VIEW

**Immediate Advantages.**—The debate as to whether the conduct of banks and large investment enterprises by labor unions is helpful or harmful to the labor movement continued sharply through 1925. On the immediate advantages of labor banking to individual union members, Jacob S. Potofsky stated:

First, the labor bank affords the individual worker greater independence.

Second, in times of slack it presents an agency for relief. Any worker who is unemployed or for any reason in need of money may, with proper indorsements, secure a loan at a reasonable rate of interest at the labor bank. The Amalgamated Bank operates what it calls a small loan service department for the benefit of workers and small depositors.

Third, in the labor bank the worker feels at home. He has an easy approach to the officers, and is enabled to secure financial advice with full confidence that his interests are looked after.

Fourth, in the labor bank, service and safety are the major considerations.

Fifth, the labor bank through its many shareholders affords the worker an opportunity to familiarize himself with the intricate problems of modern business economics, such as finance, stocks, dividends, etc. It brings democracy into the world of finance.<sup>1</sup>

**Question of Policy.**—More fundamental is the result of the relations between union members and financiers which labor banking and investment are building up. H. V. Boswell, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Cooperative Trust Company, in New York City, is reported as saying:

Instead of standing on a corner soapbox, screaming with rage because the capitalists own real estate, bank accounts and automobiles, the engineer has turned in and become a capitalist himself. Now it stands to reason, doesn't it, that such men won't start any movement to destroy property or ruin big business? Why, only last spring we bought a substantial interest in the Empire City Trust Company of New York City. If you could have seen Schwab, Heckscher, and the locomotive engineers seated around the directors' table, you'd have recognized the whole scene as an entirely new turn in what used to be called the fight between capital and labor.<sup>2</sup>

The opinion that the unions' going into business will make them less aggressive, and give them more of the employers' outlook on social questions, is supported by leaders in the banking world. Thus Otto Kahn, of Kuhn, Loeb, and Company, New York, declared:

I welcome cordially the entrance of labor into business. The most fruitful source of class conflict, indeed, of all conflicts, springs from

<sup>1</sup> *Advance*, December 11, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Earl R. Browder, *Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration*.

the circumstance that those concerned do not meet and know one another sufficiently and that, as a rule, they are not adequately acquainted with their respective viewpoints, motives, problems, and manner of thought and feeling.<sup>1</sup>

Frank A. Vanderlip, formerly president of the National City Bank, in New York, declared:

Labor will have more respect for capital when it understands the difficulty of administering capitalistic enterprises. Capital will have more respect for labor when it understands that labor can successfully administer capitalistic enterprises.<sup>1</sup>

Opposition to this development of capitalist thinking on the part of organized labor was expressed by Earl R. Browder, of the Workers' Party, as follows:

It is already an established policy, boasted about in labor conventions, that labor banks will have nothing to do with strikes, because strikes are "unprofitable" . . . [Labor banks] are designed to bolster up a failing officialdom or to make a powerful bureaucracy still more independent of the rank and file membership.<sup>2</sup>

**Political Pressure.**—The sort of pressure which labor banks may be subjected to by political parties representing the employers is illustrated by the experience of the Federation Bank in New York. During the fight of Mayor Hylan to be re-nominated in the Democratic primaries in 1925, Peter J. Brady, president of the bank, supported James Walker. Hylan withdrew a city deposit of \$250,000 from the bank. When Walker was elected mayor, the city deposited \$350,000.

## GROWTH OF BANKS

**New Banks.**—During 1925 10 new labor banks opened and three were closed. At the end of 1925 there were 35 of these institutions entirely controlled and two partly controlled by labor. Three of the banks increased their capitalization during the year, the Amalgamated Bank of New York from \$200,000 to \$300,000, the Federation Bank of New York from \$250,000 to \$750,000, and the Brotherhood Savings and Trust Company in Pittsburgh from \$137,800 to \$155,700. On the other hand, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers withdrew a large portion of their investment from the Empire Trust Company.

**Total Capital and Deposits.**—Total capital of all labor banks in the country on December 31, 1925, was \$9,064,358. Total deposits amounted to \$98,634,165.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Russell D. Kilbourne, "The Labor Bank Movement in the United States," London *Economica*, November, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Earl R. Browder, *Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration*.

Table 133—Labor Banks in the United States, 1925 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Name and Location</i>	<i>Founded</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Deposits</i>
Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, 1920 Washington, D. C.		Machinists	\$160,000	\$3,541,458
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Cooperative National Bank, Cleveland, Ohio	1920	Locomotive Engineers	1,000,000	26,414,496
United Bank & Trust Co., 1921 Tucson, Ariz.		Labor groups	70,000	432,183
People's Cooperative State Bank, Hammond, Ind.	1921	Locomotive Engineers	50,000	1,547,113
Producers' & Consumers' Bank, Philadelphia, Pa. <sup>2</sup>	1922	Labor groups	.....	.....
Nottingham Savings & Banking Co., Nottingham, Ohio	1922	Locomotive Engineers	75,000	680,571 <sup>3</sup>
San Bernardino Valley Bank, 1922 San Bernardino, Calif.		Railroad unions	175,000	1,857,035
Amalgamated Trust & Savings Bank, Chicago, Ill.	1922	Amalgamated Clothing Workers	200,000	2,586,116
Federated Bank & Trust Co., 1922 Birmingham, Ala.		Locomotive Engineers	.....	.....
Transportation Brotherhoods' National Bank of Minneapolis, Minneapolis, Minn.	1922	Railroad Brotherhoods	200,000	1,987,472
Amalgamated Bank of New York, New York City	1923	Amalgamated Clothing Workers	300,000	5,891,811
Labor National Bank of Montana, Three Forks, Mont.	1923	Locomotive Engineers	25,000	172,908
Federation Bank of New York, New York City	1923	Labor groups	750,000	11,458,489
Telegraphers' National Bank, 1923 St. Louis, Mo.		Railroad Telegraphers	500,000	5,541,816
Brotherhoods' Cooperative National Bank, Spokane, Wash.	1923	Railroad unions	200,000	2,556,773
Brotherhood Savings & Trust Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.	1923	Railroad unions	155,700	541,061
Brotherhood Railway Clerks' National Bank, Cincinnati, Ohio	1923	Railway Clerks	200,000	3,260,385
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Cooperative Trust Co., New York City	1923	Locomotive Engineers	700,000	6,062,628
United Labor Bank & Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind.	1924	Labor groups	225,000	447,650
International Union Bank, 1924 New York City		Ladies' Garment Workers and other needle trades	250,000	3,548,075
First National Bank in Bakersfield, Bakersfield, Calif.	1924	Labor groups	100,000	1,512,406
Labor National Bank, Great Falls, Mont.	1924	Labor groups	100,000	424,115
Eagle Rock State Bank, Los Angeles, Calif.	1924	Labor groups	50,000	.....

<sup>1</sup> Condition on or near December 31, 1925. Collected by the research department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

<sup>2</sup> Closed May 4, 1925, because of "frozen" real estate loans. Assets, \$2,732,607.28; liabilities, \$2,456,238.62.

<sup>3</sup> September 28, 1925.

<i>Name and Location</i>	<i>Founded</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Deposits</i>
Farmers' & Workingmen's Savings Bank, Jackson, Mich.	1924	Railroad unions	100,000	595,593
People's National Bank, Los Angeles, Calif.	1924	Labor groups	500,000	2,627,964
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' National Bank, Boston, Mass.	1924	Locomotive Engineers	500,000	3,004,436
Labor Cooperative National Bank, Paterson, N. J.	1924	Labor groups	200,000	3,003,669
Brotherhood State Bank, Kansas City, Kansas	1924	Labor groups	100,000	503,171
Brotherhood Cooperative National Bank of Portland, Portland, Ore.	1925	Locomotive Engineers	200,000	1,639,897
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Bank & Trust Co., Birmingham, Ala.	1925	Locomotive Engineers	500,000	1,568,843
Brotherhood State Bank of Spokane, Spokane, Wash.	1925	Locomotive Engineers	25,000	179,691
Amalgamated Bank of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.	1925	Amalgamated Clothing Workers	3,658	67,027
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Title and Trust Co., Philadelphia, Pa.	1925	Locomotive Engineers	500,000	797,226
Labor Cooperative National Bank, Newark, N. J.	1925	New Jersey Fed., 68 locals	250,000	1,262,742
Brotherhood Cooperative National Bank, Tacoma, Wash.	1925	Locomotive Engineers	200,000	1,775,248
The American Bank, Toledo, Ohio	1925	Flint Glass Workers	200,000	307,466
Brotherhood Bank and Trust Co., Seattle, Wash.	1925	Locomotive Engineers	250,000	627,188
Labor Bank & Trust Co., Houston, Texas	1925	Labor groups	100,000	210,443
Hawkins County Bank, Rogersville, Tenn.	1925	Pressmen	.....	.....
<i>Banks Partially Controlled by Labor</i>				
Commercial National Bank, Washington, D. C.	1904	Machinists	1,000,000	14,592,281
Empire Trust Co., New York City	1904	Locomotive Engineers	4,000,000	80,747,975

**Workers' Deposits.**—"Deposits" given in the table include commercial deposits as well as workers' savings. In the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' banks, for example, 86 per cent of the deposits are by others than organized workers.

Deposits in the People's National Bank of Los Angeles are counted as payments on an endowment life insurance policy. The Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago insures each depositor for \$5,000 against accidents. The Brotherhood banks announced "a new combination of savings bank and insurance policy feature, believed to be original in this country."

## INVESTMENT COMPANIES

**Growth.**—During 1925 there was a large increase in investment companies organized or controlled by labor unions, mainly by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Table 134—Labor Investment Companies, 1925

<i>Name and Location</i>	<i>Founded</i>	<i>Controlling Body</i>	<i>Capital</i>
Brotherhood Holding Co., 1922 Cleveland, Ohio		Locomotive Engineers	\$1,000,000
Brotherhood Investment Co., 1923 Cleveland, Ohio <sup>1</sup>		Locomotive Engineers	10,000,000
Pacific Brotherhood Investment Co., Portland, Ore.	1924	Locomotive Engineers	3,000,000
New York Empire Co., Inc., 1924 New York City		Locomotive Engineers	500,000
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Securities Corporation of New York, New York City	1925	Locomotive Engineers	3,000,000
Southern Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Securities Corporation, Birmingham, Ala.	1925	Locomotive Engineers	2,000,000
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Securities Corporation of Pa., Philadelphia, Pa.	1925	Locomotive Engineers	3,000,000
Dispatchers' Investment Co., 1925 Chicago, Ill.		Train Dispatchers	2,500,000
Union Labor Investment Corporation, Jersey City, N. J.	1925	Labor groups	5,000,000
California Brotherhood Investment Corporation, San Francisco, Calif.	1926	Locomotive Engineers	1,000,000

**Engineers' Collieries.**—Members of the Locomotive Engineers own 70 per cent of the stock of the Coal River Collieries Company, reported a committee of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. on August 1. The company owns three mines in the Kanawha region of southern West Virginia and one in Kentucky. It has \$3,000,000 stock and in 1925 claimed to have a capacity of 875,000 tons a year. It refuses to pay the United Mine Workers' scale, on the ground that it would bankrupt the company.

**Housing.**—In December, 1924, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, the Fur Workers, and the Pocketbook Workers, backed by the International Union Bank, took up a plan of cooperative housing for their members in New York City. In March, 1925, they announced that as the first step they were about to build a \$2,000,000 220-apartment house in the Bronx. The rent was to be about \$14 a room a month. Work was suspended when the conflict between the administration of the Ladies' Garment Workers and their Communist members broke into the open. In August the Rockefeller Foundation took over the plan. It stated its willingness to turn the building back to the unions at cost when it was finished.

<sup>1</sup> Total assets of Brotherhood Investment Company of Cleveland, December 31, 1924, were \$14,885,369.49.

<sup>2</sup> Offices at Portland, Ore., and Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane, Wash.

## INSURANCE

**Union Labor Life Insurance Company.**—Since 1913, when the Seattle Convention authorized a study of the subject, the American Federation of Labor has been investigating the costs of insurance by private companies and the advisability of the Federation's setting up an agency to provide insurance for union members on a non-profit basis. Pursuant to a decision of the El Paso (1924) Convention, a voluntary conference of interested unions met at Washington on July 21, 1925, to consider the formation of a joint insurance enterprise, based upon the American experience table of mortality, as against the old fraternal, assessment plan.

The insurance committee of the A. F. of L., consisting of Matthew Woll and George W. Perkins, reported to the conference that union members were paying more than \$100,000,000 yearly in insurance premiums for themselves and families. More than 90 per cent of this insurance is of the "industrial" form, on which weekly collections are made, and costs from two to five times as much as it should. About 85 per cent of the A. F. of L. unions were reported to be operating some sort of relief funds, most of which supplied small benefits of from \$50 to \$350. A few which provide larger benefits have been forced, by the increasing average age, to levy burdensome assessments on their members.

Formation of a Union Labor Life Insurance Company was recommended, both as a saving of many millions of dollars in insurance costs, and as a profitable investment opportunity. A stock company plan was accepted. The stock is to be sold to trade unionists and to labor organizations "not dual or seceding in character." Stock sales were limited to 800 shares to any one national union, 80 to any central labor body or local union, and 10 to any individual. The various usual forms of policies are to be dealt in, including health and accident; but monthly instead of weekly premium payments will be established for the smaller policies. There will be no branch offices, and the paid agency force is to be composed largely of trade union officers and others affiliated with unions. The company is to be incorporated when \$600,000 worth of stock has been subscribed for.

**Union Group Insurance.**—A committee of the Flint Glass Workers in 1925 found that most insurance laws allow group insurance only by an employer and that only four companies were selling group insurance to unions. The unions were:

Table 135—Union Group Insurance, 1925

Union	Members	Insurance	Insured	Policies	Premium
P. O. Clerks.....	35,000	Voluntary	4,000	\$500	\$8 for \$500
Leather Workers....	2,000	Voluntary	105	\$250, \$500	\$8 for \$500
Electrical Workers..	140,000	Compulsory	75,000	Grow from \$300 to \$1,000	\$10.80
(own company)		under 55 yrs.			
Machinists .....	79,000	Voluntary	12,200	\$500	\$6 for \$500

On May 13 the A. F. of L. insurance committee urged the national unions not to be persuaded into group insurance until the union insurance plan was ready.

**Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund.**—The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States, which is predominantly German, was founded in 1884 and now has over 57,000 members in 346 branches in 27 states and the District of Columbia. It gives a death benefit of \$250 and sick benefits totaling \$360-\$900 over 80 weeks, \$6-\$15 a week for 40 weeks, and half rate for the remaining 40. At the end of 1925 the Fund's resources were over \$2,400,000 and in 41 years it had paid out \$12,000,000. It publishes a monthly *Solidaritæet*. William Spuhr is financial secretary, and William Meyer is chairman of the National Executive Committee.

**Workmen's Circle.**—The Workmen's Circle is a Jewish radical fraternal order which considers itself part of the Socialist and trade union movement. It insures its members against sickness and death. The needle trades have had lean years and about 7,000 members dropped out of the organization during 1925. It made up the loss with new members, but immigration is so restricted that it has not risen far above 85,000. The Circle has undertaken a campaign among the English-speaking second generation. Clubs are formed. English pages have been added to its magazine.

The 1925 Jubilee Convention, May 3-9, in New York City, marked the Circle's 25th anniversary. There was a delegate for each 100 members, instead of for each 500 as usual. They elected N. Fineman president and B. Lilienblum vice-president, and re-elected Joseph Baskin as secretary and as editor of *The Friend*, and Samuel Silverberg as treasurer.

The Workmen's Circle at the end of 1925 had about \$4,000,000 in its benefit funds. During the year 10,000 members drew sick benefits, out of 75,000 entitled to them. The national office paid out \$325,000 and collected only \$310,000, since the members are growing older and more subject to sickness, and few young people join. The 1925 Convention raised the assessment from \$1.05 for three months to \$1.20. Death benefit assessments were \$325,000 and payments only \$98,000. The national office pays sick benefits

of \$8 a week for 15 weeks. Three-quarters of the local branches pay in addition \$3-\$5 a week.

The Circle's tuberculosis sanitarium at Liberty, N. Y., keeps up 75 beds, with a budget of \$150,000 a year. The 1925 Convention voted \$250,000 to add cottages to the present lean-tos. It also voted \$60,000 to help hospitals and asylums in Europe and America, and \$10,000 to help hospitals in the United States which care for its members.

About 5,000 young children of members attend nearly 100 Workmen's Circle schools, 19 of them in New York City. They teach the Jewish language and literature, and Jewish history and culture. The local circles have been getting a subsidy of \$30,000 for these schools from the national office, which levied a special assessment of 10 cents, now 15 cents, a quarter on each member. There is a summer camp for children near Newburg, N. Y. For adults the branches arrange occasional concerts, Sunday forums, and lectures with discussion. The Circle gives money to help the non-official Jewish schools in Latvia, Palestine, Poland, Rumania, and Russia. For this the 1925 Convention voted to assess each member 10 cents a quarter beginning January 1, 1926, a total of \$30,000 a year.

## X. COOPERATION

### SPREAD OF MOVEMENT.

**Industrial Groups.**—The number of cooperative societies in the United States is not increasing rapidly, but the movement is consolidating and the idea is spreading among industrial workers.

The two outstanding industrial groups succeeding with stores are the coal miners in the central part of the country, and the iron and copper miners of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The railroad transportation brotherhoods have done extensive educational work through their journals; railroad men's cooperative stores have been established at terminal and junction points of several large railroad systems. There are probably 200 or 300 miners' stores, and almost as many among the railroad men.

Cooperatives of industrial workers are most successful in Illinois, Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. Three-fourths of all the workers' cooperatives in the country are in these states, but there are some societies in every state.

**Language Groups.**—The Finnish workers and farmers have done more than any other one group of immigrants to promote successful cooperative societies. They have nearly 100 stores in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, half a dozen or more in Massachusetts, and 10 or 15 scattered through Pennsylvania, Ohio, South Dakota, Montana, Washington and one or two other states. In Superior, Wis., they have a wholesale in which 63 societies own stock.

The English and Scotch, as individuals, and Swedish and German groups, have done a great deal to promote cooperation in this country, but there are few societies composed largely of these nationalities. Jewish workers have several societies, practically all bakeries, and Jewish farmers have several cooperative fire insurance societies. Bohemian cooperatives at Cleveland and Dillonvale, Ohio, Chicago, and one or two other places are among the largest in the country. Italians have several small stores, chiefly in the East. There are several Polish socie-

ties, only semi-cooperative in character. Lithuanians have 15 or 20 stores, and Russians perhaps a dozen.

A typical example of cooperation strictly confined to specific language groups exists in Lawrence, Mass. There four distinct societies are run by Jewish, Italian, Lithuanian, and Russian textile workers. Between these four groups of cooperators there is no cooperation whatever.

## COOPERATIVE DISTRIBUTION

**Stores.**—Stores for the sale of groceries, meat, and general merchandise number between 2,000 and 2,500 throughout the United States. In the railroad districts such stores generally carry a complete line of general merchandise, sometimes including hardware, clothing, furniture, and farm machinery. In the cities they usually carry only groceries and meat, and possibly a restricted line of kitchen utensils. Stores have not grown in number during recent years, but a large gain in volume of business and substantial reserves are recorded by many of the better stores. In certain sections the stores are uniting for joint purchase and educational work as they have not done before.

Among the more successful cooperative store societies is the Cloquet Cooperative Society, of Cloquet, Minn., which has a membership of 700, a share capital of \$33,000, and in 1925 did a business of approximately \$400,000. The members are largely Finnish, and the society is an amalgamation of two neighboring societies effected two years ago. The New Cooperative Company of Dillonvale, Ohio, which is Czechoslovak in membership, has share capital of \$22,000, loan capital of \$73,000, and a reserve fund of \$78,000. It is 18 years old, and has two branch stores in Dillonvale and two other branches in small near-by towns. Sales for 1925 were more than \$300,000, and net surplus for the year about \$20,000. The Workingmen's Cooperative Company of Cleveland, which is also Czechoslovakian, operates six stores throughout the city, has a membership of 1,100, and does about \$250,000 worth of business annually. The United Cooperative Society of Maynard, Mass., which is Finnish and American, has a paid in capital of \$25,000, a reserve fund of \$17,000, and the combined annual sales of its grocery, meat, bakery, milk, furniture, restaurant, and coal departments are \$360,000. The United Cooperative Society of Fitchburg, Mass., has four branch stores, but is not engaged in so many lines of business. Its annual sales are slightly less than those of the Maynard society.

The Chicago Cooperative Book Stores Company is organized on the Rochdale cooperative plan and is very successful. Membership in 1924 was 250, and sales were \$50,000. Late in 1925 an effort was made to organize a similar cooperative in Minneapolis under the name of the Modern Book Store.

**Milk.**—Cooperative milk distribution by consumers' societies is confined to less than 10 cities. The Finns in Maynard and Fitchburg, Mass., Ashtabula, Ohio, Waukegan, Ill., Astoria, Ore., have cooperative distribution of milk and other dairy products, and there are a few other groups of Americans and mixed nationalities.

The outstanding example of cooperative milk distribution is that of the Franklin Cooperative Creamery Association of Minneapolis, organized in 1920 and doing a business in 1925 of about \$3,500,000. The capital stock of this company is now a little less than \$1,000,000 and total assets are \$1,800,000. The creamery is the largest distributor of milk in the Twin Cities. It employs 450 men and women in its two large plants, and pays the highest wages in the city. It deals exclusively with the Twin Cities Milk Producers' Organization, an association of farmers, and pays them a top price for their product. Milk in Minneapolis retails at a price much below the average for large American cities, and its quality is far above the average. There are now 180 wagons distributing milk, cream, butter, cheese, and ice cream throughout the city. The association maintains an educational department and in 1925 organized a health clinic which provides free medical examination and advice for children of school age from families of members or customers of the Franklin Creamery. This is the largest consumers' cooperative in the United States and is doing some of the most significant work done anywhere on the continent.

The two-year agreement of the Minneapolis Milk Drivers' Union with the employers, including the Franklin Cooperative Creamery, ran out on September 1, 1925. The union demanded an increase of straight pay from \$35 to \$42 a week; abolition of the commission system; two weeks' vacation with pay; strict eight-hour day; and some minor demands. In the negotiations the manager of Cooperative Creamery, himself a member of the union, maintained that the new demands were excessive and would hurt the association and the consumers. The union finally yielded, accepting one week's paid vacation, other matters to remain as they were.

The Cooperative Dairy of Cleveland was taken over in 1924 and is being operated by the Locomotive Engineers' Bank.

**Coal.**—Coal is being handled effectively and in large quantities by many of the farmers' societies and by some of the store cooperatives organized in the coal mining territories. Typical examples of other cooperatives distributing coal to their members are the railroad men's cooperatives in Villa Grove, Ill., and Spooner, Wis., and the Finnish textile workers in Maynard, Mass. During the past two years the Cleveland Cooperative Coal Company has been organized and is distributing in large quantities to the workers of that city. An attempt is now being made in Cincinnati to organize a similar society.

**Wholesales.**—There are several cooperative wholesales supplying the stores. The largest is the Farmers' Union Cooperative Exchange of Omaha, Neb., which did a business of \$1,800,000 in 1925 in general merchandise, farm machinery, seeds, fertilizer, coal, fencing, and building materials.

The Farmers' Union Jobbing Association of Kansas does a smaller business in the same general commodities. The Associated Grange Warehouse of Seattle feeds more than 60 stores in that territory with general merchandise and miscellaneous farmers' supplies, to the amount of approximately \$500,000 a year. The Cooperative Central Exchange of Superior, Wis., organized for the Finnish stores, now sells to more than 100 societies in the three north-central states. It has a capital paid in by the local societies amounting to \$24,000, and did a business in 1925 of \$835,000. The Central States Cooperative Wholesale Society, organized among the miners' stores in Illinois, has practically ceased to function as a wholesale, and confines its work almost entirely to educational activity and centralized accounting for the local stores.

## AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION

**Marketing.**—A most successful form of cooperation in the agricultural sections of the country is cooperative marketing. There are approximately 12,000 marketing societies selling goods to the value of approximately \$2,500,000,000 a year. Consumers' cooperation among the farmers has its greatest strength in certain restricted territories where particular educational work has been done.

**Stores.**—The strongest group of farmers' stores is that organized among the members of the Farmers' Cooperative and Educational Union of America, in Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Kentucky, and a few other states. There are 800 or

1,000 of these stores, some of them individual consumers' cooperatives, others adjuncts of elevator or creamery associations. The Grangers are now actively promoting consumers' cooperatives in only a few states. Washington is in the lead among the Granger states with a total of 50 or 60 stores, and a wholesale establishment in Seattle. The American Society of Equity, though primarily interested in marketing, has promoted a good many distributive cooperatives. The Farm-Labor Union in the Southern states is a new organization having some success. The Farm Bureau, originally a county organization, has within the past few years developed many state organizations and a National Farm Bureau Federation. This organization, in some instances, receives subsidies from the local government, is in most districts very conservative, and its national organization has frequently worked with huge capitalist interests.

The farmers' stores are most numerous in the Central and North Central states and in the vicinity of the state of Washington. In the South, South-East, and East the farmers are doing very little with consumers' cooperatives. The most progressive societies generally appear among the farmer immigrants from Northern and Central Europe.

**Purchasing Societies.**—There are local federations of farmers' buying societies for the purchase of farm supplies and equipment. Outstanding among these are the Grange League Federation Exchange of New York state, and the Eastern States Cooperative Exchange in New England. Each of these buying organizations does an annual business of several million dollars in seeds, fertilizers, farm machinery and general equipment.

**Ginning.**—The Farmers' Cooperative Gin Association in Arizona conducts a cotton-gin. Another cooperative cotton gin is being operated at Munday, Tex.

**Llano Colony.**—The Llano Cooperative Colony in Louisiana suffered a heavy loss when factory buildings valued at \$100,000 burned down on April 14, 1925. Because of low water pressure, insurance rates had been prohibitive and no insurance was carried. A brick-factory with a capacity of 20,000 bricks daily was later opened.

The colony suffered a severe loss in the death, on October 26, of Job Harriman, its founder. Disappointment over the disagreements in the colony during the previous year, when Commonwealth College withdrew to Mena, Ark., is believed to have contributed to his decease.

## COOPERATION PRODUCTION AND SERVICE

**Bakeries.**—Cooperative bakeries are organized chiefly among the Jewish and Finnish nationalities, although there are a few outstanding exceptions. Bakeries in existence in 1925 were:

Table 136—Cooperative Bakeries in the United States, 1925

	<i>Members</i>	<i>Paid in Capital</i>	<i>Annual Sales</i>
Hebrew Cooperative Bakery, Brockton, Mass..	300	\$ 2,000	\$ 36,000
Hebrew Cooperative Bakery, Lawrence, Mass.	200	1,000	28,000
Workingmen's Cooperative Bakery, Lynn, Mass.	300	5,500	50,000
Labor League Cooperative Bakery, New Bedford, Mass.....	200	4,700	25,000
Jewish Workers' Cooperative Bakery, Springfield, Mass. ....	325	6,000	103,000
Labor League Cooperative Bakery, Worcester, Mass. ....	220	2,770	65,000
United Cooperative Society, Fitchburg, Mass. <sup>1</sup>	750	18,600	48,500
United Cooperative Society, Maynard, Mass. <sup>1</sup>	620	25,000	36,000
Workers' Cooperative Union, Lawrence, Mass. ...	...	3,200	48,000
Cooperative Bakeries of Brownsville & East New York, N. Y.....	2,000	10,000	227,000
Purity Cooperation Society, Paterson, N. J... 2,000	2,000	8,000	220,000
Cooperative League of Newark, N. J..... 1,500	1,500	7,000	140,000
Finnish Cooperative Trading Association, Brooklyn, N. Y. <sup>1</sup> .....	1,800	44,500	186,600
Consumers' Cooperative Services, N. Y. City <sup>1</sup>	2,000	30,000	.....
Purity Cooperative Bakery, Syracuse, N. Y... 300	300	4,000	50,000
Utica Cooperative Society, Utica, N. Y. <sup>1</sup> .... 350	350	30,000	2122,000
Woodridge Farmers' Cooperative Bakery, Woodridge, N. Y.....	80	6,500	40,000
Cleveland Cooperative Association, Cleveland, Ohio .....	1,000	....	60,000
Soo Cooperative Mercantile Association, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich. <sup>1</sup> .....	700	34,500	150,000
Cooperative Central Exchange, Superior, Wis. <sup>3</sup> ...	...	24,000	65,000
Cooperative Consumers' League, Los Angeles, Calif. ....	700	3,500	50,000

For a few years the Jewish bakeries of Massachusetts had a central federation which, a year ago, dissolved. At present there is practically no joint buying of flour or other materials used in these bakeries.

**Restaurants and Boarding Houses.**—Cooperative restaurants and boarding houses, although two distinct types of organization, have similar purposes, and can be grouped together. Most of them are included in the following list:

<sup>1</sup> Society handles other kinds of business in addition to products of bakery.

<sup>2</sup> Includes grocery sales.

<sup>3</sup> Membership is composed of 60 retail societies.

**Table 137—Cooperative Restaurants and Boarding Houses in the United States**

United Cooperative Society, Maynard, Mass.....	Finnish
Cooperative Restaurant, Fitchburg, Mass.....	"
Cooperative Boarding House, Gardner, Mass.....	"
Cooperative Boarding House, Worcester, Mass.....	"
Consumers' Cooperative Services, Inc., New York, N. Y.....	American
Finnish Cooperative Trading Company, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	Finnish
Brooklyn Workers' Cooperative Home, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	"
Finnish Cooperative Boarding Association, Cleveland, Ohio.....	"
Cooperative Toivo Company, Detroit, Mich.....	"
Cooperative Restaurant, Rockford, Ill.....	Swedish
Idrott Cooperative Cafe, Chicago, Ill.....	"
Cooperative Boarding House, Waukegan, Ill.....	Finnish
Workers' Club, Allouez, Wis.....	"
Tarmo Boarding Company, Superior, Wis.....	"
Kunto Club House, Bovey, Minn.....	"
Toverilla Company, Duluth, Minn.....	"
Rentola Company, Duluth, Minn.....	"
Tarmo Trading Association, Eveleth, Minn.....	"

The outstanding example of cooperative restaurants in the United States is the Consumers' Cooperative Services, Inc., now operating four branches in New York City, with total annual food sales of \$406,000. The membership of this association is 2,000. Its share capital is \$30,000 and its reserve fund is \$50,000. For the past two years the Consumer's Services has been operating a laundry department. In 1924 it organized its own bakery to supply its branch cafeterias with bread, muffins, and desserts. In 1925 a lending library department was organized and is being operated from one of the cafeterias. During the last few weeks of 1925 a charter was procured from the state banking department for the organization of a credit union to be run in connection with this association. Plans are under way for the organization of a food kitchen and delicatessen store early in 1926 under the same auspices.

The restaurants in Maynard and Fitchburg, Mass., and a few other places are special departments of larger cooperative organizations. This is also true of the restaurant belonging to the Finnish Cooperative Trading Association of Brooklyn. The Finnish cooperative boarding houses are organized usually on a non-stock plan, and the carrying cost of food and overhead expenses is divided among the members at the end of the week. A few of the Finnish cooperative restaurants have a combination of a la carte, table service, and weekly board.

**Housing.**—Cooperative housing in the United States is confined almost exclusively to Greater New York. The pioneering work was done seven or eight years ago by the Finnish workers in Brooklyn. Since the construction of their first two

houses, during the war, the Finnish workers have built or purchased approximately 25 other houses in Brooklyn, Harlem, and the Bronx sections of the city, and other groups have emulated them. Groups of middle class or professional people have also undertaken this form of cooperation.

The commercial type of so-called "cooperative" building is very well known in all large cities of the country, especially in New York, but there is very little in common between these enterprises and genuine cooperatives organized on a non-profit basis and controlled completely by the tenants. There are certain border-line cases which have a few cooperative features, but the following is an incomplete list of real cooperative apartment houses in Greater New York:

**Table 138—Cooperative Apartment Houses in Greater New York**

*New York City*

Turva Society, 2042 Fifth Ave.	Consumerized Homes, 1884 Belmont Ave.
Unity House, 135 Lexington Ave.	Consumers' Cooperative Housing Association, Bedford & Barrow Sts.
Workmen's Mutual Aid Association, 1786 Lexington Ave.	Ethical Culture Cooperative Society, 579 West 65th St.
Rational Workmen's Cooperative Society, 1815 Madison Ave.	Yiddish Cooperative Heim Gesellschaft, 406 East 149th St.
105-117 East 102d Street Corporation	Cooperative Corporation, 167 West 136th St.
Beekman Hill Cooperative Association, 343-349 East 50th St.	Suoja, 1 West 127th St.
Varma Cooperative Homes, Inc., 2056 Fifth Ave.	

*Brooklyn*

517 49th Street Club, Inc.	Sunset Homes Association, 705 41st St.
Berkshire Court, Inc., 40th St. and Seventh Ave.	Sunset View Association, 605 41st St.
Florence Homes Association, 540 40th St.	Corner View Association, 4401 Fourth Ave.
528 40th St.	Hillside Association, 566 44th St.
Park Hill	Parkslope Association, 570 44th St.
Advance, 870 43rd St.	Pleasant View Association, 574 44th St.
Baltic, 4113 Seventh Ave.	Hilltop Association, 4404 Sixth Ave.
Sunset, 705 41st St.	Broadview Association, 4313 Ninth Ave.
Victory Homes Company, 671 46th St.	Topview Association, 807 44th St.
Alku Cooperative Apartments, 814 43rd St.	Linden Heights Association, 702 45th St.
Cooperative Tenants' Union, Inc., 682 Lexington Ave.	Sun Garden Home, 655 41st St.
466 49th Street Club, Inc.	Eight Family Home Association, 546 40th St.
Riverview Cooperative Association, 41st St. and Seventh Ave.	Sunnyside First Cooperative Housing Association, Inc., Carolin St., Long Island City
Sunset Court Association, 4002-4012 Seventh Ave.	Sunnyside Second Cooperative Housing Association, Inc., Carolin St., Long Island City
Bay View Association, 671 47th St.	
684 Lexington Avenue Cooperative Tenants' Union	

Outside of New York the development has been very slow. Milwaukee attempted cooperative housing in the Garden Homes

Company, but the members recently voted to purchase their houses individually from the company. A group in Washington, D. C., is attempting to promote a cooperative housing association.

**Telephones.**—Cooperative telephone companies, organized by the farmers, number several hundred. This movement is very popular in the rural districts and has been of incalculable value to the agricultural workers who are not reached by the large private telephone corporations.

A movement closely parallel to that of cooperative telephone companies is that of collective transmission of electric light and power in some of the western states.

**Insurance.**—Cooperative, or mutual, insurance companies organized among workers and farmers have attained large dimensions. They number about 2,000.

Such societies are organized among farmers to protect barns, crops, or herds against fire, hail, tornado, frost and wind. The total membership of these farmers' organizations is approximately 5,000,000, and the insurance they have written amounts to about \$8,500,000,000. In the cities there are almost no genuinely cooperative fire insurance societies for the protection of buildings, but New York is the headquarters for the Workers' Furniture Fire Insurance Society which is one of the oldest cooperatives in the country, having been organized in 1872 by a group of German Socialists. The membership of this society is now 43,750, in 50 branches throughout the country, and the value of property protected is approximately \$40,000,000.

In the field of life insurance, the Electrical Workers' Union in 1924 and the American Federation of Labor headquarters in Washington, D. C., in 1925 have established insurance companies which, however, do not have a genuine cooperative form of organization.<sup>1</sup> Of the mutual or fraternal life insurance companies throughout the country, one of the most cooperative is the New Era Association of Grand Rapids, Mich., organized in 1897 and having a membership of 33,500, protected to the amount of \$40,000,000.

**Banking.**—There are two types of banking organizations popularly called cooperative. The first is the building and loan associations, of which there are 12,000 in the country with assets of almost \$5,000,000,000. These serve approximately 9,000,000 people, pay a good rate of interest to depositors, and provide loans for building purposes to those who need them.

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<sup>1</sup> See Labor Banking, Investment, and Insurance, p. 328-329.

The second type of the semi-cooperative bank is the labor bank, promoted and controlled by organized labor. There are now about 40 of these banking institutions, with total assets of nearly \$150,000,000. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the pioneer in this field, controls a dozen of these labor banks.

More genuinely cooperative banking organizations are the credit unions—first organized in New Hampshire and Massachusetts 15 years ago and now in existence in several states. Massachusetts has about 100 credit unions, New York has 115, other states have anywhere from one to 50. There are now 24 states which have enabling legislation that permits the organization of credit unions, and their rapid development promises to be one of the outstanding achievements in the cooperative movement during the next few years. In New York state, for instance, in 1924, the total membership of these credit unions was 67,500, total resources were \$10,500,000 and total share capital was \$8,578,000. At the present time the Banking Department of the state of New York is trying to restrict the rapid progress of this type of cooperative organization.

**Laundries.**—Of the many cooperative laundries organized since 1919 only two seem to be now in existence. They are the Union Laundry and Dry Cleaning Company in Minneapolis, and the laundry department of the Consumers' Cooperative Services in New York. The former is experiencing some difficulties because of under-capitalization. The latter, although not yet showing a surplus from operations, is well supported by the restaurant branch of the association.

**Schools.**—Of the three schools organized on the cooperative plan so that students might own and administer the institution, only one still survives—the Cooperative Educational Institute of Brooklyn, N. Y. This school has 250 students regularly attending its classes, preparing for regents' examinations. The student body and the membership is entirely Jewish.

## FRAUDULENT COOPERATIVES

**Stores.**—Between 1918 and 1923 a great many large fraudulent cooperative organizations were promoted. The largest of these, the Consumers' Society of America, was declared bankrupt in 1922 and since then has been making a futile effort to reorganize. This society sold stock to the value of \$28,000,000, and actually collected \$13,000,000. The State Marketing Association in Milwaukee, Wis., an indirect offshoot of the Consumers' Society of America and as un-cooperative as its pre-

decessor, failed in 1925. The two previous years saw the failure in Philadelphia of the Consumers' Association of America and the National Cooperative Stores.

At present another promotion scheme is on foot in New York City to organize a "cooperative chain store system" wherein the people in the political sub-districts will be organized to finance and support a local store. Considerable of the existing political machinery of the Republican and Democratic Parties may be used in floating this enterprise.

**Bank.**—The Producers' and Consumers' Bank, in Philadelphia, a so-called cooperative organized in 1922 by labor union interests, was thrown into the hands of receivers in the summer of 1925, and stockholders are likely to receive very little or nothing. The Cooperative League and other responsible agencies endeavored in vain to prevent the workers of Philadelphia from launching this institution under a deed of trust organization.

## COOPERATIVE LEAGUES

**National Body.**—The Cooperative League of the United States of America, organized in 1916 and incorporated in New York in 1923, is continuing its educational work. A 20-page national monthly magazine, *Cooperation*, has been published since 1915, and a monthly four-page propaganda paper, the *Home Cooperator*, since 1921. The League has a membership of approximately 150 societies and 650 individual members. It publishes various books and pamphlets, sends speakers and technical advisers into the field, mails to its affiliated societies a monthly bulletin of technical advice, sends out a news release to 300 farmer and labor papers, maintains a legal department and an auditing bureau, provides articles for various magazines and papers, and sends out speakers.

An accounting bureau was initiated by the League early in 1925. A full time paid director of the bureau has been employed since October to install proper bookkeeping systems for cooperatives which need such help and to audit periodically the books of many of the societies. The bureau has been more than 50 per cent. self-supporting from the beginning.

The Cooperative League held national Congresses in 1918 at Springfield, Ill., 1920 at Cincinnati, 1922 at Chicago, and 1924 at New York, attended by delegates from societies in many parts of the country. These national Congresses have done a great deal to promote unity within the American cooperative movement. The 1926 Congress will probably be held somewhere within the territory of the Northern States' Cooperative League.

**District Leagues.**—Local district leagues have been organized for the promotion of educational work and joint purchasing in smaller territories. The Northern States' Cooperative League, the oldest and best established of these district federations, has an individual membership of approximately 12,000. The Northern States' League sends several speakers through its territory to attend meetings and give general service. It holds district meetings once a year, and meetings for managers of stores twice a year. In 1923, 1924, and 1925, it conducted a training school in Minneapolis. In 1925 the League organized a correspondence course, published the first *Northern States' Year Book*, and began the publication of a bi-monthly four-page paper called *The Northern States' Cooperator*. It also formed a central Minnesota Buying Federation for the societies situated too far away from Superior to buy advantageously from the Central Exchange.

**Table 139—Societies Affiliated with the Northern States' Cooperative League**

Name	Organized	Affiliated	No. Members (Stockhold- No. of ers) Employees Dec. 31, Dec. 31, 1924 1924	
Associated Textiles, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn.....	1923	1924	403	35
Cloquet Cooperative Society, Cloquet, Minn.....	1910 (1921)	1922	679	17
Cooperative Central Exchange, Superior, Wis.:				
Wholesale .....	1917	1922	1 60	26
36 affiliated regular incorpo- rated societies <sup>2</sup> .....		1922	7,850	180
24 affiliated buying clubs.....		1922	3500	16
Farmers' & Consumers' Coopera- tive Association, Brule, Wis...	1920	1922	83	2
Farmers' Cooperative Company, Wright, Minn.....	1919	1923	116	3
Franklin Cooperative Creamery As- sociation, Minneapolis, Minn.. (1921)	1919	1922	5,269	415
Spooner Cooperative Association, Spooner, Wis. ....	1920	1923	44	2
Union Consumers' Cooperative So- ciety, Duluth, Minn.....	1919	1922	277	4
Wentworth Farmers' Cooperative Association, Wentworth, Wis..	1919	1922	90	1
Workers' & Farmers' Cooperative Association, Two Harbors, Minn. ....	1917	1923	260	8
Total .....			11,571	709

<sup>1</sup> Cooperative societies.

<sup>2</sup> Three of these societies are also affiliated with the League directly.

<sup>3</sup> Estimated.

The Ohio Cooperative League, also organized in 1922, held no convention in either 1924 or 1925.

At the end of 1925 a move was under way in Illinois to reorganize the educational department of the Central States Cooperative Wholesale Society into a district league to be known as the Central States Cooperative League. This educational department is publishing a paper, *The United Consumer*, and is doing accounting work for many of the stores. It receives substantial financial support from many of the strongest cooperatives in the state.

**Table 140—Societies Affiliated with the Educational Department of the Central States Cooperative Wholesale Society, Illinois**

Consumers' Mutual Aid Guild	Producers and Consumers Cooperative Association of Mascoutah
Beardstown Cooperative Mercantile Association	Rockford Cooperatives
Breese Cooperative Society	Riverton Cooperative Society
Bloomington Cooperative Society	Staunton Union Supply and Fuel Company
Farmington Cooperative Society	Sparta Cooperative Mercantile Association
Glen Carbon Cooperative Society	Schram City Cooperative Society
Hillsboro Cooperative Society	Tovey Rochdale Cooperative Society
Kincaid Cooperative Association	Villa Grove Cooperative Society
Marion Cooperative Society	Waukegan Cooperative Trading Co.
Maryville Cooperative Society	
Mt. Olive Cooperative Society	

The Eastern States Cooperative League was organized in February, 1924, at a convention in Springfield, Mass., of 16 societies from New England, New York, and New Jersey. By the close of 1925 nine of these societies had adopted a set of by-laws and paid fully or in part for their first year's dues to the district league. A buying committee has investigated the advantages of joint purchase of flour and other materials for cooperative bakeries.

**Table 141—Societies Affiliated with the Eastern States Cooperative District League**

Finnish Cooperative Trading Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.	United Cooperative Society, Worcester, Mass.
Cooperative Bakeries of Brownsville and East New York, Brooklyn, N. Y.	Consumers' Cooperative Housing Association, New York, N. Y.
Utica Cooperative Society, Utica, N. Y.	Consumerized Homes, New York, N. Y.
United Cooperative Society, Maynard, Mass.	Consumers' Cooperative Services, Inc., New York, N. Y.
United Cooperative Society, Fitchburg, Mass.	Labor League Cooperative Bakery, Worcester, Mass.

## COOPERATIVE TRAINING SCHOOLS

**Full Time Schools.**—The Cooperative Central Exchange at Superior, Wis., organized the first full time training school in 1918 with a short course in bookkeeping for cooperative managers and clerks, conducted in Finnish. The Exchange conducted similar schools every year until 1925, steadily enlarging the scope of the work. About 175 men and women have been graduated from the school, many of whom are managing societies in the territory.

The school of the Northern States' League, organized in 1923 at the plant of the Franklin Cooperative Creamery in Minneapolis, had in 1925 a registration of 25 for its eight-week course. Two of the students had university degrees. The subjects taught included theory, principles and methods of cooperation; history of cooperation; organization, administration and management of cooperative stores; bookkeeping; administration and management of cooperative industry. Classes were conducted for seven hours a day, six days a week; often they exceeded these limits.

Some effort was made to have the Eastern States League organize a training school for the winter of 1925-26, but there was not sufficient support.

**Lectures.**—In the autumn of 1925 the Cooperative Trading Company of Waukegan, Ill., held a week's course of evening lectures for its employees and directors. Average attendance was 35, and the expenses were borne by the educational committee of the company. The Finnish Cooperative Trading Association of Brooklyn had plans for a course of lectures during the latter part of the winter.

## AUDITING AND ACCOUNTING

**Good Results Shown.**—One of the outstanding weaknesses in the cooperative movement in America has been the lack of proper accounting methods. The first consistent efforts to eliminate this weakness were made by the Cooperative Central Exchange with the organization of an auditing department in 1918. This department has regularly audited the books for many of the societies in the three North Central States. As a result cooperative failures among these societies have been practically eliminated.

In the state of Washington the Associate Grange Warehouse Company organized in 1923 an accounting department which undertook to centralize the accounting system. This centralized bookkeeping service is now being given to 18 or 20 of the Washington stores.

A somewhat similar central service has been established by the educational department of the Central States' Cooperative Wholesale Society and is reaching several of the stores in Illinois.

The office of the Cooperative League in New York organized an auditing bureau early in 1925. With the special help of auditors borrowed from the Labor Bureau, Inc., it conducted several audits in New York and New England in January, February, and July of 1925. Early in October a full-time director was employed, and the service of the League accounting bureau has been extended from that of mere auditing to general accounting service, research, and investigation.

## XI. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

### ELECTRIC LIGHT AND POWER

**Recent Growth.**—Information on the growth of municipal ownership of electric light and power plants in the United States is contained in a report issued in 1925 by the Bureau of the Census, on *Central Electric Light and Power Stations, 1922*. In that year municipally-owned plants numbered 2,581, an increase of 11.3 per cent. over 1917. The kilowatt capacity of all municipal power stations had increased more than half, and the amount of current they sold had nearly tripled. Number of employees grew by more than a third. In addition to growing in number, the municipal plants greatly increased the scope and amount of their commercial business.

Table 142—Operations of Municipal Electric Light and Power Plants, 1917 and 1922 <sup>1</sup>

	1917	1922	Per Cent Increase
Number of establishments.....	2,318	2,581	11.3
Value of plant and equipment..	\$127,375,200	\$235,659,668	85.0
Total revenues.....	\$40,260,219	\$85,435,610	112.2
Electric service, including estimated value of free service .....			
All other sources.....	\$39,586,063	\$83,587,359	111.2
All other sources.....	\$674,156	1,848,251	174.2
Total expenses.....	\$31,440,912	\$67,128,848	113.5
Total number employed.....	10,862	14,657	34.9
Prime movers:			
Number .....	3,408	3,695	8.4
Total horse-power.....	859,098	1,280,128	49.0
Generators:			
Number .....	3,437	3,619	5.3
Kilowatt capacity.....	582,463	906,397	55.6
Output, kilowatt hours:			
Generated .....	1,039,320,089	1,878,296,272	80.7
Purchased .....	192,538,399	562,879,703	192.3
Number of customers.....	976,514	1,644,744	68.4
Number of consumers' meters..	930,133	1,609,187	73.0

While the number of municipally owned electric stations was increasing 11.3 per cent, privately owned plants decreased from

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of the Census, *Central Electric Light and Power Stations, 1922*.

4,224 to 3,774, or 10.7 per cent. The number of privately owned establishments had increased from 1902 to 1907, but it decreased from then to 1922.

**Table 143—Number of Municipal and Commercial Electric Light and Power Plants, 1902-1922**

<i>Type of Establishment</i>	<i>1902</i>	<i>1907</i>	<i>1912</i>	<i>1917</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>Per Cent Increase or Decrease 1917-22</i>
Municipal .....	815	1,252	1,562	2,318	2,581	+11.3
Commercial .....	2,805	3,462	3,659	4,224	3,774	-10.7
Total .....	3,620	4,714	5,221	6,542	6,355	- 2.9

The decrease in commercial plants was largely due to increased inter-connection, and to greater concentration in large units. The same development is also taking place among municipal plants. In the 15-year period 1907-22 the capacity of establishments reporting 5,000 kilowatts and over increased from 52.9 per cent of the total generator capacity to 88.8 per cent. The average capacity of this class of establishments increased from 19,104 to 41,962 kilowatts.

Municipal electric plants have been set up mainly in the smaller communities, over four-fifths of them being in towns with less than 5,000 population.

**Table 144—Distribution of Municipal Electric Light and Power Plants in the United States, 1907-1922**

<i>Population Group</i>	<i>1907</i>	<i>1912</i>	<i>1917</i>	<i>1922</i>	<i>Per Cent 1922</i>
Under 5,000.....	1,081	1,327	1,940	2,182	84.5
5,000 to 25,000.....	142	189	322	340	13.2
25,000 to 100,000.....	17	31	39	43	1.7
100,000 to 500,000.....	6	7	9	8	0.3
500,000 and over.....	6	8	8	8	0.3
Total .....	1,252	1,562	2,318	2,581	100.0

Although municipal electric enterprises represented in 1922 more than 40 per cent of the total number, they reported only 9.7 per cent of the total number of employees, 6.3 per cent of the total kilowatt capacity, 4.7 per cent of the total output, and 12.9 per cent of the total number of customers. These fig-

ures indicate that the private companies operate chiefly in the larger centers where successful operation and large profits are easiest, whereas the municipal plants are operated chiefly in the smaller places where these results are obtained with greater difficulty.

**Table 145—Municipal Electric Light and Power Plants, Per Cents of Total, 1902-1922**

	1902	1907	1912	1917	1922
Number of establishments.....	22.5	26.6	29.9	35.4	40.6
Value of equipment.....	4.4	3.9	3.5	4.2	5.3
Total revenues.....	8.1	8.0	7.7	7.6	8.0
Electric service, including estimated value of free service...	8.1	8.0	7.9	7.9	8.2
All other sources.....	8.5	6.6	3.7	2.7	3.6
Total expenses.....	7.7	7.7	7.2	7.4	7.8
Number of persons employed.....	11.3	11.7	10.0	10.3	9.7
Prime movers:					
Number .....	15.2	18.3	21.6	24.7	27.9
Total horse-power.....	8.7	7.8	7.4	6.6	6.3
Generators:					
Number .....	14.6	19.7	21.9	25.6	28.5
Kilowatt capacity .....	9.4	7.7	7.7	6.5	6.3
Output, kilowatt hours, total.....	7.8	4.9	4.6	4.0	4.9
Generated .....	...	4.9	4.6	4.1	4.7
Purchased .....	...	...	3.4	3.4	5.6
Number of customers.....	...	14.6	13.7	13.6	12.9
Consumers' meters.....	...	12.8	13.0	13.1	12.8

**City Action.**—A number of towns took steps toward municipal ownership of electric power plants in 1925. Among these may be mentioned Hart, Mich., which began the construction of a municipal hydro-electric station. Rockwood, Pa., acquired the private power company of that city. Conetoe, N. C., authorized bonds for a light and power plant. Norfolk, Neb., called a special election for a \$250,000 bond issue for a light and power plant. Chippewa Falls, Wis., voted for the purchase of a power site for a municipal plant. There were 263 more municipal plants in 1922 than in 1917. As several went back to private ownership, the number actually municipalized in these five years must be considerably larger than 263, perhaps over 400.<sup>1</sup>

Many cities are extending their light and power systems beyond their borders, connecting with other communities and serving intervening rural territories. These cases amount to the beginnings of public superpower systems. Among these

<sup>1</sup> See list compiled by Leo Kenneth Mayer, of the American City Government League, in *Public Ownership*, May, 1925.

systems may be mentioned that of Webster City, Iowa, which included the nearby towns of Woodstock and Duncombe, and has recently added the city of Stratford, which later voted bonds to build a transmission line into Webster City. Holton, Kans., has extended its power system so that it now covers five other towns, namely, Circleville, Soldier, Havensville, Mayette, and Dennison. The municipal plant at Stark, Fla., has extended its lines to Lawty. Lake Worth, Fla., is enlarging its plant and building a transmission line to Boynton. Centerville, Md., is considering the extension of its lines from Crutch-Hill to Sudersville. Willmar, Minn., is already serving several communities and contemplates extending its service through the county. Rochester and Granite Falls, Minn., are serving several nearby communities and intervening rural territory. The Seattle and Tacoma superpower systems in Washington, and the Los Angeles superpower system in California,<sup>1</sup> had another year of successful operation.

**Ontario.**—The Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission, which is 18 years old, reports 1924 as its most successful year. It is now serving 386 municipalities, 131 townships and rural districts, and 93 industrial companies with a total investment of \$262,781,505, and producing a total energy of 780,789 horsepower. It is thus the largest publicly owned electric light and power system on the continent, and probably in the world. Its rates are the lowest in the world, the net rate averaging about 3 cents a kilowatt hour, and in many instances being as low as 1 cent a kilowatt hour.<sup>2</sup>

**Muscle Shoals.**—Interest continues to center around the great hydro-electric and superpower possibilities at Muscle Shoals, Ala. After extended debate in Congress the matter of the final disposition of Muscle Shoals was referred to a special committee. Meanwhile the first units of the power plant have been completed and put in operation. For the present the project is still publicly owned and operated.

**Boulder Canyon.**—Another large development proposed in the power field relates to Boulder Canyon, for the development of power on the Colorado River. The project is proposed by government engineers and promoted by Los Angeles,

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<sup>1</sup> See *American Labor Year Book*, 1925, pp. 241-242.

<sup>2</sup> *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission for 1924*, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Pasadena, and Riverside, Calif., communities in the Imperial Valley, and other organizations of the Southwest. The project is primarily for flood control. It involves also irrigation of nearly 1,000,000 acres of arid land lying below the dam, supplying of water over the mountain ranges to Los Angeles, and production of electric power. The details of the proposal are embodied in the Swing-Johnson bill, which has been re-introduced in the present Congress.

**Other Projects.**—Los Angeles had earlier developed a large water supply system, in connection with which it also built several large hydro-electric plants. In 1925 it finally passed a bond issue of \$21,000,000, which has enabled it to acquire a distributing system. The city can now distribute power as well as water.

Seattle opened in 1925 the first unit of its Skagit River power development, nearly 100 miles long. When fully developed the plants, together with the steam plant already owned by the city, and the inter-connection with the hydro-electric projects of Tacoma, will constitute, next to the Ontario system, the largest publicly owned hydro-electric project on the continent.

San Francisco is developing in the Hetch Hetchy Valley a water and power project costing over \$40,000,000. The officials having the matter in charge in 1925 contracted for the sale of the power produced by this project to private corporations. This created wide-spread public resentment, and in the elections in November practically all of the officials responsible for the sale of the power were overwhelmingly defeated. A new board committed to full public ownership and operation was elected.

## STREET RAILWAYS.

**Number and Operations.**—Sixteen municipally-operated electric railways were reported for 1922, the latest report,<sup>1</sup> against eight for 1917, and two for 1912. The two places which had publicly owned street railways in 1912 were San Francisco and Monroe, La. Only one state-operated railway was reported each year, in Bismarck, N. D.

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<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of the Census, *Electric Railways, 1922*.

Table 146—Operations of Municipal and State Electric Railways, 1922 <sup>1</sup>

<i>State and City</i>	<i>Track Mileage</i>	<i>Cars</i>	<i>Net Income or Deficit</i>	<i>Salaried Employees</i>	<i>Salaries</i>	<i>Wage Earners</i>	<i>Wages</i>
California							
Eureka .....	11.38	9	\$3,584	1	\$1,254	34	46,408
San Francisco..	67.12	191	55,670	65	136,603	901	1,414,326
Colorado							
Fort Collins...	7.17	5	— 1,998	5	6,789	5	6,000
Florida							
St. Petersburg.	28.53	25	40	12	21,680	60	67,484
Illinois							
Lincoln .....	4.70	8	— 702	1	800	11	10,290
Pekin .....	3.24	7	— 3,345	2	2,208	10	12,300
Louisiana							
Alexandria ....	7.50	11	4,775	2	4,200	24	20,664
Monroe .....	9.00	17	— 6,059	5	6,761	36	41,601
Maine							
Turner .....	12.33	8	1,581	..	.....	9	12,312
Michigan							
Detroit .....	377.27	1,612	3,037,219	388	753,244	4,734	5,451,992
Missouri							
St. Louis.....	9.98	7	—30,127	1	1,584	18	28,706
Oregon							
Portland .....	1.53	1	— 6,796	1	1,431	2	3,698
Texas							
Amarillo .....	7.70	6	—19,130	1	2,100	15	18,582
Virginia							
Radford .....	2.62	2	8,383	2	2,820	6	6,828
Washington							
Seattle .....	238.62	593	678,873	127	220,984	1,756	2,936,995
Tacoma .....	5.14	32	—37,360	4	5,833	21	29,948
North Dakota (state rwy.)							
Bismarck .....	1.12	1	— 4,082	..	.....	3	4,020
Total .....	793.83	2,534	3,684,608	617	1,168,282	7,642	10,108,134

These totals compare with the following figures for privately owned electric railways: number of companies, 1,183; track mileage, 49,138.03; cars, 96,721; salaried employees, 29,622; salaries, \$56,320,809; wage-earners, 262,642; wages, \$378,082,910. The publicly owned lines carried 485,420,178 passengers, against 15,347,519,966 carried by private companies. Average wages on public lines were \$1,322.71 yearly; those on private lines were \$1,439.53. At least part of the reason for the higher wage on

<sup>1</sup> United States Bureau of the Census, *Electric Railways, 1922*. Totals given as in report, despite some discrepancies.

private lines is that they cover most of the large cities, where living costs are higher. In San Francisco, where the municipal lines are operated in competition with the private lines, wages and working conditions are better on the city lines.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the city-owned street railways, city motor bus lines are also run in New York City (34 lines, with 325 busses, begun in 1919), San Francisco (8 busses), Seattle (8 busses), and Detroit (3 busses). New York also runs 10 ferry lines with 32 boats.

**Current Developments.**—Detroit finished the third year's operation of its street car system, the largest of its kind in the world. The city operates the lines at a fare about 1 cent below the average for American cities generally. It is paying all costs of operation, taxes, and depreciation, and setting aside sinking funds to retire the bonds.

The Seattle municipal railways were handicapped at the beginning by the payment of a grossly excessive price for the lines. The city is operating the lines, and rebuilding and rehabilitating the system. It made the initial payments as they came due, and now seems certain of complete success.

The New York City municipal lines now include one with 68 cars on Staten Island, opened in 1920; a trackless trolley, also on Staten Island, begun in 1921, with 15 vehicles; and 47 local cars on the Williamsburg Bridge.

The Massachusetts towns of Athol, Orange, Greenfield, and Montague, have taken over trolley lines abandoned by private companies.

Toronto has developed perhaps the best system of urban transportation on the continent. The lines have been rebuilt, and the system entirely rehabilitated. During 1925 a number of bus lines were added, and a special coach service with a 10-cent fare. The city also operates a series of sight-seeing coaches charging 75 cents to \$1.50 according to the distance travelled.

## GROWTH OF SENTIMENT

**Trade Union Action.**—The American Federation of Labor and its officials during 1925 took a stand for government retention and operation of Muscle Shoals. The Electrical Workers declared for a general public superpower system.

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<sup>1</sup> See Public Ownership League of America, Bulletin 18, *Municipal Railways in the United States and Canada*.

**Other Groups.**—Organizations of farmers, notably the Grange, have passed resolutions favoring the development of a public power service. The League of Women Voters at its national conference passed resolutions favoring the retention of Muscle Shoals, and looking toward a public power service. A number of public power conferences were held during the year, notably in Michigan, Minnesota, and Illinois.

**Studies and Reports.**—A number of publications bearing on the subject of public ownership came out during the year. *Public Ownership*, by Carl D. Thompson, secretary of the Public Ownership League, is perhaps the most comprehensive presentation of the subject from a favorable point of view that has so far appeared. A number of bulletins and booklets have also been published.<sup>1</sup> The report of the Giant Power Survey Board, appointed by Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, avoids the issue of public ownership, but contains a mass of information bearing on the subject.

## OPPOSITION LITERATURE

**Various Publications.**—A number of publications have appeared during the year attacking public ownership and opposing its extension. Notable among these is an address by Secretary of Commerce Hoover opposing the whole philosophy and program of public ownership and denouncing it in detail. An other notable publication is a document gotten out by the National Electrical Light Association, entitled *Political Ownership and the Electric Light and Power Industry*. It gives a list of 860 cities that are said to have owned public utilities that have been abandoned, sold, or junked. The list was found to contain many places which never had municipal light plants. Many more which were listed as failures are still successfully operating, as Sioux Falls, S. D.; Staples, Minn.; Clifton Falls, Va.; and Chicago. In the early part of the year, the Smithsonian Institution at Washington brought out a report by Wyer, the purpose of which was to show that the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission was not the success that its friends have claimed. Later in the year a book entitled *Niagara in Politics*, by James Mavor, still further attacked the Ontario hydro-electric system, declaring it to be incompetent and a very serious burden to the people of Ontario. Replies to this literature have been issued by the Public Ownership League.

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<sup>1</sup> List supplied on request by Public Ownership League, 127 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

## XII. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LABOR

### GENERAL SURVEY.

**International Trade Union Bodies.**—The total number of organized workers in the world was estimated at the end of 1923, the latest year for which comparable figures for the various movements and countries can be secured, at 36,439,320, divided as follows:

Table 147—International Trade Union Bodies, 1923 <sup>1</sup>

<i>Name</i>	<i>Tendency</i>	<i>Date Formed</i>	<i>Head-quarters</i>	<i>Membership</i>
International Federation of Trade Unions	Labor and Socialist	1901	Amsterdam	15,303,692
International Federation of Christian Trade Unions	Christian	1920	Utrecht	2,354,583
Red International of Labor Unions	Communist	1921	Moscow	5,245,889
International Workingmen's Association	Syndicalist	1922	Berlin	404,700
Pan-American Federation of Labor	Labor	1918	Washington	..... <sup>2</sup>
Miscellaneous				313,138,456
Total				36,439,320

**Political Internationals.**—There are two labor political Internationals, the Labor and Socialist International, with headquarters at Zurich, and the Communist International, at Moscow. With these are affiliated the Socialist Youth International and the Young Communist International, respectively.

**Cooperative International.**—The International Cooperative Alliance, with headquarters in London, is the world body of co-operative societies.

<sup>1</sup> *Third Year Book of the International Federation of Trade Unions, 1925.*

<sup>2</sup> Included in other groups.

<sup>3</sup> Includes American Federation of Labor, then 2,926,468.

## INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

**Largest International.**—Of the five international trade union organizations the International Federation of Trade Unions is the largest, comprising in 1924 about 45 per cent of the total number of organized workers of the world. In common with the other Internationals the International Federation of Trade Unions showed a falling membership since 1919 when it was reorganized after the war. This tendency was checked during 1925. Approximate membership figures are available for the end of 1924 or middle of 1925 and are compared with those at the end of 1923:

**Table 148—Approximate Membership of International  
Federation of Trade Unions, 1923 and 1924**

<i>Country</i>	<i>Name of Federation</i>	<i>Dec. 31, 1923</i>	<i>Dec. 31, 1924</i>
Austria .....	Gewerkschaftskommission Deutschoesterreichs .....	896,763	828,080
Belgium .....	Commission Syndicale.....	594,998	578,000
Bulgaria .....	Bulgarian Federation of Labor	14,803 <sup>1</sup>	14,803 <sup>1</sup>
Canada .....	Trades and Labor Congress...	127,207	105,912
Czechoslovakia .....	Odborove Sdruzeni Ceskoslo- venske .....	324,179	330,000
Denmark .....	De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark .....	233,116	230,000
France .....	Confederation Generale du Tra- vail .....	757,847 <sup>2</sup>	757,847 <sup>2</sup>
Germany .....	Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerk- schaftsbund .....	5,749,763	4,564,163
	Allgemeiner Freier Angestell- tenbund .....	543,596	543,596 <sup>3</sup>
Great Britain.....	Trades Union Congress.....	4,328,235	4,342,982
Hungary .....	Ungarlaendischer Gewerkschafts- rat .....	176,401	176,401 <sup>3</sup>
Italy .....	Confederazione Generale del La- voro .....	234,520	234,520 <sup>3</sup>
Latvia .....	Zentralburo der Gewerkschaften Lettlands .....	12,658	12,658 <sup>3</sup>
Luxemburg .....	Commission Syndicale.....	13,200	13,568
Memel .....	Gewerkschaftsbund des Memel- gebiets .....	1,907	1,907 <sup>3</sup>
Netherlands .....	Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakvereenigingen .....	179,929	179,929 <sup>3</sup>
Palestine .....	General Federation of Jewish Labor .....	10,736	10,000
Poland .....	Komisja Centralna Zwiaskow Zawodowych .....	369,811	300,000
Rumania .....	Consiliul General a Sindicatelor	33,246	33,246 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Membership on December 1, 1921. <sup>2</sup> Membership on December 31, 1922. <sup>3</sup> Membership for 1923.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Name of Federation</i>	<i>Dec. 31, 1923</i>	<i>Dec. 31, 1924</i>
South Africa.....	South African Industrial Federation .....	10,000	10,000 <sup>1</sup>
Spain .....	Union General de Trabajadores de Espana.....	210,617	210,741
Sweden .....	Landssekretariatet .....	336,848	360,337
Switzerland .....	Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund .....	151,401	151,502
Yugoslavia .....	Gewerkschaftsbund Jugoslaviens .....	34,837	40,000
Total .....		15,346,618	14,030,192

**Trade Secretariat Membership.**—The Furriers and the Carpenters amalgamated during the year with the Clothing Workers' and the Building Workers' trade secretariats respectively, leaving 26 secretariats affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

**Table 149—International Trade Secretariats Affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions**

<i>Trade</i>	<i>Membership 1923</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Membership 1923</i>
Bookbinders .....	96,064	Hotel and Restaurant Workers .....	131,480
Boot, Shoe, and Leather Workers .....	340,908	Land Workers.....	436,226
Building Workers.....	938,940	Lithographers .....	45,553
(Since 1925 including Carpenters) .....	98,202	Metal Workers .....	2,585,717
Clothing Workers.....	355,254	Miners .....	1,941,199
(Since 1925 including Furriers) .....	18,161	Painters .....	71,704
Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees...	695,185	Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Workers.....	484,115
Diamond Workers.....	19,230	Pottery Workers.....	91,586
Factory Workers.....	844,988	Printing Trades Workers..	173,911
Food and Drink Trades Workers .....	554,199	Public Service Workers..	349,089
Glass Workers.....	77,741	Stone Workers.....	102,264
Hairdressers .....	8,268	Textile Workers.....	1,326,030
Hatters .....	56,107	Tobacco Workers.....	140,673
		Transport Workers.....	2,091,840
		Wood Workers.....	938,940
		Total .....	15,013,574

**Relation of Secretariats to International Federation of Trade Unions.**—On October 8-9, 1925, the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the representatives of the trade secretariats set up a commission to examine into and report upon the relations between the I. F. T. U. and the secretariats. This meeting elected Frank Hodges, secretary of the International Federation of Miners, on the General Council or Executive of the I. F. T. U., to replace A. J. Cook who had been elected when acting as temporary secretary of the Miners' International. A separate conference of the secretariats of the

<sup>1</sup> Membership for 1923.

miners, factory workers, and metal workers considered methods of effectively combatting war.

**All-Russian Trade Union Council.**—The General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions at its meeting of February 5-7, despite the insistence of the representatives of the British Trades Union Congress, decided to confer with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions only as soon as the latter declared its willingness to be admitted into the Federation. The English delegates demanded an unconditional conference. On being officially informed the Russian Council wrote on May 19 that the success of the Anglo-Russian trade union negotiations, as well as the fact that the constitution of the I. F. T. U. had been adopted without collaboration of the Russians, warranted acceptance of their demand for an unconditional conference to discuss affiliation. The General Council of the I. F. T. U. with all members present, Hicks replacing Bramley who had died and Hodges in the seat of Cook, met on December 5-6 in Amsterdam. This meeting was preceded by a conference of the General Council of the I. F. T. U. with the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress in London on December 1-2. The London conference was the result of the unanimous action of the British Congress in Scarborough in endorsing the Anglo-Russian Committee negotiations. Three motions were made at the Amsterdam meeting of December 5-6, two of which would have permitted a discussion with the Russians before they definitely declared for affiliation. The more restricted of the two was supported by J. W. Brown and Frank Hodges. The resolution of Stenhuis of Netherlands declaring that nothing had transpired to change the decision of February was adopted by a vote of 14 to seven, with the British delegates, Fimmen, and one or two others in the minority. The British unionists thereafter proceeded to Berlin where they met the Russians. On their return the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress declared it would not call a world conference over the head of Amsterdam, but would continue its efforts to achieve unity by pressure and persuasion.

**Anti-War.**—The International Federation of Trade Unions continuing its anti-war program during the year carried on propaganda for the Geneva protocol which it regarded as "the first really genuine step towards the organization of peace." It planned to hold a disarmament conference in connection with that of the League of Nations, should the latter call one. Its May Day manifesto called upon the workers to force their governments to make disarmament and peace a reality. The sec-

retariat wired the international conference of the League of Nations discussing traffic in arms demanding "public control over the armaments industry by means of the League of Nations with the collaboration of working class organizations." The I. F. T. U. Executive condemned the Spanish and French wars on Morocco, hailed the uprising of the Chinese workers against their oppressors, and declared for "Hands Off Mexico." It characterized the Locarno pact as a step forward.

**Social Legislation.**—The International Federation of Trade Unions continued its efforts to retain the eight-hour day, to secure ratification of the Washington convention on this subject, and to obtain the complete abolition of night work in bakeries. It studied immigration and emigration, and decided to hold a conference on the question in 1926. It went on record for the abolition of customs tariffs and an international economic alliance for the distribution of raw materials. The I. F. T. U. made strong protests to the International Labor Office, as well as in its publicity, against the denial of freedom of association to the Italian workers.

**Workers' Education.**—*International Educational Notes*, edited by Secretary John W. Brown, continued to give exhaustive data on workers' education. The International Federation of Trade Unions conducted two summer schools, one at Brunnsvig, Sweden, and the other at Prague, Czechoslovakia, August 1-30, which were attended by about 120 students. Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau of America, was among the lecturers.

**General.**—The International Committee of Trade Union Women, consisting of Helene Burniaux (Belgium), Jeanne Chevenard (France), Henriette Crone (Denmark), Gertrud Hanna (Germany), and Mary Quale (Great Britain) met on November 3-4, with J. Sassenbach, secretary of the I. F. T. U., in the chair. Resolutions were adopted providing for intensive propaganda among women, the necessity of protective legislation for women workers and the collection of material on the subject, the appointment of Miss Burniaux as representative on the League of Nations' Advisory Committee for the Protection of Women and Children, and for the I. F. T. U. to make an investigation of home work.

The I. F. T. U. has decided to set up an International Trade Union Youth Committee.

In the lockout of the Danish workers the International raised thousands of dollars through its affiliated organizations. It

also helped raise considerable sums for the unaffiliated Indian textile workers on strike in Bombay. It endeavored to assist the unions in the Balkans and planned to hold a conference in Sofia early in 1926.

The next Congress of the I. F. T. U. will be held in Paris in 1927.

**General Council.**—With the resignation of D'Aragona from the Italian center, the death of Bramley, and the replacing of Cook, the General Council was constituted toward the end of 1925 as follows:

President .....	A. A. Purcell (Great Britain)
Vice-president .....	Theodor Leipart (Germany)
“ “ .....	Leon Jouhaux (France)
“ “ .....	Corneille Mertens (Belgium)
Secretary .....	Jan Oudegeest (Netherlands)
“ .....	John W. Brown (Great Britain)
“ .....	Johann Sassenbach (Germany)
Great Britain and Ireland.....	George Hicks (Great Britain)
France .....	Raoul Lenoir
Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg..	Roelof Steinhuis (Netherlands)
Italy .....	Carlo Azimonti
Spain, Portugal.....	Francisco L. Cabellero (Spain)
Austria, Switzerland.....	Anton Hueber (Austria)
Germany .....	Peter Grassmann
Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.....	Rudolf Tayerle (Czechoslovakia)
Scandinavian countries.....	Carl F. Madsen (Denmark)
Hungary, Rumania, Balkans.....	Samuel Jaszai (Hungary)
Poland and Baltic countries.....	Z. Zulawski (Poland)
Trade secretariats .....	Frank Hodges (Miners, Great Britain)
	Edo Fimmen (Transport, Netherlands)
	G. J. A. Smit (Clerks, Netherlands)

## TRADE INTERNATIONALS.

### Boot, Shoe, and Leather Workers.

**Congress.**—The affiliation of the American Boot and Shoe Workers, as well as unions in Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, increased the membership of the International Boot and Shoe Operatives' and Leather Workers' Federation to 345,161 at the end of 1924. The international held a Congress in 1925, September 25-27, in Paris. It adopted resolutions demanding the ratification of the Washington eight-hour convention, abolition of protective tariffs, an international economic conference at which the trade unions will be represented, and freedom of association especially in the reactionary countries of Italy, Poland, and Rumania. On the question of trade union unity the Congress declared that the union must be “independent of any political party and of any government,” and approved the

principles of the Amsterdam International. Josef Simon was re-elected secretary, with headquarters in Nuremburg.

### **Building Workers.**

**General Council Meetings.**—The General Council of the International Union of Building Workers met during February and again in June. At the former meeting it considered the affiliation of the craft internationals, the Carpenters having amalgamated on the first of the year. The situation in Czechoslovakia and the location of the 1926 Congress were also on the agenda. It was decided to lay the matter of industrial accidents before the International Labor Office. A conference was held in June at Paris on the question of the migration of building tradesmen to the devastated regions of France. The necessary funds for continuing the work were not available and a surplus of incoming foreigners was threatening the standards of the French as well as contributing to unemployment. The international had 902,806 members in 1923 and 783,378 in 1924, the German union alone suffering a loss of 111,000.

### **Civil Servants.**

**New Organization.**—The International Federation of Civil Servants, which is not affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, was set up at a congress held in Paris, May 11-16, 1925. Relations will be entered into with the Education Workers' International as well as the trade secretariats affiliated with the I. F. T. U. Noordhoff, of Netherlands, secretary, attended the meeting of the trade internationals on October 8-9 as an observer.

### **Clothing Workers.**

**Executive Meeting.**—At the January meeting of the Executive of the International Clothing Workers' Federation it was decided to send out a questionnaire covering working conditions in the different countries. The British Clothing Workers' Federation was informed that it would have to amalgamate with the Leeds organization before it could become affiliated with the international. The situation of the unions in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia was discussed. Details of the amalgamation of the Furriers' international were worked out.

### Commercial Employees.

**Congress.**—Representing a membership of 800,000, 120 delegates from 42 organizations in 15 countries attended the Congress of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees in Copenhagen, September 27-30. With the exception of the British and Belgian delegates the Congress unanimously declared that the Russian union would be admitted only when the All-Russian Council was affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions. It went on record against industrial unions to include non-manual workers, and demanded separate organizations of commercial employees. It also demanded the same or better social legislation as for manual workers, eight-hour day, adequate allowances to the unemployed, and abolition of protective tariffs and immigration bars. Special conferences of trade groups will be called when necessary; a commercial travelers' conference will be called at a convenient date. G. J. A. Smit, Jr., was re-elected secretary. During the bank clerks' strike in France the affiliated organizations sent tens of thousands of francs to the strikers.

### Diamond Workers.

**Congress.**—The World Association of Diamond Workers met in Congress at Paris, October 19-23, 1925. It declared for the principle of the affiliation of one union only from one country; abolition of piece-work; reduction in hours; seven days' annual paid holiday; and standardization of wages in all countries.

### Food Workers.

**Congress.**—The International Union of Federations of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades held its 1925 Congress in Copenhagen, September 20-22. This is the only trade international with which a Russian union is affiliated. The discussion on trade union unity, in which the Russian representatives took part, was heated, but the Congress decided that unity could be brought about only by unions affiliating with one national and one international body. The delegates, by a vote of 57 to 8, refused to admit the French food workers' union attached to the General Confederation of United Labor. The official report of the majority of the Congress declared that the delegates "left the Congress feeling that the Russians must make a radical change in their conduct and their attitude to the movement if the present situation is to develop into a per-

manency." The Congress went on record favoring industrial unions. It declared for the fixing of a maximum load to be carried at 75 kilograms.

**Bakers and Night Work.**—The journeymen bakers met in world Congress on March 30, at Stuttgart, before the annual conference of the International Labor Organization, to frame an appeal to the International Labor Conference protesting against amendments of governments and employers which would worsen the proposed convention to abolish night work in bakeries. Just before the Food Workers' Congress the bakers met again at Copenhagen. Although the Russians criticised the participation of the workers in the International Labor Conference, the bakers decided to urge ratification of the convention agreed upon at the May, 1925, meeting of the Conference, despite its shortcomings.

### Glass Workers.

**Executive Meeting.**—The Executive of the International Federation of Glass Workers met in the spring at Vienna and considered the matter of a 24-hour rest period in mechanical and automatic glassworks. It decided to ask the International Labor Office to make an inquiry into conditions and possibilities of instituting such a stop.

### Hatters.

**Congress.**—The International Federation of Hatters met in Congress August 15-19, in Paris, with representatives of organizations of Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Sweden. The Italian union held its own, despite all hindrances. The secretariat has its headquarters in Italy, with Ettore Reina as secretary. The Congress decided to ask the International Labor Office to make an inquiry into mercury poisoning in connection with the making of felt hats, and asked amendments to a draft convention proposed on the subject.

### Land Workers.

**Renewed Activity.**—The *Bulletin* of the International Landworkers' Federation re-appeared on April 15, 1925. Since 1923 the Federation had suffered severely from Fascism in Italy and the various economic ills in Germany, the countries where

its largest two organizations were located. At the end of 1924 the international reported a membership of 369,924. The Executive met in October. The next Congress will be held in 1926 in Geneva and will consider the questions of reduction of hours, child labor, and the migration from the land. Georg Schmidt, president of the German union, is secretary of the international.

### **Lithographers.**

**Special Congress.**—Considerable correspondence passed between the secretariats of the Lithographers and the Printers during 1925. But the secretariats achieved no accord on their source of conflict, control of the off-set machine. The Lithographers called a special Congress on August 7-8 at Cologne and accused the Printers of acting as strike-breakers and of sending out confidential instructions for their advantage. The Congress once more demanded the transfer of any workers on the off-set machine to the lithographers' unions. The international financially aided the Belgian metal strikers.

On March 5 Otto Sillier, president of the German organization and secretary of the Lithographers' international between 1907 and 1920, passed away in his 68th year.

### **Metal Workers.**

**Foundry Workers' Conference.**—The Central Committee of the International Metal Workers' Federation met on January 4-5, at Paris. It declared that negotiations with the Pan-Russian Federation of Metal Workers had proved fruitless and referred the matter to the General Executive.

An International Foundry Workers' conference was held at Cologne, March 1-2, which was called to demand the eight-hour day in steel blast-works. It also adopted resolutions demanding increases in wages, and that the unions be given a voice in drafting legislation on industry and seats on the boards of directors of very large and national concerns.

### **Miners.**

**Permanent Secretary.**—Starting May 1, 1925, Frank Hodges became full-time secretary of the International Miners' Federation, with headquarters in London. The Executive met a number of times during the year. Over the opposition of the British

it was decided to request the cooperation of the International Labor Office in a general inquiry into the condition of the coal industry. It was stated there were in July stocks of between 60,000,000 and 70,000,000 tons, with threatened increasing unemployment. A written report on the effects of the Dawes plan in each country will be submitted by the various organizations. The Executive demanded nationalization of mines with international regulation of production, as the way out.

**Threatened British Strike.**—When the coal strike threatened to break out in Great Britain the Executive declared that production should be cut down everywhere to the minimum, and it got into touch with the international transport organizations to prevent the export of coal.

**Delegation to Russia.**—The Executive had accepted the invitation to send a delegation to Russia but when it selected its interpreters the latter were refused visas by the Russian government. The miners refused to change interpreters. At the meeting in September a resolution was adopted disclaiming responsibility for the remarks of A. J. Cook in Germany where he is said to have criticised the German miners' leaders.

### Painters.

**Congress.**—The International Federation of Painters and Kindred Trades met in Congress at Dresden, July 11-13, 1925. The painters of the United States were represented by Philip Zausner. Detailed reports were made on conditions in each country. The Congress demanded the adoption of the International Labor Organization convention prohibiting the use of white lead in painting. It also decided to conduct energetic propaganda against the use of chemical products injurious to health. The matter of amalgamation with the Building Workers' International will be considered at the next Congress.

### Postal Workers.

**Executive Meeting.**—The Executive Committee of the Postal international met on January 31-February 1, at Luxemburg. It demanded for postal, telegraph, and telephone workers, old age and invalidity pensions, as well as death benefits; reorganization of the Universal Postal Union; and employment of the language of the minority in countries with large minority populations. At a meeting in November the Executive severely

condemned the Fascist government for destroying the postal workers' union.

### Printers.

**Death of Verdan.**—Fritz Verdan, the secretary of the International Secretariat of Printers, passed away in the fall of 1925. During the year the correspondence with the Russian union as well as its constitution were sent to the affiliated unions for consideration and action. In the *Bulletin* considerable space was given to the rights of the printers as against the lithographers to work on the off-set machine.

### Stone Workers.

**General Council.**—The meeting of the General Council of the International Secretariat of Stone Workers on May 24, at Leipsic, demanded quicker action and appropriate legislation on the question of occupational diseases of stone workers.

### Textile Workers.

**Changes.**—During 1925 Tom Shaw, following the fall of the British Labor government in which he was Minister of Labor, resumed his place as secretary of the International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations, and headquarters were moved from Manchester to London. In Shaw's absence, J. Bell of Manchester who had been elected secretary, started a quarterly bulletin in three languages which reported on conditions in the different countries. Soon after retaking office Shaw issued special reports on the textile trade in China, Japan, and India. He suggested action by Amsterdam or the Textile Workers' international to help the Chinese organize unions to improve their conditions.

### Tobacco Workers.

**Congress.**—The International Secretariat of Tobacco Workers held its Congress in Brussels, August 3-7, 1925. A membership of 120,883 was reported. Increased use of machinery and heavy taxation of the industry were decreasing the numbers employed. The question of assistance in time of strike was referred to the Executive for consideration. The Russian union, it was decided, will be admitted when agreement

has been reached between the Russian center and the International Federation of Trade Unions. A committee of inquiry was set up to inquire into wages, child labor, social legislation, and the use of machinery.

### Transport Workers.

**Conferences.**—One of the most active and powerful trade internationals, the International Transport Workers' Federation, held several conferences during the year. The railwaymen met in Bellinzona, Switzerland, June 30-July 2, and considered persecution of the railwaymen's unions in various lands; the eight-hour day; de-nationalization; motor transport developments; railway electrification; safety devices; and "work to rule" as a strike measure.

The seamen held a conference in London, July 12-13. They adopted a resolution calling upon the International Labor Conference of 1926 to consider the question of an eight-hour day for seamen. The seamen's code, which is opposed by American and British unions, was not debated.

At the tramwaymen's congress in Brussels, July 18-20, opposition was declared against the one-man-car system, and nationalization was favored as well as standardization of car and equipment.

### Wood Workers.

**Congress.**—The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America affiliated with the International Union of Woodworkers in 1925. They were represented, before affiliation, as guests of the Congress which was held in Brussels, July 20-22, by a delegation headed by President Hutcheson. Membership of the trade international at the end of 1924 was reported as 623,779. Much of the time of the 1925 Congress was taken up with the defense and justification for Secretary Woudenberg's criticism of Alex Gossip, an Executive Board member, and with the resolution seeking to admit the Russian union. Gossip was not re-elected, and the Russians were denied admission. The questionnaire on amalgamation with the Building Workers showed a negative opinion. Fritz Tarnow of Germany who was in the chair made an exhaustive report on the functions and organization of the international trade union movement.

## RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS

**Affiliations and Support.**—The Red International of Labor Unions, the Communist trade union international with headquarters in Moscow, claims the affiliation of trade union federations in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Egypt, Esthonia, Greece, Java, Persia, "ideologically" that of Finland, and half the organized workers in Argentina, Australia, Czechoslovakia, France, Japan, Rumania, Yugoslavia, beside minority movements in Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States and elsewhere.

**World Trade Union Unity.**—All the resources of the Red International of Labor Unions were thrown into the movement for international trade unity. The Anglo-Russian trade union negotiations were favored at every step. Losovsky, secretary of the R. I. L. U., attended the Congress of the General Confederation of United Labor (C. G. T. U.) of France to push forward unity with the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) affiliated with Amsterdam. The R. I. L. U. favors a national unity congress with proportional representation in lands with divided movements, and then an international unity congress on the basis of proportional representation.

**Anti-Imperialism.**—The efforts of the Chinese workers to improve their conditions were stoutly supported by the Red International of Labor Unions, which sent 30,000 rubles to the Shanghai strikers. The failure of the Amsterdam International to start relief action was sharply criticised. The R. I. L. U. maintained closest relations with the Canton strikers and the left wing of Sun Yat-Sen's party. It also sent money to assist the Koreans. It issued manifestoes and appeals for the workers and strikers in India and other colonies.

**Executive Bureau.**—The Executive Bureau consisted in 1925 of:

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Dogadov, Kalinin, Lepse, Losovsky, Melnichansky; candidates, Andreyev, Ischenko, Kozelev, Kroll, Lebedev, Tomskey

Germany—Heckert, Geschke; candidates, Schuman, Sobotka

France—Monmousseau, Jacob; candidates, Racamond, Reynaud

Great Britain—Tom Mann, Allison; candidates, Hardy Horner, Lismer

Czechoslovakia—J. Haisse, Sejpa; candidates, Perge, Gruenzweig

United States—Foster, Dunne; candidates, Johnstone, Browder

Canada—Buck; candidate, McLachlin

Latin America—Penelon (Argentina); candidates, Recabaren (Chili), Wolfe (Mexico)

Poland—Redensz; candidate, J. Orszki

Spain—Nin; candidate, Solis

Italy—Germanetto; candidate, Vota

Balkans—Lasich (Yugoslavia), Bogdanov (Bulgaria); candidates, Kebles (Rumania), Mangous (Greece)  
 Scandinavia—Lumivuokko (Finland); candidates, Valberg (Sweden), Erickson (Norway)  
 The East—Semaoen (Java), Tani (Japan); candidates, Van (China), Forukh (Turkey), Nikbin (Persia), one from Egypt  
 Candidates at large—Lahaut (Belgium), Dekker (Netherlands)

## INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN TRADE UNIONS.

**Congress.**—The 1925 Congress of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions was held September 16-18, at Lucerne, Switzerland, with President Joseph Scherrer in the chair. Delegates to the number of 159 attended from 10 countries. Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Luxemburg, Netherlands, and Switzerland. Resolutions adopted by the Congress called upon the governments to ratify the eight-hour convention, and demanded the right of the workers to participate not only in the fixing of working conditions but also in the management of undertakings through works councils. An inquiry is to be made into the problem of migration. The delegates went on record for representation of the Christian unions on the governing body of the International Labor Organization, on its commissions, and in the various departments and sections of the office. They adopted a resolution in reference to women workers, declaring that married women and mothers ought not to work, and demanding equal pay for equal work, and special care and conditions for married women. A new system of contributions of the affiliated national centers to the International was adopted. Another seat on the Executive Board was given to a representative of the German Christian federation. Scherrer (president), P. J. S. Serrarens (general secretary), and H. Amelink (treasurer) compose the Executive Committee.

**Trade Secretariats.**—The Christian Salaried Employees representing 500,000 organized workers held their Congress on June 5-6, at Lucerne. They demanded the eight-hour day with a uniform closing hour, and legislation covering employment, social insurance, and Sunday rest. The Miners met July 6-8, speaking for 400,000 members. They declared for the seven-hour day, increases of wages, adequate protection of life and health, asked that the International Labor Conference consider social insurance and miners' pensions, and adopt a draft convention on holidays with pay and an international agreement to

regulate internationally the production of coal. The Metal Workers convened in Milan, September 2-4, with Wieber of Germany as chairman. They also demanded the eight-hour day, a system of collective agreements with provisions for conciliation and arbitration, and improvement of conditions in the Saar Basin. The Factory Workers held their Congress September 3-4, at Munich. Tremmel of Germany presided. The Congress demanded the three-shift system, weekly rest, and protested against any lengthening of hours of work.

## INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION

**Congress.**—The second Congress of the syndicalist International Workingmen's Association was held in Amsterdam, March 21-27, with representatives present from the following affiliated organizations:

Argentina .....	Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina (F. O. R. A.)
Brazil .....	Federacao Operaria de Rio Grande du Sul
Denmark .....	Revolutionaert Arbejderforbund
Germany .....	Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (F. A. U. D.)
Italy .....	Unione Sindicale Italiana (U. S. I.)
Mexico .....	Confederacion General de Trabajadores
Netherlands .....	Nederlandsch Syndicalistisch Vakverbond
Norway .....	Norsk Syndikalistisk Federation
Portugal .....	Confederacao Geral do Trabalho
Spain .....	Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo
Sweden .....	Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganization
Uruguay .....	Federacion Obrera Regional Uruguay

Besides these organizations the International Workingmen's Association has affiliated bodies in Austria, Chile, Spitzbergen, and is in close relations with numerous others in North and South America. At the Congress there were between 20 and 25 individual delegates, some representing more than one country. A. Souchy reported for the secretariat. In the report of the proceedings extensive stories of the syndicalist movement in each of the countries are given.

**Resolutions Adopted.**—The relations between the syndicalists and Communists, as far as the former's views are expressed by the International Workingmen's Association, are very bitter. In the first resolution demanding the freeing of political prisoners, Soviet Russia was signalled out. Another resolution called upon the trade unions to avoid politics, to fight against any coalition with any political party, and to oppose a centralized state. In other resolutions the Congress condemned the Dawes plan and the international reaction, and declared against war. It provided for setting up three trade secretariats of seamen, building workers, and metal workers, and for propaganda among the youth.

**Activities.**—Following the Congress the International Workingmen's Association organized anti-militarist meetings on the first Sunday in August in a number of countries. It continued to send out its *News Service* containing news of the suppression of labor in Spain, Portugal, and the Balkans.

## PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

**Executive Council.**—The Executive Council of the Pan-American Federation of Labor met February 22 in Washington, with representatives present from the United States, Mexico, Dominican Republic, Porto Rico, Venezuela, and Cuba. Because of the death of Samuel Gompers, who had been president, William Green of the American Federation of Labor was elected president of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. In the summer Canuto Vargas, Spanish-speaking secretary, was made labor attache in Washington for the Mexican government. In his place Santiago Iglesias, president of the Free Federation of Porto Rico, well known in the Spanish countries, was made secretary. Chester Wright is English secretary. In December President Green requested the presidents of all the countries whose unions are affiliated to appoint labor representatives in the delegations to the Pan-American Congress to be held in June, 1926, in Panama. At the American Federation of Labor convention in Atlantic City in October a resolution strongly supporting the Pan-American Federation and declaring for a Monroe Doctrine of American labor was adopted.

## LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

**Marseilles Congress.**—The Labor and Socialist International, re-organized in 1923, held its second Congress at Marseilles, France, August 22-27, 1925. Delegates attended representing 7,000,000 members of affiliated parties in almost every country of Europe, as well as British Guiana, Palestine, Argentina, and the United States.

**Anti-War.**—The commission on the problems of security, disarmament, and labor's struggle against the dangers of war only after considerable debate harmonized the difference between the English and continental delegates on the question of the Geneva protocol *versus* security pacts. The resolution adopted declares that special "pacts are defective because they do not contain provisions for disarmament. They must not contain

any secret clauses. They must provide for a system of mutual guarantee having a general character controlled and supervised by the League of Nations." The resolution hails the Geneva protocol as "the most definite step taken in the direction of disarmament." It also "rejoices to note that the Socialist Parties of Denmark, Holland, Norway and Sweden have either secured or made proposals for total disarmament or a sweeping reduction of armaments." On the war in Morocco the International demanded "immediate and decisive action for restoration of peace." Previous to the Congress, on July 28, at Paris, a conference of delegates from the French, Spanish, and English parties had demanded immediate cessation of military operations and the opening of peace negotiations, and in case of disagreement reference of the matter in dispute to the League of Nations.

An Executive meeting on November 4-5, in London, declared that the Locarno treaties were "first steps toward the pacification of Europe," and claimed them as a result of the fight of the international working class against war. In addition to the treaties, however, the Executive demanded immediate evacuation of the Rhineland and modification of the Saar regime, the calling of a general conference on disarmament, and compulsory reference of all disputes to arbitration. It declared that in no case must Russia be isolated, although the Soviet government was "to blame," and it called for a peaceful understanding between Russia and the western countries. The Executive cautioned the workers that treaties are effective only if the might of the working class is behind them. The meeting also called once more for the end of the slaughter in Morocco, and demanded the admission of ambulances of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent to the zone of the Riff fighters.

**Eastern Europe.**—As reported out of committee by Otto Bauer of Austria, one of the leading figures of the Congress, the resolution on the situation in Eastern Europe (which includes Russia) was a compromise between the moderate and the bitter foes of the Soviet regime and of the Communist International. The resolution adopted declared that world peace is endangered by the hostile attacks prepared against Russia, but also by the efforts of the Communists to bring about a world war to achieve a world revolution and international *coups d'etat* in the border states between the Baltic and Black Seas. The labor and Socialist parties were therefore called on "to resist any aggressive policy directed against Soviet Russia, and to help forward the restoration of political relations and normal economic intercourse with Soviet Russia." At the same time the

Russian people was appealed to to "oppose every policy of aggression and annexation on the part of its own government," to democratize the ruling regime, and to join the League of Nations.

The same resolution hails the awakening of the Chinese, Indian, and Mohammedan world, and demands self-determination for all peoples, but urges Socialists to oppose all deeds of individual violence.

**Working Conditions.**—The Congress in a special resolution demanded an all-inclusive eight-hour day without exceptions, enforced by administration, inspection and labor control, and the immediate ratification of the Washington eight-hour convention. A resolution on unemployment called for assistance for the unemployed, remedies for the evils arising from seasonal unemployment, a thorough study of the problem of immigration and emigration, methods for alleviating the recurrence of economic crises, stabilization of the currency, opposition to the protectionist system, the placing of the mandated territories under effective control of the League of Nations, world organization of raw materials and distribution of goods, "a larger measure of social control over economic activity," and the abolition of capitalism. The English delegation at first fought for inclusion of an amendment calling for "mutual cancellation of war debts and limitation of reparations to the minimum necessary to repair devastation," but later withdrew it after spirited opposition by the Belgian and French delegates.

The representatives of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions met in Amsterdam on October 8 and decided to carry on special propaganda for ratification of the Washington eight-hour convention, to study the possibility of a boycott, and to prepare for the migration Congress in 1926.

**International Reaction.**—The resolutions and publicity of the Labor and Socialist International have bitterly protested the deeds of reaction in Italy, Hungary, Spain, Rumania, the Balkans, Esthonia, and elsewhere. A second conference of Socialist Parties in the Balkans was called in Prague in June, 1925, to demand the restoration of freedom in Bulgaria. The L. S. I. minorities commission following the Marseilles Congress issued a statement protesting the treatment of the German and Slav minorities in Italy. The L. S. I. has continued to insist on a national Armenian home in Turkish Armenia. In the pamphlet of Friedrich Adler, secretary of the International, on *The Anglo-Russian Report; A Criticism of the Report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia from the Point of*

*View of International Socialism*, he severely takes the report to task for what he calls its justification of Russian imperialism and reaction. At the time when Purcell and Bramley had issued statements from Russia indicating the nature of their forthcoming report, the Bureau of the L. S. I., meeting together with that of the International Federation of Trade Unions, took pains to indicate its opposition to those statements in so far as they covered the political sphere. The Bureau declared that the Communists were now trying to penetrate the International Federation of Trade Unions with their dividing "united front" tactics. The L. S. I. demanded the evacuation of the occupied territories of Germany, protested the invasion of the sovereignty of Egypt by Great Britain, insisted upon self-determination for Georgia, and amnesty for all political prisoners in Russia and Europe, while refusing to work with the International Red Aid which it regards as a Communist organization.

**Organization.**—A commission appointed by the Executive to deal with internal party conflicts in Hungary met and reported in January, 1925. The regular Hungarian Party Executive, the opposition, and the two groups of emigrants agreed to maintain the unity of the party. Between June 1, 1924, and May 31, 1925, the Labor and Socialist International received £3,989, 12 shillings, 3½ pence, and expended £3,762, 3 shillings, 5 pence. Great Britain has borne somewhat more than one-third of the expenses. At the Marseilles Congress it was decided to remove the seat of the headquarters from London to Switzerland in order to retain the services of Friedrich Adler as secretary. Since December 1, 1925, Zurich has been the city of the secretariat. In order to devote himself exclusively to his work as secretary of the Textile Workers' international, Tom Shaw resigned as joint secretary of the L. S. I. during the year. Deaths and resignations caused several changes in the Bureau and Executive. Arthur Henderson is again chairman of both, and Joseph Van Roosbroeck, secretary of the Belgian Labor Party, is treasurer. The following constitute the Executive:

Argentina—Etchegoin  
 Armenia—Isahakian  
 Austria—Bauer, Skaret  
 Belgium—De Brouckere, Van Roosbroeck  
 Czechoslovakia—Nemec, Czech  
 Denmark—Andersen, Madsen  
 Finland—Wiik  
 France—Bracke, Longuet  
 Georgia—Tseretelli  
 Germany—Crispien, H. Mueller, Wels  
 Great Britain—Allen, Cramp, Henderson

Hungary—Peidl  
 Italy—Modigliani, Treves  
 Latvia, Esthonia—Zeelens  
 Netherlands—Vliegen  
 Norway—Nilssen  
 Poland—Diamand, Drobner  
 Rumania—Pistiner  
 Russia—Abramowitch, Sukhomlin  
 Spain—Besteiro  
 Sweden—Engberg, Lindstroem  
 Ukraine—Bezpalco  
 United States—Hillquit, Berger  
 Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey—Topalovic

The next Congress will take place in 1927, and the British delegates asked that it be held in London.

## SOCIALIST YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

**Next Congress.**—The Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth International, which is the youth organization of the Labor and Socialist International, met in Marseilles during the Congress of the latter, August 21-22. The Bureau had met previously in January in Netherlands. The Executive considered the report of the secretariat made by Ollenhauer, the education of youth for peace, youth days, organization matters, and preparations for the Congress to be held in Amsterdam in the Spring of 1926.

**Membership.**—At the end of 1924 there were 34 affiliated bodies with a membership of about 240,000. In Great Britain only a beginning had been made by the Independent Labor Party in the founding of the Youth Guilds which held their first Congress in 1925. In France there were not over 2,000 members of the affiliated youth organization. In Spain, Italy, and Hungary the Socialist youth barely manage to exist. In the Balkans and in the countries of the Baltic Sea the youth organizations suffer under great oppression of the ruling governments. In the following countries the Socialist youth are better organized:

**Table 150—Membership of Socialist Youth International**

Germany—Young Workers, Young Socialists, and Socialist Students .....	100,000
Austria .....	35,000
Belgium .....	20,000
Sweden .....	18,000
Czechoslovakia—Czech and German.....	22,000
Denmark .....	10,000
Netherlands .....	8,000
Total .....	213,000

Other countries, including the United States, make up a total of 240,000.

The Socialist youth fraternized at very large demonstrative Youth Days which took place in Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, and Norway during the year.

## COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

**Enlarged Executive.**—The meeting of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International opened on March 21, 1925. Over 200 delegates and guests were present. Opening and closing speeches were made by Gregory Zinoviev, the chairman.

**National Sections.**—The American and Czechoslovak situations were two of the most important of the national party questions. The American Workers' Party was requested to continue activity for a labor party, as against a farmer-labor party, but not to take premature organizational measures and not to organize a national labor party until 500,000 organized workers were won over. Ludwig Lore was to have no place on the Central Committee. The Czechoslovak party conflict was defined as a struggle of the right elements in the Comintern against Leninist strategy and tactics. The Enlarged Executive endorsed the expulsion of Bubnik and his supporters, and condemned the Brunn provincial committee as Menshevik and Social Democratic. A separate resolution severely censured Brandler and Thalheimer of Germany, and Radek and other members of the Russian party, for systematically conducting factional work in the German party and movement. They were ordered not to participate in any Comintern work, and threatened with expulsion if they continued interfering in the German party situation. Bordiga of Italy was sharply taken to task for his important differences with Leninism: abstention from Parliament, his refusal to maneuver and insistence on a fixed program, and his emphasis on the importance of leaders.

**Peasant Problem.**—An important thesis on the peasant question was adopted. Peasants are divided into the wealthy, the middle, and the small peasantry. There are also the rural poor and the agricultural laborers. Differences are pointed out as between the proletariat and the middle, the wealthy, and even the small peasantry, but the points of agreement are emphasized as of far greater importance. It is declared that "the attitude of the proletariat towards the small, and to a considerable extent (particularly in agrarian countries) to the middle peasantry should be that of alliance and leadership."

**Bolshevization.**—Leon Trotsky's conduct in starting a discussion was sharply condemned, as well as the principles of Trotskyism. Extensive detailed theses were adopted on the Bolshevization of the national parties. Emphasis was put on training officials and members in theoretical foundations by setting up central party schools, with a group specializing on

methods of propaganda work. The party press, it was said, must be centralized, popularized, and the Communist message must be carried into the factories. Through systematic collection of experiences of agitation and propaganda activity, through self-criticism and control, the best methods would be utilized. A special organization conference on work among women was held. Communist participation was urged in all demonstrations in connection with the Third International Cooperative Day on July 4, 1925.

**China and Bulgaria.**—The Communist International saluted the workers of China on their fight against the slavery imposed upon them by the imperialist powers. It adopted a special resolution of sympathy on the death of Sun Yat-Sen. At the time of the explosion in the cathedral in Sofia, Bulgaria, the Communist Executive declared that it "is opposed on principle to individual terror."

**Political Prisoners.**—Through the *International Press Correspondence* issued in Vienna and the press of its national sections the Communist International sought to bring the greatest pressure upon governments to release political prisoners, to prevent their torture, and to block their conviction if arrested or their execution as in Bulgaria, Esthonia, Hungary, Rumania, and Poland. The Communist International constantly exposed the horrible treatment accorded the political prisoners in a number of countries.

**Parliamentary Conference.**—Communist members of the Parliaments of France, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Poland, Netherlands, and Switzerland met November 10-12 at Brussels. In their resolutions they denounced the Locarno pacts, the treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Neuilly, and Trianon, the "capitalist" League of Nations, the policy of sanctions, reparations, and the Dawes plan; they called for the cancellation of all debts and reparations, independence of the colonies, and an alliance of the European proletariat with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. In order to win the eight-hour day a resolution called for "no limitation to the Washington agreement, no limitation to parliamentary action, but the carrying on of broad mass fights for ensuring the eight-hour day." The conference called for self-determination of the people of Alsace-Lorraine, independence for Syria, and condemned all mandates of the League of Nations.

**German Party.**—About a month after the Communist Party of Germany held its conference, in the middle of July, the Executive Committee of the Communist International sharply

criticized the Ruth Fischer-Maslov leadership. The Executive of the German party declared its agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International and a new Central Committee was selected which emphasized the points neglected by the former majority group.

**Executive.**—The Executive Committee, of which Zinoviev is chairman, comprises :

Austria—Fiala  
 Belgium—Jacquemotte  
 Bulgaria—Kolarov; candidate, Dimitrov  
 China—Tschin-Du-Lin  
 Czechoslovakia—Neurath, Smeral, Muna; candidates, Vercik, Dobrowolny, Zapotocki  
 Finland and Border States—Kuusinen; candidate, Mitzkevich  
 France—Semard, Treint, Sellier; candidates, Guye Jeramme, Suzanne Giraud, Doriot  
 Germany—Geschke, Schlecht, Rosenberg; candidates, Robert, Ruth Fischer, Thaelmann  
 Great Britain—Pollitt, MacManus; candidates, Stewart, Gallacher  
 India—Roy  
 Ireland—Larkin  
 Italy—Bordiga, Ercoli; candidates, Marco, Rienzi, Maffi  
 Java—Semaoen  
 Japan—Katayama  
 Netherlands—Wynkoop  
 Norway—Schefflo; candidate, Hansen  
 Poland—Grzegorzewski; candidates, Bogutsky, Nebobitny  
 Rumania—Christescu  
 Russia—Zinoviev, Bucharin, Stalin, Kamenev, Rykov; candidates, Sokolnikov, Trotsky, Losovsky, Piatnitsky  
 South America—Penelon  
 Spain—Perez, Solis  
 Sweden—Kilbom; candidate, Samuelson  
 Ukraine—Manuilsky  
 United States—Foster, Ruthenberg; candidate, Dunne  
 Yugoslavia—Boshkovitz, Marinovitz; candidate, Simiz  
 Personally—Clara Zetkin; candidate, Bela Kun

## YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

**Enlarged Executive.**—Following the meeting of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International in March-April, 1925, the Enlarged Executive of the Young Communist International convened. It considered the problems of work in factory nuclei, among the youth of the rural population, and the youth of the Eastern countries. The main point discussed was the question of providing a Leninist education for all sections of the Young Communist International. A conference of Communist Youth League, held in Berlin, July 21-22, sent greetings to the young French Communists, in appreciation of their fight against the war with Morocco. An International Children's Week was declared from August 31-September 6, 1925. The young pioneers were urged to "form a Communist children's union in every country, under the leadership of the Communist

youth; found nuclei in all the schools; [oppose] child labor and corporal punishment in schools; [oppose] fresh wars; [demand] hands off the Soviet Union and China." The first Congress of the Young Pioneers, aged from 12 to 14, was held in Moscow, September-October, with delegates from the leading European countries which have only started the Pioneer movement, while Russia has enrolled 1,500,000.

## INTERNATIONAL PEASANT COUNCIL

**Plenary Meeting.**—The International Peasant Council, which was founded at a Congress in Moscow in October, 1923, held a plenary meeting for a week in Moscow, starting April 9, 1925. There were 78 delegates from 38 countries. Asia, America, and North Africa were represented as well as Europe. The meeting considered methods of Bolshevizing the peasant movement and decided not to form separate organizations with a definite political character, but to work within the already existing peasant groups and organizations. It also gave attention to work among the women in the villages and among the peasant youth.

The Enlarged Executive of the International Peasant Council sent a special appeal to the peasants of the East and the colonies to bestir themselves, affiliate with the Council, and to conduct the struggle for their liberation. It also sent out an appeal for support to the Workers' International Relief in aid of the starving peasants of Ireland.

**International Institute.**—The Presidium of the International Peasant Council established an International Agrarian Institute for the study of theoretical and practical farm economics, agrarian policies and legislation, the revolutionary peasants' movement, and the experience of peasants and farm workers in the Russian revolution. It denounced the withdrawal of Raditch and his Croatian group in Yugoslavia, following his arrest by Premier Pachitch.

**Presidium.**—The Presidium of the International Peasant Council consists of:

Poland—Dombal  
France—Jean Renaud, Marius Vazeilles  
Czechoslovakia—Otto Rydlo  
Bulgaria—Gorov  
Germany—Richard Burgi  
Soviet Union—Orlov  
Scandinavian countries—Gero  
Spain—Alonso

Ukraine—Odinez  
Usbekistan, Central Asia—Chudai-kulov  
Indo-China—Nguyen-Ai-Quac  
Mexico—Ursulio Galvan  
United States—Green  
Japan—Ken Chaijaschi  
Esthonia—Teng  
Italy—Ruggero Rossi

## INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

**Seventh Session.**—The largest number of countries represented at any conference, 46, participated in the seventh session of the International Labor Conference, May 19-June 10, 1925, at Geneva. There were still, however, a number of delegations without labor delegates. By a vote of 68 to 31, over the united opposition of the labor representatives, the Fascist trade unionist, Rossoni, was seated as Italian workers' delegate. He was not, however, put on any committee, and despite his protest was not elected to the Governing Body. Jouhaux of France declared that "Rossoni did not in any way represent the Italian workers."

**Draft Conventions.**—The session adopted on second reading, by the necessary two-thirds vote, the conventions on equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents, and abolition of night work in bakeries. It did not give the necessary two-thirds on second reading to the convention calling for a weekly 24-hour suspension of work in certain glass factories. The Conference adopted recommendations and conventions on minimum standards for workmen's compensation and for compensation for occupational diseases. It instructed the Governing Body to consider the request of the International Miners' Federation for an injury into the coal situation and to place the question of general sickness insurance on the agenda of an early session of the Conference. Further investigation was ordered into apprenticeship and vocational education. Reports are also to be made on conditions of agricultural workers, and of labor in the Asiatic countries, colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories.

**Eight-hour Convention.**—The government delegates gave reasons for not yet having ratified the Washington eight-hour convention of 1919. The workers' delegates vigorously protested at the slowness or refusal of the governments to ratify. It was declared that of 800 or 900 ratifications which ought to be registered, only 150 had actually been filed to date. Since 1921 no new convention had been adopted, with the exception of two in 1925.

## INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE ALLIANCE

**Membership.**—The International Cooperative Alliance was composed in 1925 of cooperative unions and wholesales in 36 countries and represented an individual membership of 50,000,000 cooperators. The International Cooperative Wholesale Commit-

tee drew up a set of rules for an International Cooperative Wholesale, to which the national wholesales of 26 countries have subscribed. This Wholesale will not immediately undertake any production enterprises but will confine its early activities to the exchange of goods. The first item to be given serious attention is coffee, which is commonly used in all cooperative countries. The committee has also made a survey of the imports and exports of the various cooperative wholesales.

**Finance.**—The International Cooperative Banking Committee, presided over by E. Poisson, has made an intensive study of banking and exchange in every country, and has rendered several exhaustive reports on these subjects. A sub-committee is working on a set of model rules for a cooperative bank which may help to standardize banking practices. The committee finds that the establishment of an International Cooperative Bank is not practicable at the present because of the instability of international exchange in many countries. The International Committee on Insurance is investigating the work done by the various national cooperatives.

**Observances.**—The year 1925 saw the adoption of an international cooperative flag composed of the colors of the rainbow. International Cooperators' Day, the first Saturday of July, was observed more generally than heretofore. In Russia it was virtually a national holiday. Other countries of eastern and southeastern Europe observed the occasion extensively. Cooperators of northern and western Europe utilize this occasion more and more each year for the promotion of cooperation.

**Politics.**—The question of participation in politics was keenly agitated during the year. The established attitude of the Alliance, confirmed at its 1924 Congress in Ghent, is political neutrality. Communist leaders among the Russian cooperatives, which number nearly a quarter of the 50,000,000 members of the Alliance, hold that the cooperatives should not be regarded as outside or above the class struggle, but as an active agent therein. Under the leadership of the German cooperators Kaufmann and Kasch, an element in the Alliance is asking for the expulsion of the Communist cooperatives.

**Fascisti.**—The Executive of the Alliance was unanimous in condemning Fascist persecution of the Italian movement. When finally the police of Milan seized the headquarters of the Italian National Cooperative League and dissolved that central union,

telegrams and cablegrams of protest were sent to Premier Mussolini by the International Alliance and by many of the national unions and wholesales.

**School.**—The 1925 International Cooperative Summer School was held in Elsinore, Denmark. This institution had its beginnings under the auspices of the British Cooperative Union. Though still financed very largely by the British, it is gradually winning international support and the 1925 school was one of the most successful.

# XIII. LABOR ABROAD

## INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS

Table 151—Membership of Trade

(In thousands)

Country	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
Argentina .....	365	433	498	523	528	546	564
Australia .....	200	257	253	147	112	109	211
Austria .....	189	231	203	203	...	...	...
Belgium .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brazil .....	...	...	30	...	...	...	...
Bulgaria .....	133	160	176	166	143	160	205
Canada .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
China .....	100	107	107	55	40	24	43
Czechoslovakia ...	128	139	154	156	173	189	224
Denmark .....	20	24	28	31	30	42	161
Finland .....	1,029	1,064	1,027	1,026	...	...	1,500
France .....	3,336	3,566	3,572	2,271	1,524	1,496	1,937
Germany .....	2,970	3,226	4,192	4,199	4,417	4,667	5,547
Great Britain.....	...	102	107	107	43	55	215
Greece .....	95	102	107	107	43	55	215
Hungary .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
India .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ireland .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Italy .....	847	861	972	962	806	701	740
Japan .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Latvia .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Luxemburg .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mexico .....	169	189	220	227	251	304	369
Netherlands .....	56	61	71	74	68	71	...
New Zealand.....	53	61	64	68	78	81	94
Norway .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Palestine .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peru .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Poland .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Portugal .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rumania .....	6	10	...	...	17	16	16
Russia .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Africa.....	80	190	128	121	76	99	90
Spain .....	111	120	136	141	151	189	244
Sweden .....	78	86	89	50	65	89	149
Switzerland .....	2,282	2,539	2,722	2,672	2,860	3,000	3,451
United States.....	8	5	9	14	12	12	12
Yugoslavia <sup>1</sup> .....							
Total .....	12,255	13,431	14,763	13,213	11,394 <sup>2</sup>	11,860 <sup>2</sup>	15,772 <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Figures up to 1919 for pre-war Serbia. <sup>2</sup> Total not reliable because of incomplete reporting during war and changes of boundaries. <sup>3</sup> 1921 figure for Argentina includes 153,000 in an Anarcho-Syndicalist federation and 20,000 in a Catholic organization not listed in 1920. <sup>4</sup> American Federation of Labor only. <sup>5</sup> White workers only. *United*

**Trade Union Membership.**—Only scattered figures, too slight to base any conclusion on, can be secured on trade union membership for most countries during 1924 and 1925. Official information for 1923 would indicate that the falling off which began during the industrial depression and the world-wide anti-union drive in 1922 continued into the following year, though to a less degree.

### Unions in Various Countries, 1911-1924

	(In thousands)						
Country	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Argentina .....	...	...	68	248 <sup>3</sup>	60	120	...
Australia .....	582	628	684	703	750	700	729
Austria .....	295	772	985	1,178	1,177	1,117	...
Belgium .....	450	750	920	920	781	745	...
Brazil .....	...	...	...	...	...	100	...
Bulgaria .....	...	...	36	44	54	50	...
Canada .....	249	378	374	313	292	278	261
China .....	...	...	...	300	500	...	...
Czechoslovakia ....	161	657	1,650	1,562	1,383	1,505	1,669
Denmark .....	316	360	362	323	314	303	...
Finland .....	21	41	59	49	49	48	...
France .....	2,000	2,500	1,788	1,047	1,396	1,496	...
Germany .....	3,801	9,000	13,000	12,625	11,264	9,193	...
Great Britain .....	6,645	8,024	8,493	6,793	5,580	5,405	...
Greece .....	...	...	170	...	...	...	...
Hungary .....	500	500	343	266	203	192	...
India .....	...	...	500	500	500	300	...
Ireland .....	...	...	...	...	...	250	...
Italy .....	...	1,800	3,100	2,200	3,443	2,235	...
Japan .....	...	...	...	111	...	250	...
Latvia .....	...	...	...	50	26	24	...
Luxemburg .....	...	...	...	26	...	13	...
Mexico .....	...	...	...	1,056	656	900	...
Netherlands .....	456	625	664	649	550	545	...
New Zealand .....	...	100	96	98	83	97	...
Norway .....	180	144	154	98	96	90	...
Palestine .....	...	...	...	...	...	11	...
Peru .....	...	...	...	25	...	...	...
Poland .....	...	...	947	1,343	1,253	770	...
Portugal .....	...	...	150	150	...	50	...
Rumania .....	...	...	170	106	82	78	...
Russia .....	...	...	5,222	8,400	4,828	4,828	6,360
South Africa .....	...	...	133	108	60 <sup>5</sup>	35	...
Spain .....	150	211	373	311	310	453	...
Sweden .....	302	339	390	362	325	400	...
Switzerland .....	177	224	312	267	234	299	...
United States .....	4,000	5,607	4,924	3,907 <sup>4</sup>	...	3,680	...
Yugoslavia <sup>1</sup> .....	15	20	47	72	81	60	...
Total .....	20,300 <sup>2</sup>	32,680	46,114	46,210	36,330	36,620	...

*States Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1921; *International Labor Review*, February-March, 1923; *Twelfth Annual Report on Labor Organization in Canada*, 1922; *Second Statistical Year Book of the International Federation of Trade Unions*, 1924; *Industrial and Labor Information*, 1922-25; and *Proceedings of Congresses*.

Table 152—Proportion of Trade Membership to  
Population, 1923

<i>Country</i>	<i>Trade Union Membership (In thousands)</i>	<i>Population (In thousands)</i>	<i>Percentage of Population in Trade Unions</i>
Argentina .....	120	8,533	1.4
Australia .....	700	5,437	12.9
Austria .....	1,117	6,131	18.2
Belgium .....	745	7,479	10.0
Brazil .....	100	30,636	0.3
Bulgaria .....	50	4,861	1.0
Canada .....	278	8,769	3.2
Czechoslovakia .....	1,505	13,596	11.1
Denmark .....	303	3,268	9.3
Finland .....	48	3,368	1.4
France .....	1,496	39,403	3.8
Germany .....	9,194	59,857	15.4
Great Britain.....	5,405	42,768	12.6
Hungary .....	192	7,841	2.4
India .....	300	247,140	0.1
Ireland .....	250	4,390	5.7
Italy .....	2,235	37,528	6.0
Japan .....	250	56,961	0.4
Latvia .....	24	1,503	1.6
Luxemburg .....	13	264	4.9
Mexico .....	900	15,502	5.8
Netherlands .....	545	6,841	8.0
New Zealand.....	97	1,219	8.0
Norway .....	90	2,646	3.4
Palestine .....	11	762	1.4
Poland .....	770	27,778	2.8
Portugal .....	50	5,958	0.8
Rumania .....	78	17,393	0.4
Russia .....	4,828	131,546	3.7
South Africa.....	35	6,923	0.5
Spain .....	453	20,874	2.2
Sweden .....	400	5,904	6.8
Switzerland .....	299	3,880	7.7
United States.....	3,680	105,711	3.5
Yugoslavia .....	60	11,338	0.5

**Political Strength.**—Nearly every country of importance has workers represented in its Parliament. France, Germany, Great Britain, and Sweden have more than 100 Labor or Socialist representatives. The United States has three Farmer-Labor Congressmen, and one Socialist. Besides Russia, which is entirely governed by Communists, 12 other countries have Communists in their popular houses.

Table 153—Labor, Socialist, and Communist Representation in Lower Houses of Parliament, 1925

<i>Country</i>	<i>Labor</i>	<i>Socialist</i>	<i>Communist</i>	<i>Total Seats in House</i>
Argentina .....	...	18	...	158
Australia .....	23	...	...	76
Austria .....	...	68	...	165
Belgium .....	...	79	...	186
Bulgaria .....	...	29	...	250
Canada .....	2	...	...	244
Chile .....	6	...	...	118
Czechoslovakia .....	...	48	42	300
Denmark .....	...	55	...	149
Estonia .....	...	22	4	100
Finland .....	...	60	18	200
France .....	...	102	29	548
Germany .....	...	131	45	493
Great Britain.....	151	...	1	615
Greece .....	...	6	...	369
Hungary .....	...	24	...	245
Ireland .....	14	...	...	153
Italy .....	...	25	39	535
Latvia .....	...	33	...	100
Lithuania .....	...	8	...	78
Luxemburg .....	9	...	...	48
Mexico .....	...	...	...	...
Netherlands .....	...	24	1	100
New Zealand.....	11	...	...	80
Norway .....	24	8	6	150
Poland .....	...	41	2	444
Portugal .....	...	2	...	164
Rumania .....	...	1	...	369
Russia .....	...	...	1,441	1,441
South Africa.....	24	...	...	134
Spain .....	...	7	...	408
Sweden .....	...	104	6	230
Switzerland .....	...	49	3	198
United States.....	3	1	...	435

**Cooperation.**—Consumers' cooperation expanded, on the whole, during 1925. Considerable gains were made in Belgium, Great Britain, Japan, the Scandinavian countries, and especially Russia. In Austria, Germany, and a few other countries the movement declined, and in Italy it is still suppressed by the Fascist dictatorship. Individual membership in the societies affiliated with the International Cooperative Alliance rose from 40,000,000 to 50,000,000.

Table 154—Membership of Consumers' Cooperative Societies Affiliated with Leading National Centers, 1922-1925

Country	Societies	Members	Country	Societies	Members
Argentina .....	263	105,007	Italy .....	2	2
Australia .....	365	190,000	Japan .....	14,400	3,341,000
Austria .....	227	1840,000	Latvia .....	382	180,000
Belgium .....	89	1200,000	Lithuania .....	250	.....
Bulgaria .....	905	112,125	Luxemburg .....	608	.....
Canada .....	14	7,047	Netherlands .....	445	176,808
Czechoslovakia ....	1,584	809,546	Norway .....	432	100,836
Denmark .....	1,806	337,700	Poland .....	3,182	1,824,000
Estonia .....	268	78,547	Portugal .....	200	150,000
Finland .....	588	348,558	Russia .....	25,974	8,722,000
France .....	1,716	1,545,000	Rumania .....	2,964	243,330
Germany .....	1,185	3,317,439	South Africa.....	50	8,000
Great Britain.....	1,534	4,690,000	Spain .....	146	37,259
Greece .....	1,710	93,103	Sweden .....	876	292,469
Hungary .....	1,980	1,031,000	Switzerland .....	519	352,400
India .....	61,000	.....	Yugoslavia .....	1,931	146,000
Ireland .....	676	.....			

## ARGENTINA

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—The largest single federation, the Argentine Syndicalist Union (*Union Sindical Argentina*), which held its first Congress in April, 1924, is unattached internationally and inclines toward anarchism. There is also an *Alianza Libertaria Argentina* with anarchist tendencies. The Argentine Federation of Labor (*Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina*), sent as delegates to the syndicalist International Workingmen's Association's Congress in March, 1925, S. Diaz and D. A. de Santillan. During the year a committee was set up to unite the unions which seceded from the various federations into a national center to be affiliated with Amsterdam. The Communists are also active in individual organizations.

The trade unions and workers definitely won their persistent fight against the government's insurance law which sought compulsorily to deduct the contributions.

### Political

**Socialist Party.**—In municipal elections in Buenos Aires the Socialists secured 57,159 out of 170,000 votes, against 49,000 in 1922. They secured five out of 15 seats in the city council.

<sup>1</sup> Estimated.

<sup>2</sup> Movement destroyed by Fascist.

They have 18 representatives out of 158 in the national popular house, and two senators. The party edits two daily papers and 32 weeklies, and claims 10,000 members. Its outstanding leader is Senator Juan Justo. The party is affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International. A special convention held early in 1925 adopted a program calling for nationalization of mines and oil fields; expropriation of real estate; ultimate abolition of the use of alcoholic drinks; an eight-hour day; abolition of the Senate with direct election of the president and abolition of his veto power; popular election of the Supreme Court with abolition of its right to declare laws unconstitutional; reduction in military service; prohibition of the use of the army in labor disputes; and separation of church and state. The party during the year held meetings to protest against the dictatorship in Chile and expressed its sense of solidarity with labor throughout South America.

**Communist Party.**—In the elections in the provinces the Communist Party registered gains. In Santa Fe it secured 2,072 votes against 4,862 for the Socialist Party, the total vote being 98,907. In the province of Cordoba on March 8, 1925, the Communists obtained 921 votes and the Socialists 1,040, while in 1924 the Communist Party secured only 379 and the Socialist Party 1,650. On the first of May the weekly Communist organ, *La Internacional*, became a daily.

### Cooperation

**Institute.**—The chief council of the *Museo Social* has decided to establish a center of cooperative studies, in order to secure the passage of laws governing cooperation and to establish connections with similar institutions in other countries. There are at present 50 distributive societies with 30,000 members. The state railway employees have a society of their own with 24,000 members.

## AUSTRALIA

### Industrial

**Labor Disputes.**—The strike of dockers and seamen which was begun in November, 1924, to abolish the Shipping Labor Bureau which had been established in 1917 to protect strike breakers, continued into 1925 and ended successfully for the men. Thomas Walsh, the president of the seamen, was, however,

fined £150 for inciting strikes. Later the men protested the chartering of British ships by the federal government. They won their point. Another strike took place over victimization, and it was agreed that men would be selected at government offices. The shipowners then complained and secured the cancellation of the seamen's arbitration court award and de-registration of the union. The seamen went on strike once more and won their demands. Finally, in the third week of August, the British shipowners deducted £1 a month from the men's pay when they reached Australian ports, in accordance with the agreement with Havelock Wilson's organization, the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland. The crews of a large number of ships walked out, at the same time that strikes were called in American and, unofficially, in British ports. Shipping was demoralized until the strike was declared off in November.

Early in September there was a complete tie-up of the Queensland state railways for a week. The government had to grant the demands of the men for an increase of wages and the right to hold stop-work meetings in the shops during working hours.

**Trade Unions.**—The membership in all unions at the end of 1924 was 729,155, a gain of 29,412 over 1923. About 55 per cent of the male workers and 30 per cent of the women are organized. On June 8-12 a conference of the state Labor Councils was held in Adelaide, and formed a Grand Council of 12 members, two from each state, with headquarters in Sydney. J. S. Garden is secretary. The conference adopted resolutions calling for the affiliation of the unions with the Labor Party, the formation of interstate disputes committees, a legal 44-hour week, socialization of industries, amalgamation of the Red and Amsterdam Internationals, and a Pan-Pacific workers' conference, to be held May 1, 1926, at Sydney. The Sydney unions opened a labor radio broadcasting station in November. The unions vigorously protested against the immigration of low-paid workers from Southern Europe on account of the heavy unemployment, which is reported to reach 100,000. The average hours worked are 46.

### Political

**Elections.**—The state elections in New South Wales on May 30 returned a clear majority for the Labor Party, as did those in Tasmania on June 3. Labor secured 47 out of 90 seats in the first, and 18 out of 30 in the second. It controlled five out of the six states, Victoria being the exception. Notwithstanding, in the federal elections of November 14, the Labor Party

secured only 23 as against 29 seats previously held. In the federal elections, however, compulsory voting was for the first time used and the anti-labor Bruce government made an issue of "law and order" as against violence and Communism, strikes, and imported agitators. In July the Bruce ministry secured the adoption of a law providing for deportation of trade unionists not born in Australia, and set up a special deportation board. Thomas Walsh and Jacob Johnson, president and assistant secretary of the seamen, were arrested and slated to be expelled but the higher courts set the men free.

**Labor Party.**—Official instructions were given to all Labor Party branches not to affiliate any Communist Party group, not to admit individual Communists, and to expel those who actively associate themselves with the Communist Party. E. G. Theodore, premier of Queensland since 1919, resigned and was replaced by W. N. Gillies. His resignation was said to be due to disapproval by the Labor Party of Queensland of the conditions he accepted in negotiating the British bank loan and also because of his opposition to the legal 44-hour week in state industries.

Labor members of Parliament protested the sending of an Australian cruiser to Southern China to be used against the Chinese workers. When the American warships visited Australia the Melbourne seamen refused to man a ship to take Prime Minister Bruce to meet the warships at sea.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party received 816 votes in the New South Wales elections. It publishes several weekly papers, and has branches in all the states. Its membership is under 500.

### Cooperation

**Compulsory Cooperation.**—In Queensland a law was enacted a year or two ago which provides that whenever 75 per cent of the growers of any commodity have formed a marketing association, all the other growers shall be compelled to market through this association. This is the first attempt to make membership in a cooperative compulsory.

**Farmers.**—The Coastal Farmers' Cooperative sold goods amounting to \$20,000,000, and distributed in surplus savings and bonuses \$1,500,000. It conducted 53 butter factories, 32 cheese factories, 23 fruit packing plants, and eight bacon packing enterprises.

**New South Wales.**—In New South Wales an amendment to the cooperative act is being pushed which will permit the or-

ganization of cooperative banking and insurance societies. During the last six months of 1924 the sales of the cooperative wholesale society were £253,855.

## AUSTRIA

### Industrial

**Labor Distress.**—Extraordinary unemployment prevailed throughout the year. In February, at the peak, there were 192,000 out of work in an estimated working class of 1,095,500. The cost of living went up in addition. On July 1, adding to the 75,000 already dismissed, 100,000 civil service employees were scheduled to be discharged under the League of Nations reconstruction program. The date set for their dismissal was, however, indefinitely postponed. The results of the League's plan were so disastrous to the workers that Bauer, one of the Socialist leaders, declared that the Social Democrats would not feel bound by the Austrian Parliament's action in accepting the new terms of 1925. The Vienna Chamber of Labor took steps to assist the unemployed by planning large public works, hoping to obtain foreign loans for the purpose. It also proposed to the United States Department of Labor to permit the immigration of 50,000 skilled workers. It secured from France an agreement to admit 10,000.

**Labor Disputes.**—In October the workers of the Alpine steel works succeeded in obtaining a wage increase through a strike. The bread bakers of Vienna won a four-day strike in November, obtaining an increase. A threatened strike of government employees was averted by the government conceding a considerable increase.

**Trade Unions.**—The trade union movement affiliated with Amsterdam had on December 31, 1924, a membership of 828,080, as against 896,763 at the end of 1923. In January, 1926, it celebrated the 30th year of the work of Anton Hueber as secretary of the Trade Union Federation.

### Political

**Social Democratic Labor Party.**—Due to the filibustering of the Social Democrats in a Parliamentary committee no report came out on the question of re-introducing rent payments in Vienna. The workers were also organized to prevent resumption of the payments. The party has been energetic in promotion of

union between Austria and Germany. It has insisted on the right of asylum to refugees, and no change was made despite pressure of the Balkan states. On May 27 the Social Democrats in Parliament assailed Foreign Minister Mataja for his attack on Russia. They also opposed any reduction of the army of 17,000, which is under their influence. The Social Democrats made serious inroads on the other parties in the local elections in the rural sections of Lower Austria. At its Congress on November 13 at Vienna the party adopted a new agricultural program with ultimate nationalization of large forest estates and agricultural holdings.

The party's official organ, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, celebrated its jubilee early in 1926.

Vienna's city council is two-thirds Socialist, and there are over 300,000 party members in the city, one for every fourth adult. The party had at the end of the year close to 600,000 members, and its leaders, Friedrich Adler, Otto Bauer, Robert Danneberg, and others play a leading role in the Labor and Socialist International.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party Conference was held in Vienna, September 12-14. Frey, Tomann, and Kortischoner had united against the Executive before the Conference took place, but they were overwhelmingly defeated. A new central committee consisting exclusively of workers from the workshops was set up. The Conference rejected the idea of Austria's incorporation in Germany or any Danube-Balkan federation. It called for systematic day by day work to win the masses.

### Cooperation

**Growth.**—The Austrian Union reports 475,520 members in 128 out of 227 affiliated societies. Total sales amounted to 93,387,000 gold crowns. The Vienna District Societies is considered the largest cooperative in the world, having a membership of 167,700, with 134 stores and 1,000 employees. There are also 24 professional branches in the suburbs of Vienna. One of the outstanding events in the Austrian cooperative movement was the sale of the *Hammerbrot Werke*, a huge bakery society with 24 branch plants, owned jointly by private capitalists, the Social Democratic Party, and the cooperatives. Several years ago the capitalist influences gained a majority control, and in 1925 the institution was sold into private hands.

**Housing.**—The land cooperative societies have erected 2,576 dwellings. The society assumes liability for 10 per cent of the building costs, contributed in working hours by purchasers of houses. All members acquiring homes put in about 2,000 hours of labor. The balance of 90 per cent is contributed by the state and the municipality. During 1922 and 1923 this work was interrupted because of national financial difficulties, and many partly completed buildings are being ruined.

## BELGIUM

### Industrial

**Trade Union Federation.**—The annual Congress of the Belgian Trade Union Commission was held in Brussels, July 24-25, 1925, under the chairmanship of Guillaume Solau. A membership of 578,000 was shown. Resolutions were adopted condemning the Moroccan war, and expressing sympathy with the Chinese workers' fight for better conditions and self-determination. Increased contributions were voted to help maintain workers' educational institutions. Demands were made for workers' holidays with pay. The executive was instructed to work out a scheme of a central strike fund, in which the affiliated organizations will also have a fund able to maintain a strike for two weeks.

**Christian Unions.**—The Belgian Federation of Christian Trade Unions met in Namur, August 15-16, representing a membership of 172,000. They declared for amalgamation, the eight-hour day, extension of social insurance, promotion of conciliation and arbitration through government action, and holidays with pay. Of the Socialist coalition government the Catholic Unions demanded extension of the emergency fund, increase of unemployment benefits, compulsory unemployment insurance, maternity insurance, and payments for occupational diseases.

**Labor Disputes.**—Protesting against a wage cut and rejecting a compromise proposed by their leaders and the employers' representatives, the metal workers struck on July 1. The strike spread and involved 60,000 in the industry. The International Metal Workers' Federation sent substantial sums. The Russian metal workers' union offered 50,000 francs which were refused on the ground that the donors were considered by the Belgian union as self-styled enemies. After six weeks the strikers won a complete victory, preventing a 5 per cent wage cut. The coal miners threatened to strike if a second wage cut was enforced against their already low wages.

## Political

**Coalition Socialist Government.**—General elections of April 5 resulted in a substantial increase in the vote and representation of the Labor Party. As against 68 seats in the Lower House and 52 in the Upper in 1921, the Socialists obtained 79 and 59 respectively. Their vote went up from 672,474 to 820,650, or from 34.80 to 39.44 per cent of the total cast. The total number of seats in the House is 187 and in the Senate 153. At first the Labor Party refused to enter into any coalition government, but because of the failure of their opponents, changed, and on June 17, the following Socialists accepted posts in a coalition of five Socialists, five Catholics, and two Liberals:

Emile Vandervelde.....	Foreign Affairs
Edouard Anseele.....	Railways
Charles Wauters.....	Industry
Camille Huysmans.....	Sciences and Arts

The general Council of the Labor Party presented a series of demands which included extension of rent control; lightening of income tax; ratification of the Washington eight-hour convention; reform of old age insurance; reduction in military service; and proposals concerning workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, maternity insurance, home workers, leave of absence, housing, and improvement of factory legislation.

The Minister of Labor, Wauters, introduced a bill for the unconditional ratification of the Washington eight-hour convention which had the support of his party. Anseele, Minister of Railways, set up a joint commission of inquiry to find means for increasing output so that the ordinary workers may be granted six days' annual holiday with pay. In the Parliamentary session the Socialists and Liberals defeated a woman suffrage bill while the Catholics supported it. Vandervelde, Foreign Minister, refused to recognize Soviet Russia on the ground that Georgia and Armenia were denied self-government and Belgian property rights were not respected. While at Locarno, Switzerland, Vandervelde refused to meet Mussolini.

In November the Socialists won 39 seats in the provincial elections.

**Labor Party Anniversary.**—The Belgian Labor Party celebrated its 40th anniversary in August, 1925. Leaders of the international Socialist movement were present and addressed tens of thousands. There was a parade in Brussels in which there were massed 4,000 red banners of workers' organizations.

**Communist Party.**—For the first time the Communists secured representation in Parliament, getting two members in the April elections. In the provincial elections of November 8, the Communist Party elected members for the first time in three of them. After the formation of the coalition cabinet they condemned Vandervelde for refusing to recognize Soviet Russia, and the Socialists for collaborating with financiers and capitalists.

### Cooperation

**General Conditions.**—Cooperative bakeries form the basis for the movement in Belgium. There are now approximately 400,000 individual members doing a business of 400,000,000 francs. In 1925 several neutral cooperative societies joined the National Cooperative Society which is formed and administered by all of the Socialist cooperatives.

The Belgian Cooperative Union included 89 societies; 79 of these had a turnover of 330,327,000 francs. The Wholesale sold goods worth 124,343,475 francs. It produced hosiery and conducted a creamery and a coffee-roastery. The deposits in the Labor Bank totalled 19,855,762 francs. *La Prevoyance Sociale* carried 230,875 policies with a face value of 7,185,462 francs.

## BRAZIL

### Industrial

**Trade Unions Suppressed.**—Despite constitutional guarantees, the workers' rights to organize, to meet, and to strike are largely denied by the reactionary government. Trade unions must have the permission of the police to hold meetings. There is a syndicalist federation called the *Federacao Operaria de Rio Grande du Sul*, with about 2,500 members, but the censor prevents the formation of relations with the unions in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. Scattered unions exist in the latter places. In a textile strike in Rio de Janeiro in April the police fired on the workers.

### Political

**Socialist Party.**—In the summer of 1925 the Socialists held a reorganization conference and adopted a program calling for a cabinet government system, universal secret ballot, citizenship to the foreigner, abolition of the upper house, complete freedom

of opinion, a federation of South American republics, separation of church and state, nationalization, and labor legislation, recognition of Soviet Russia, and restriction of armaments.

**Communist Party.**—The Communists started an official weekly organ on May 1, while four other papers appear as organs of the trade unions which are dominated by Communist influence. The weekly was suppressed for attacking Albert Thomas, director of the International Labor Office, on his visit. The Communist Party, which claimed about 500 members, was outlawed during the year.

## BULGARIA

### Industrial

**Labor Conditions.**—Bulgaria is largely agricultural, and a poor harvest in 1924 and 1925 caused great suffering. Civil wars, the presence of Macedonian and other refugees, heavy taxation, and a reactionary government have caused industry to dwindle, prices to rise, and real wages to fall. Civil servants with fixed salaries suffered severely. The government closed schools by the hundreds and threw thousands of teachers out of work. It closed the cooperatives which might have given some relief, and by a decree of April 2, 1924, dissolved the larger of the two federations of labor, under Communist control, the General Federation of Bulgarian Trade Unions.

### Political

**Government by Assassination.**—The Zankov government secured power by a bloody *coup d'état* in June, 1923, when it overthrew the Stambulsky regime. It has maintained itself by the slaughter of tens of thousands of peasants and the leaders of the working class movement in Bulgaria. Assassination has been one of its methods. In open daylight on the streets of Sofia, peasant, Macedonian, and Communist leaders have been shot down. Between August, 1924, and March, 1925, 37 political assassinations were reported in the official press. On March 18, Parliament voted to expel six Communist deputies in accordance with a medieval defense of the realm act of March 10. Before the Sofia cathedral was bombed a secret order issued by the Minister of War ordered a register of opposing peasants and Communists so that "all the leaders can be killed regardless as to whether they are guilty or not. In places where disturbances

break out, all prisoners, all conspirators, and their helpers, as well as those who conceal them, are to be killed without mercy. The same must be done to their families. Their houses are to be burnt down." Constantin Gheorgiev was commissioned to execute the defense of the realm act. The prisons were full of political prisoners. Gheorgiev was assassinated on April 14. At his funeral, in the Sveti Kral cathedral in Sofia on April 16 were gathered all the government notables including the cabinet. A bomb exploded in the cathedral during the ceremony and killed 150 men, women, and children, and wounded many more. The cabinet members escaped.

Immediately a reign of terror set in and Sofia and the villages were combed. Every house was searched. Hundreds were shot down and thousands arrested. A campaign of murder of prisoners took place. A second house to house search in Sofia was made in June. The Minister of War on June 13 stated that there were 3,194 persons awaiting trial in connection with the effort of the government to suppress the opposition. Mass trials took place. Prominent Communists including the lawyer Marco Friedman were publicly hanged. Death warrants for hundreds of others, after the most frightful tortures in prison, were ordered. The Zankov government refused to admit missions of relief.

**Communist Party.**—The Central Committee of the Communist Party was put on trial during the year, accused of having prepared the September, 1923, revolution against Zankov. Two members had meanwhile died, four had been in prison a year and a half, and three were tried during their exile. The Communist deputies in Parliament who had been officially expelled in March, 1925, had either fled or been assassinated. The Communists denied any complicity in the bombing of the cathedral and the Communist International officially declared its opposition on principle to individual terror.

**Socialist Party.**—The Socialist deputies in Parliament refused to vote for the establishment of martial law after the explosion, and instead demanded a system of democratic measures which would satisfy the political desires and economic interests of the people. They raised the question of the rights of minorities and of refugees. The party program calls for immediate withdrawal of the censorship; prompt termination of martial law; restoration of the right to hold meetings; release of all persons imprisoned without sufficient cause; an unconditional veto on torture; immediate cessation of executions without trial; and investigation before a court of all cases of arbitrary action or

personal revenge and strictest punishment of persons involved. At the party Congress in Sofia, October 4-5, the delegates voted against any participation with an opposition coalition to Zankov. At the Balkan conference, under the auspices of the Labor and Socialist International on June 12-14, the party attitude was supported.

### Cooperation

**Governmental Regulation.**—In April, 1924, the central cooperative society of Bulgaria, known as *Osvobojdenie* was dissolved by the government which charged that it was dominated by Communist forces. In March, 1925, a Superior Council of Cooperation was formed to regulate the internal affairs of cooperative societies and relations between cooperatives and the state.

**Bulgarian Union.**—The Union of Bulgarian Productive Societies comprises 66 organizations having an individual membership of 1,122. There are 1,039 credit societies.

**Napred.**—The Cooperative Wholesale (*Napred*) had 69 societies and 43,000 members. Its turnover was 131,639,000 leva.

## CANADA

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—According to the official annual report of the Department of Labor there were at the end of 1924 in all unions in Canada 260,643 members, a decline of 17,449 over 1923. Membership for 1925 of the larger federations was as follows:

**Table 155—Trade Union Membership in Canada, 1924**

Trades and Labor Congress.....	105,912
Catholic Federation.....	25,000
Brotherhood of Railroad Employees.....	13,829
Canadian Federation of Labor.....	9,500

**Trades and Labor Congress.**—The Trades and Labor Congress met August 31-September 4, 1925, at Ottawa. Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, Minister of Labor James Murdoch, and other governmental officials addressed the convention. The delegates voted down resolutions to admit all unions of Canada, election of convention committees, and the inclusion of provincial executive chairmen on the executive. By a vote of 95 to 56 they defeated a resolution threatening the arming of workers if legislation was not enacted prohibiting corporations from having armed forces. The convention turned down a proposal to endorse the Anglo-Russian trade union unity negotiations, and one calling for industrial unionism. It adopted a series of resolu-

tions dealing with labor legislation. The Executive Council's report emphasized the gains of public ownership, the necessity of legal enactment of the eight-hour day, continuance of negotiations with the American Federation of Labor on the United States quota law affecting the migration of Canadian workers, and the extension of the Workers' Educational Bureau to the Canadian unions. Tom Moore was re-elected president over Tim Buck, Communist, by a vote of 169 to 29.

**Catholic Workers.**—The Confederation of Catholic Workers held its convention in Three Rivers, September 19-24. It demanded that Catholic unions have equal representation with other unions on public commissions, and also a representative in the Canadian delegation to the International Labor Conferences. It adopted a series of demands on the federal and provincial governments on trade and labor questions.

**Railroad Employees.**—The Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, which met at Toronto September 21-28, decided to send a delegate to the next conference of International Transport Workers' Federation, and re-endorsed its demand for the amalgamation of all railway unions into one industrial organization. It demanded the appointment of a representative of the brotherhood on the executive of the Canadian National Railways, and world trade union unity as a means to fight imperialistic wars.

**Federation of Labor.**—The Canadian Federation of Labor held its annual meeting in Quebec, September 14-18. It instructed its executive to try to prevent by legal enactment the sending of union funds to the United States, and the inclusion of a member of the federation in the Canadian delegation to the International Labor Conference. The convention decided for a referendum on increasing the per capita tax, and for spending more money on organization work.

**Labor Disputes.**—The outstanding dispute of 1925 was the strike of 11,000 miners in Nova Scotia, which commenced March 6 and ended August 9. The British Empire Steel Corporation proposed a 10 per cent reduction in wages which the members of District 26, United Mine Workers of America, refused to accept. The company in February also withdrew credit in its company stores from those working part time, and the men demanded its continuance. Early in June pickets around the New Waterford power plant were arrested. On June 11 the company police guarding the plant were routed and badly beaten after they shot and killed a miner. Militia were sent into the strike region. An election meanwhile took place in Nova Scotia, the

Liberal Party in power was defeated, and through the mediation of the new premier agreement was reached providing for a 6 to 8 per cent reduction, working conditions to remain as in 1924, and a secret referendum of the workers on the check-off system.

### Political

**Labor Party.**—In the Parliamentary elections of October 29, Labor made no gains but managed to retain its two members. The activities of the provincial Labor Parties have continued, with a few increases in their representation in the legislatures. James Simpson, secretary of the Ontario Party, attended the British Empire Labor Conference in London in July.

**Communist Party.**—At the convention of the Communist Party, September 11-13 in Toronto, Tim Buck claimed 50 per cent of the local unions had endorsed amalgamation and other proposals of the party. The convention laid plans for re-organization on the basis of factory nuclei, and adopted a series of immediate demands.

### Cooperation

**Growth.**—During 1925 the societies in Saskatchewan federated and formed a joint buying committee to purchase for their societies products directly from the British Cooperative Wholesale Society. From Alberta the organization of a cooperative medical service is reported. One of the discouragements of the year 1925 was the appointment of a receiver for the large Guelph Cooperative Society, largest of its kind in Ontario.

**Nova Scotia Strike.**—The outstanding achievement of any one society in the country is the service rendered by the British-Canadian Cooperative Society of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, to the striking coal miners. This society, with annual sales of \$1,500,000 in 1924 and a net profit of \$136,000, has paid as high as 12 per cent in purchase rebates to its members. During the long strike this organization rendered immense service to the families of the strikers, and at the end of the strike was able to pay a rebate on sales during the critical months.

**Congress.**—The Congress of the Cooperative Union met in Toronto, November 27-28, 1925. It urged reduction of the sales tax, and provincial laws to insure the publication of financial statistics of cooperative societies. The union includes 14 societies with 7,047 members. Sales in 1924 totalled \$2,675,851. The United Grain Growers, Ltd., of Winnipeg, is affiliated with the

union. This society includes 35,671 members, and sold grain valued at \$1,804,743.

## CHILE

### Industrial

**Labor Disputes.**—Unsanitary conditions in the camps and low wages provoked a strike of the workers in the nitrate fields early in June. The managers of the plants had already ruthlessly expelled all those suspected of sympathy with unionism, and at the outbreak of the strike took drastic steps to crush it. The pro-labor and Communist papers in the district were suppressed. Guards of the companies attacked the Coruna headquarters of the unions. The federal government was appealed to and the Alessandri regime sent artillery and machine guns which bombarded the camps of the workers full of women and children. After the strike had been lost many of the men were bound in chains and thrown overboard. A commission of the trade unions of the capital reported that 2,000 had been killed, mostly women and children.

**Trade Unions.**—The Labor Federation (*Federacion Obrera*) is affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions. There is also a Great Confederation of Labor Unions (*Gran Confederacion de Sindicato de Trabajo*). A Wage Earners' Committee was set up at a conference on April 26, at which the railroad, transport, and printing trades workers, the teachers, salaried employees, the Workers' Federation, Tenants' League, and a council for establishing relations between the unions, were represented. A railroad workers' federation was organized at a congress in February.

### Political

**Election.**—The workers welcomed the expelled president, Alessandri, home in January, 1925, but opposition developed to his new constitution, and a conference of workers and intellectuals in the second week of March drafted their own proposals. The strike in the nitrate fields and the slaughter of the workers added to the discontent. Alessandri resigned on October 1. The workers' candidate, Jose Salas, received 70,608 votes against 171,259 counted for the successful presidential candidate, but the workers demanded the annulment of the elec-

tion on the ground of fraud and military pressure. On October 27 a state of siege was declared in the northern provinces and 23 were wounded, at an immense workers' demonstration. A general strike of two days followed in Santiago.

**Communist Party.**—At the conference of the workers and intellectuals in March the Workers' Federation, affiliated with Moscow, was said to represent 45 per cent of the forces present. There were 1,000 delegates. In the invitation to Alessandri to return, the Communist Party joined; the secretary, S. B. Wolf, admitted his error.

The party has six deputies in the lower house of Parliament, including Luis Cruz, president of the Labor Federation, and one senator.

### Cooperation

In Chile there is a fairly strong movement among the rural workers. The city of Santiago now has a cooperative restaurant which is reported to be doing well. The railway workers are co-operatively organized.

## CHINA

### Industrial

**Labor's Awakening.**—Some 6,000 cotton mill operatives of Shanghai struck on February 10, demanding that there be no beating of the workers, a 10 per cent increase in wages which were to be paid fortnightly, no discharge without cause, and reinstatement of all workers and payment for the period of the strike. They returned on February 27, securing only small gains. But their strike had spread to the transport and dock workers, as well as to the British-American Tobacco Company. In April the Japanese cotton mills of Tsintao were struck, and a sympathetic movement began in Shanghai. In May a Japanese mill owner of Shanghai killed a Chinese worker. Protesting students and workers were arrested and tried by the mixed non-Chinese court. On May 30, when a crowd which was following those arrested, arrived at the police station, the foreign police fired and killed 16 and wounded many more. The British were held responsible, as they dominate the foreign settlement, which is under British and not Chinese law. The Chinese were inflamed and declared a general mass strike against the foreign settlement and boycotted everything British. The Shanghai Trades Council,

said to represent 200,000 workers and 17 unions, led the general strike.

The labor and nationalist revolt spread to the chief cities of China. Strikes and boycott of English and Japanese goods took place in Peking, Canton, Tientsin, Hankow, Nanking, Swatow, Hongkong, Chung-King, Amoy, Foochow, Wuhu, and Ningpo, and in Manchuria. The foreign settlements of Shameen, Peking, Shanghai, and Hongkong were left without native help. At about the same time the seamen, the postal employees, and the telegraphers struck on their own account. The general strike continued for several months. At the end of August 50,000 mill workers in the Japanese factories of Shanghai returned after having secured recognition of their union, payment to the injured strikers and their families, and other important gains. During the strikes in all parts of China there were numerous casualties on the Chinese side. On June 23 the British in Shameen, the foreign settlement of Canton, opened fire on a parade protesting the Shanghai outrage, killing 52 and wounding 117. Strikers were slain in Tientsin and Hankow, and dozens in Shanghai.

### Political

**Canton.**—Sun Yat-Sen, Leader of the *Kuomintang* or People's Party which ruled Canton, in South China, died on March 12. When the anti-Manchu and republican forces overthrew the emperor, he became the first president in 1911. He and his party were friendly toward Soviet Russia, and his death-bed message to the Soviet government expressed the faith that with the aid of Russia

the victims of imperialism will inevitably emancipate themselves from a system of society which has always been based on slavery, war, and all sorts of injustice.

An attempt in June to take Canton from the *Kuomintang* Party by armed force failed, and the invading Yunanese were wiped out, but later La Tchun Kai, secretary and leader of the *Kuomintang* Party after Sen's death, was assassinated. The party supported the strikes and boycott.

**Nationalism.**—One of the most powerful nationalist movements in the history of China was tied up with the awakening of the workers and the sympathetic action of the intellectuals. The shooting of the strikers aroused a universal demand among the organized and conscious elements for abolition of extra-

territoriality for the foreign powers, giving back of all concessions wrung from a helpless China, removal of all privileges for foreigners, and recognition of trade unions and the improvement of working conditions. The significance of foreign control of labor conditions was vividly revealed by the failure of the non-Chinese Shanghai tax-payers even to convene a quorum to pass a by-law to fix a minimum age of 10 years for children entering the mills. Mixed courts, in which no Chinese sit as judges, sentence Chinamen who are arrested by foreign police, the latter cooperating with non-Chinese employers to intimidate and arrest striking workers. Foreign control over the tariff, and subsidies by foreign powers to rival provincial military governors prevent a central government from arising able to dominate the situation. The strike and boycotts compelled action by the foreign powers, which finally called a conference that opened at Peking on October 26, to give China as little as they dared. Ostensibly it was to consider abolishing extra-territoriality and permitting of China's increase of customs duties.

**Communist Party.**—On June 5, after the Shanghai outrage, Ambassador Karakhan of Russia sent a message of sympathy to the Chinese government. The Communist Party in Russia and throughout Europe and America supported the Chinese workers and nationalists. Thousands of dollars were sent to the Shanghai strikers. A fraternal delegation from the Russian Metal Workers' Union visited Shanghai. Small groups of Communists were active among the left wing of the Kuomintang Party of Canton. The Communist Party met secretly at the beginning of October.

**Socialists.**—Kiang Kang-Hu returned to China in August, 1922, and in June, 1924, the Socialist Party group issued a manifesto calling for elite suffrage, full power to the legislature, and occupational representation, as well as nationalization and self-determination. The head office of the party is in Shanghai.

### Cooperation

**Credit.**—Considerable effort has recently been made to introduce cooperation. A commission of Economic Information, semi-official in character, is trying to introduce the Raiffeisen banking system. After an extensive study in 1923, the organization of local banks was started in 1924 and at the end of the year nine societies were reported. Interest is limited to 12 per cent. Loans are limited to \$500.

## CUBA

### Industrial

**National Federation.**—On February 15-18 at Cienfuegos a number of unions met to consider the formation of a national labor federation. Another conference was held August 2-4 at Camaguey which was said to represent 123 organizations with a membership of 200,000, and the National Labor Confederation (*Confederacion Nacional Obrera*) was formed. The program demanded the abolition of the death penalty, opposition to war, no expulsion of foreign workers, and no excess customs duties. On May 3 the railroad unions supporting the Railroad Brotherhood's demands met. The latter and the Social Democratic unions did not participate in the formation of the new federation, but met separately on August 20 and decided to issue a call for a national congress.

**Suppression of Unions.**—On July 28 the president issued a decree providing for the expulsion of "undesirable elements." The factory workers' syndicate was dissolved and 30 aliens placed on a warship for deportation. The editorial staff of *El Progreso* was placed on trial for conspiracy.

### Political

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party was outlawed and its leaders arrested or expelled. A congress of the party was held August 17-19. It claimed about 200 members. On December 4 Julio Antonia Mella, secretary of the party, was arrested with 12 others, charged with having caused a bomb explosion. After a 19-day hunger strike Mella was released on bail.

**Socialist Party.**—A Socialist club was founded on March 20, and efforts were made to start a Labor Party.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—The total number of organized workers on December 31, 1924, was 1,669,456. The Federation of Czechoslovak Trade Unions (*Odborove Sdruzeni Ceskoslovenske*), affiliated with Amsterdam, had 343,284, a gain of 6 per cent over 1923, while the sympathetic Federation of German Trade Unions,

which has been carrying on amalgamation negotiations with Amsterdam, reported 231,611, also a slight gain over 1923. The Federation of National Social Unions, the nationalist body, showed 306,247, the Federation of Christian Trade Unions, 123,769, while the Federation of Communist Trade Unions in 1923 reported 89,941.

**Labor Disputes.**—The Communist federation interested itself in a strike of miners in Moravian Ostrau which started March 30, but it was opposed by the Amsterdam and nationalist unions. The Communists also were active in the strike of the textile workers in Warnsdorf, Rumburg and Zwickau during the autumn.

### Political

**Elections.**—Parliament was due to sit until 1926, its 300 members having been elected in April, 1920, for six years. But the coalition government in which the Czech Social Democrats participate had introduced duties on food, and in view of the rising cost of living, the Socialists denounced the regime. For this and other reasons new elections were held on November 15. Out of a total vote cast of 6,659,933 the several opposition Socialist parties polled about 1,751,590, or a little more than half of what they got in 1920. The Communist vote was about 931,769. The Independent Communists, who existed for a while in Parliament, received 7,866 votes, and elected no deputies. The representation in the lower house is approximately:

**Table 156—Parliamentary Representation in Czechoslovakia, 1920 and 1925**

<i>Czecho-Slovak Coalition Parties</i>			<i>Opposition Parties</i>		
	1920	1925		1920	1925
Agrarians .....	42	44	Communists .....	22	42
Clericals .....	21	31	German-Magyar Agrarians	13	23
Social Democrats .....	55	29	Slovak Clericals .....	11	21
National Socialists .....	27	28	German - Magyar Social		
Nationalists .....	22	13	Democrats .....	30	19
New Industrialists .....	6	13	German-Magyar Clericals	9	14
			German-Magyar National-		
Total Coalition .....	173	158	ists .....	10	11
			German-Magyar National		
			Socialists .....	5	8
			Minor Parties .....	21	4
			Total Opposition .....	121	142
			Total Parliament .....	294	300

The 1920 elections took place before the splits between Socialists and Communists in the Czech, German, and Magyar parties.

After the split, fewer deputies in Parliament went over to the Communists than corresponded to the numerical strength of the two groups.

**Socialist Parties.**—The German Social Democrats met in Congress at Aussig, October 17-18, and declared against any collaboration with middle class parties of the German nationalist opposition. The Polish party held its Congress in Teschen on March 1, and called for the convening of an all-inclusive Czechoslovak party conference, which would unite the various national Social Democratic parties. The Hungarian section also met separately September 6-7, at Komorn. The Czech Social Democrats justified their continued participation in the coalition government by the retention of the eight-hour day and the advanced social legislation of the country, recognition of which was made by the election of Premier Benes to the chairmanship of the 1925 International Labor Conference.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party suffered a severe internal crisis during the year, which involved the expulsion of some prominent members, including Vercik, a candidate of the Communist International Executive Committee, as well as Bubnik, the leader of the opposition. The latter was chairman of the first district of Prague and had sharply criticised the Central Committee, in which attack he was supported by the executive of the Brunn district. The National Council of the party, however, at its session of February 28, by a vote of 18 to 11 dissolved the opposition by expulsions, and at the Enlarged Executive meeting of the Communist International, was decisively upheld. The Communist Party claimed during 1925 about 100,000 members. Just before the elections the government arrested Jilek and Houser and charged them with an attempt on the life of President Masaryk. The Communists conducted vigorous campaigns against the high cost of living and on two occasions during meetings the people were fired upon by the police. The party Conference was held in September and a written declaration from the opposition found support from only a few delegates.

### Cooperation.

**General.**—Cooperative work in Czechoslovakia is handicapped by the language difficulty. There is a Czech Union and Wholesale, and a German Union and Wholesale. In 1925 an agreement was effected between the two Wholesales providing that goods produced by each may be used interchangeably and that no more competing productive plants shall be started. There were 8,044 societies of all types at the end of 1924.

**Czech Union.**—The Czech Union has 1,299 societies, 368 of which are consumers'. There were 487,225 members in 852 of these societies, which had a turnover of 1,041,098,200 crowns. The Wholesale (*V. D. P.*) sold goods worth 543,990,220 crowns. Foodstuffs, corn, underclothing, and preserved meats were produced.

**German Union.**—The German union included 269,591 members, and sold goods valued at 271,542,369 crowns. Production included foodstuffs, chicory, flour, preserves, clothing, chocolate, and mustard.

**Labor Conditions.**—The German Distributive Cooperative Societies resolved, on April 5, 1925, to make an agreement with the Federation of Trade Unions to establish union wages and conditions of labor in cooperative enterprises.

**Credit Societies.**—There were 1,501 credit societies of the Schultze-Delitsch type in 1923. These had 589,400 members, paid-in capital amounting to 122,000,000 kronen, and deposits of 5,870,000,000 kronen. They made loans to members of 2,103,000,000 kronen.

## DENMARK

### Industrial

**National Lockout.**—The expiring collective agreements of the unions, which are negotiated at the same time, called for an adjustment of wages to the cost of living index figure. The latter pointed toward an increase of wages, but the employers in the metal industry demanded a reduction, and the Employers' Association refused to concede any increase to the lowest paid unskilled workers. On March 18, therefore, as a result of a strike and lockout, 42,000 metal workers and general workers were out. Strikes and lockouts followed soon after, bringing the number of workers directly involved to 125,000. The national struggle lasted for 12 weeks, ending on June 8 with a substantial victory for the unionists. The dockers and transport workers helped considerably by tying up shipping, while the transport unions in Norway and Sweden endeavored to prevent work being done on Danish ships in their ports. The European unions and the Amsterdam International sent financial aid. The workers who remained on the job paid a levy to support the strikers. The victory of the Danish workers was hailed throughout the international labor movement.

**Trade Union Federation.**—The Danish Trade Union Federation, representing 230,000 members, held a Congress May 5-8, during the lockout, and adopted a series of proposals to be submitted to the employers. It decided to assess the entire membership for a national educational fund. It made arrangements for the settlement of disputes between the cooperative societies and the unions. The Unskilled Workers' Union at its congress in September decided to withdraw from the Federation, effective one year hence. Tension developed during the lockout. About 85,000 workers are in the union.

### Political

**Socialist Government.**—The Socialist minority government sought at first to avert the national lockout, then to bring it to a speedy close when it came, but was unsuccessful. Premier Stauning marched at the head of the Copenhagen May Day parade, when 25,000, mostly locked out workers, were in line. The disarmament and labor measures were pushed as far as the Social Democrats were able to, with a minority in both houses.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party is very small. About 100 of its members and sympathizers are reported to have attached themselves to the May Day parade in Copenhagen, but were driven from the park where the speaking occurred.

### Cooperation

**Growth.**—In Denmark, in 1924, the total sales of all cooperative societies came to 1,763,100,000 crowns; 1923 sales had totalled 1,378,600,000 crowns. The sales of the Danish Wholesale increased to 170,000,000 crowns. Turnover increased as follows:

**Table 157—Increase in Turnover of Danish Cooperative Societies, 1925.**

<i>Type of Society</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Consumers' cooperatives .....	36
Agricultural cooperative purchase and sales societies.....	36
Agricultural cooperative production and sales societies.....	24
Miscellaneous societies .....	1

**Production.**—Cooperative societies produced 25 per cent of all eggs, 83 per cent of all dairy produce, and 66 per cent of all meat products sold in Denmark. The total value of goods produced was 46,186,675 kroner.

**Banking.**—During 1925 the Danish cooperative bank at Copenhagen suspended payment. On November 25, a new bank, the Danish Cooperative and People's Bank, was founded at Aarhus, with a capital of 5,000,000 kroner.

## ESTHONIA

### Industrial

**Resumed Trade Union Activity.**—Unemployment during 1925 was very severe with wages below pre-war levels. Increases in wages were secured by several organizations. The clothing workers and metal workers' unions resumed activities.

### Political

**Socialist Party.**—The Socialist Labor Party, which is the successor of the two former Socialist Parties, met in conference at Reval April 9-10. It was decided by a four-fifths majority, against Martna's opposition, to continue participation in the coalition government, which followed the Communist coup in December, 1924.

**Communist Party.**—Hans Heydemann was executed, accused of espionage in time of civil war, 1919-20, and of participation in the December, 1924, uprising at Reval. He was refused an opportunity to appeal, and his execution hastily followed conviction. A large number of other Communists were sentenced from two years to life imprisonment. The Socialists protested the death sentence on Heydemann and the shameful abuse of law. The prison authorities were accused of torturing prisoners, and the police of wanton brutality.

### Cooperation

**Growth.**—The Esthonian Cooperative Wholesale Society in 1924 had 268 local societies affiliated, representing a membership of 78,547. The sales of these societies were 2,423,144,000 Esthonian marks, in 1923 sales totalled 2,038,144,000 marks. The sales of the Wholesale were 1,215,266,000 Esthonian marks as against 1,203,373,000 in 1923. The value of goods produced was 981,547,000 marks.

## FINLAND

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—The Federation of Trade Unions is not affiliated with either the Red or the Amsterdam trade union International. The Communists play a very active role, however. At a Congress to be held in 1926 the question of affiliation will be discussed. At the end of 1923, the latest year for which figures are available, the Federation reported 48,146 members. There were no strikes of any importance but the problem of unemployment was serious.

### Political

**Elections.**—Municipal elections were held toward the close of the year. In two important industrial centers, Tammerfors and Kotka, the Social Democratic Party attained majorities, while in Helsingfors, the capital, it strengthened its position. The Communist and Social Democratic Parties together made considerable gains, securing majorities in many of the rural communities.

The Communist Party is illegal. Most of the 196 Communists who were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in the middle of 1924 continued in jail in 1925. As a result of the parliamentary elections of 1924 the Socialists secured 60 seats and the Communists 18 out of a total of 200.

### Cooperation

**K. K.**—The K. K. Cooperative Union, known as the "progressive" union had, in 1924, 110 societies with a total of 185,338 members. Its Wholesale (*O. T. K.*) had a turnover of 550,200,000 Finnish marks. The reserve fund of this Wholesale now amounts to 33,762,328 marks. The societies affiliated to K. K. have 110,000 members and 67 restaurants, employing 5,649 persons. The total sales were 966,884,018 marks as against 844,405,091 in 1923. The value of goods produced was 150,163,832 marks. The total surplus savings paid by these societies for the year was 7,286,000 marks. The fire insurance society had a membership of 110 co-operatives and had in force 6,377 policies.

**Y. O. L.**—The *Y. O. L.* or "neutral" union reports 478 affiliated societies, 1,713 stores, and total sales through these stores of 1,230,000,000 marks. The Wholesale (*S. O. K.*) had sales of 630,000,000 marks, and its reserve fund is 29,200,000 marks.

## FRANCE

## Industrial

**Labor Conditions.**—As in the previous year, there was little unemployment in France in 1925. Instead, there were over 2,000,000 foreign workers in the country, of 50 nationalities. Their wages are about the same as for French workers, but they are almost totally unorganized. Cost of living went up considerably. The eight-hour day was generally maintained, and the Chamber of Deputies ratified the Washington convention on that subject on July 8.

**General Confederation of Labor.**—A number of minor unions re-affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor, or C. G. T. (*Confederation General du Travail*). The National Union of Teachers, 80,000 strong, also voted at its convention in the summer to affiliate with the C. G. T. Alphonse Merrheim, ex-secretary of the metal workers, and an outstanding leader of the trade union movement for many years, died on October 22.

The C. G. T. held a Congress in Paris, August 26-30, with about 1,000 delegates representing 1,799 unions, celebrating at the same time the 30th anniversary of its founding. By a vote of 2,760 to 1,500 it received a deputation from the Communist national union, the General Confederation of United Labor, or C. G. T. U. (*Confederation General du Travail Unitaire*), but by a vote of 3,936 to 365 it declared that the agitation for a united front was a Communist maneuver, and that unity in the ranks of the unionists could only be achieved by the re-establishment locally of a single union, to which the dissidents would join as individuals, and internationally by the affiliation of all national centers with the Amsterdam International. The Congress also instructed all of the affiliated unions to refuse any invitations of the C. G. T. U. for a separate conference. On the question of social insurance, the C. G. T. demanded quicker action by Parliament, and a comprehensive scheme. It went on record against special forms of wage payment, but it demanded a minimum family wage, with wages above the minimum to compensate for special effort. It also adopted resolutions for holidays with pay; workers' control bodies, such as works councils, to be under the control of the trade unions; occupational and technical education; full trade union rights to foreigners; labor legislation for agricultural workers; an eight-hour day; protection for women and children; better factory inspection; regulation of home work; and organization of women into unions. The C. G. T. continued to publish its daily newspaper, *Le Peuple*, which supported the Socialist Party and the left bloc government.

**General Confederation of United Labor.**—The C. G. T. U., affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions called its Congress at the same time as that of the reformist C. G. T., in the hope of achieving unity. There were 700 delegates present representing 1,420 unions. The secretary of the R. I. L. U., Losovsky, addressed the Congress, and emphasized the proposal for national and world trade union unity which calls for the dissolution of the Amsterdam and the Red organizations and the convening of unity conferences based on proportional representation in each nation and internationally. The C. G. T. U. sent a delegation to the C. G. T. Congress, which listened but rejected the unity proposals. The Congress of the C. G. T. U. adopted resolutions against French imperialism and the war in Morocco and Syria; it called for a vigorous strike policy, comprehensive social insurance, protection and rights for foreign workers, wages in gold with payment on a sliding scale based on the cost of living index, and a national minimum wage. It rescinded a previous rule, by a vote of 948 to 425, to permit officials to stand for re-election.

The C. G. T. U. made several efforts to achieve unity. The executives of both wings of the railwaymen of the Orleans district met during the winter, and declared that past differences and political views must be forgotten in the union, outside groups kept out, no cell-building to be permitted, and all officials to hand in their resignations and none to be re-elected. The C. G. T. U. unions of Paris called several conferences at which some of the C. G. T. unions were represented but no significant results were achieved. The C. G. T. U. cooperated throughout with the Communist Party in action and demonstrations against the Moroccan war.

**Christian Federation.**—The French Confederation of Christian Workers met in Paris, May 31-June 1, with delegates from 530 unions. The Congress received reports on technical education and emigration, and adopted resolutions favoring compulsory conciliation and arbitration, a fair wage, an eight-hour day, a national housing program, and representation of the Christian unionists on all official bodies.

**Labor Disputes.**—The only big strike of the year was that of the bank clerks, which started in the south of France and spread throughout the country, involving tens of thousands. After lasting 50 days it was called off in early September. The members of the reformist, Communist, and Catholic unions all worked

together through a joint committee. The bank clerks, who were miserably paid and won public sympathy, were unable, however, to compel the powerful banks to budge, and government mediation failed. The demands included official recognition of their unions, a free Saturday afternoon, and an immediate increase in wages. The organized bank clerks and salaried employees in the rest of Europe sent substantial sums to help the strikers, and in Marseilles the workers declared a 24-hour general strike in sympathy. In the large banks the strikers returned on the basis of a protocol of August 31, which called for the fixing of a minimum wage, payment of a heating bonus for the winter months, and conferences with clerks' delegations on matters touching their conditions.

The telephone and telegraph operators tied up all communication for two hours on September 21 to compel the government to concede a wage increase.

### Political

**Socialist Party.**—The French Socialist Party, known as S. F. I. O., (*Section Française, Internationale Ouvrier*) had polled about 1,700,000 votes in the May, 1924, elections for the Chamber of Deputies, winning 101 members; 687,660 votes on purely Socialist lists, electing 40, and half of 2,107,545 votes for the left bloc, electing 61 Socialists. Where Communists opposed the Socialists, the latter elected in 17 out of 18 districts. The municipal elections of May, 1925, and the county elections in July continued the swing toward the opposition parties, decisively beating the Nationalists, and bringing more gains to the Socialist Party which now has more than 10,000 town councillors and majorities in many large towns. These local victories will have their influence on the composition of the Senate in the next four years.

The Socialists held two national Congresses during the year. The first, at Grenoble on February 8, was to determine the party's position toward the projected Herriot government. It was decided to stay out of any actual coalition but to support Herriot and to bring pressure on him for Socialist objectives. The same Congress voted for a strict proportional representation system of elections, and for a single-constituency mode of election. The second Congress, in August at Paris, by a vote of 2,210 to 559 rejected Renaudel's motion, and adopted Blum's, which again declared against any participation in the government, but for support to the left bloc ministries as long as they fought for the

establishment of international peace, financial stabilization, fiscal justice, social insurance, military reform, and reform of education. The Paris Congress unanimously disavowed Socialist responsibility for the occupation of Morocco, and called upon the government to take decisive action for peace on the basis of recognition of the independence of the Riff, rectification of frontiers, and suspension of military operations during negotiations. The Congress expelled Varenne for accepting the post of governor of Indo-China without consultation with or authorization by the party.

The Herriot government fell on April 10 and was succeeded by changing ministers under Prime Minister Painlevé, who found himself with a Moroccan war on his hands in May, the unsettled war debt to America, and the chaotic financial situation. The Socialists first abstained from supporting the Moroccan war in Parliamentary votes, but on June 19 they supported Painlevé on this question. Later they grew more restive over the continuance of the Moroccan venture. They opposed the various financial plans of Caillaux, and finally on November 11 compelled Painlevé to accept their plan for a capital levy, but his government fell immediately thereafter.

On October 31, the party held a banquet to celebrate its 20th anniversary and the attainment of 100,000 members. Before the Communist split in 1920 the party had 180,000 members, but only 50,000 remained with the Socialists after the Congress of Tours in December of that year. In 1914 the Socialists had 93,000 members. A new weekly was started with Bracke as editor called *Le Combat Social*, and a new monthly, *La Nouvelle Revue Socialiste*, under the editorship of Longuet.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party held national Conferences January 17-22, at Clichy, a "red suburb of Paris," and again on October 15-20, in the small "Communist town" of Ivry, near the capital. At both Conferences the delegates opposed in the sharpest manner the group formed around Loriot. Emphasis was placed on the necessity of re-organizing the party outside of Paris on the basis of factory nuclei. It was stated that the membership had increased from 70,000 to 90,000. The process of bringing the members of the C. G. T. U. to a clear understanding of the role of the party and its relation to the unions was going forward.

The Communists carried on a militant campaign against the war in Morocco and Syria. Together with the General Confederation of United Labor, the Republican Association of Ex-soldiers organized by Henri Barbusse, the Tenants' League, and

the Young Communist Movement, they formed a Central Committee of Action against the war. Their program called for fraternization of the soldiers, boycott of the transport of arms and munitions, a general protest strike, voting against the war credits, and the defeat of French imperialism. Everywhere Communists were arrested and sentenced for their anti-war activity, members of the staff of *L'Humanite* were indicted, and an effort was made to deprive Communist deputies of Parliamentary immunity in order to try them and convict them. Inside of Parliament the Communists carried on a most determined effort against the war in Morocco, and bitterly condemned the Socialists for not making common cause with them.

The party organized a 24-hour demonstration strike on October 12 to protest against the Moroccan war, the high cost of living, and Caillaux's financial policies. During the week of the general strike the circulation of *L'Humanite*, the party daily, increased from 175,000 to over 250,000. On April 23 three young Nationalists were killed and eight wounded in a fight with Communists in Paris. In Marseilles, at the time of the Labor and Socialist International Congress in August, Communists marched to the Polish embassy to protest the white terror in Poland. The parade was broken up, police and workers were injured, and several of the latter were arrested. Workers and peasants' conferences were organized in various districts to agitate for the slogans of the united front, and at demonstration meetings they often came to blows with the police. The Communist Party protested the expulsion of Manabendra Nath Roy, the Indian Communist, as well as the deportation of the Chinese who broke into the Chinese embassy in Paris.

Jacques Sadoul who returned from Russia and gave himself up on October 26, 1924, to the French military authorities to be tried for treason by a court martial was acquitted on April 8.

### Cooperation.

**Progress.**—The National Federation of Distributive Cooperative Societies reports continued progress. At the end of 1924 there were 1,716 societies. In 1923 these had 1,545,000 members. The *Magasin de Gros*, wholesale for France, has many productive works, including three preserving factories, a chocolate factory, five boot and shoe factories, and two ready-made clothing factories. Goods valued at 23,718,700 francs were produced. It employs 1,396 persons. Goods sold were worth 353,986,123 francs.

**Credit.**—The Bank of French Cooperative Societies has 48,000 accounts and 600 corresponding banks among the cooperatives. Its total deposits were 2,908,000,000 francs.

**Regional Societies.**—The French Union adopted in 1913 a plan of regional development societies or district federations, for educational work and joint purchase. There are now 48 such societies with 2,467 stores and an individual membership of 543,979. The annual turnover was 578,992,098 francs.

**Conference.**—On April 1-5, 1925, there was a conference of 109 members of the Chamber of Deputies interested in co-operation, to discuss ways and means of furthering the movement.

## GERMANY

### Industrial

**Labor Conditions and Disputes.**—Wage rates rose during 1925, but real wages are still much below those of 1913. Unemployment in the early part of the year decreased from 1924, but toward the close of 1925 rose to an unprecedented figure. The number of unemployed non-manual workers especially continued very large. The General Federation of Salaried Employees (A. F. A.), affiliated with Amsterdam, demanded of the government an immediate grant of 30,000,000 gold marks for distribution, and for legislation to take care of the older men who have suffered the worst.

Slight reductions in hours took place but where in 1924 the workers had been forced to accept more than eight hours, they were continuing so to work in 1925.

There were a number of short and successful strikes in the railroading, textile, mining, and building industries for increases of wages. The conciliation courts made compulsory awards which indicated their bias toward the employers. The three sympathetic federations of manual, non-manual workers, and civil servants affiliated with Amsterdam held a conference in October and decided to force the employers to continue free negotiations as against resort to the courts.

**General Federation of German Trade Union.**—The General Federation of German Trade Unions, or A. D. G. B. (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*), showed a membership of 3,975,002 for the last quarter of 1924, the lowest since 1919. The first quarter of 1925, however, showed a gain to 4,152,957, and the second quarter to 4,194,574. Membership figures have been as follows:

Table 158—Membership of General Federation of German Trade Unions, 1913-1920

<i>Year</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Members</i>
1913.....	2,573,718	1921.....	7,567,978
1918.....	1,664,991	1922.....	7,895,065
1919.....	5,479,073	1923.....	7,063,158
1920.....	7,890,102	1924.....	4,564,163

Amalgamations have reduced the number of affiliated unions to 41. The latest three-yearly Congress was held at Breslau, August 31-September 5, 1925, with Theodor Leipart in the chair. Among the 311 delegates there were two Communists as against 88 at the previous Congress in 1922. Dissmann of the metal workers led a small opposition in favor of industrial unions and more militant action. The resolution on the question of organizational form, defended by Tarnow of the wood workers, declared for voluntary amalgamation, but emphasized the necessity of the unions' fighting their wage and other demands together. The Congress came out for a national referendum if necessary to restore the statutory eight-hour day. It pointed out that the workers had already borne sacrifices to assist post-war Germany to get on its feet industrially, and that the unions would fight hard for a higher standard of life for their members. The delegates insisted upon a better code of social legislation, with no restrictions on the right to strike. They declared their support of the works councils.

In the fall the A. D. G. B. sent a delegation of union leaders representing the miners, wood workers, clothing workers, transport unions, salaried workers, and others to the United States to study industrial conditions and methods of production, to counteract the claims of the German employers as to American superior methods and competition. The delegates were well received by the American unions with whom they cemented fraternal relations.

**Christian Unions.**—A General Council meeting of the three national federations of Christian unions was held October 13-14 at Sarrebruck. Emphasis was placed on non-affiliation with right or left political party groups. Demands were made for reduction in the cost of living, ratification of the Washington eight-hour convention, more adequate workers' representation in management, and a progressive wage policy by the conciliation courts.

## Political

**Ebert's Death.**—Friedrich Ebert, Social Democrat and first president of the German republic, died on February 28, 1925. He was born in Heidelberg, February 4, 1871, the son of a tailor, and was a saddler by trade. He was a member of the Social Democratic Party since 1889, in the Reichstag since 1912, and chairman of the party and Parliamentary group in 1913. After the revolution and the adoption of the Weimar constitution setting up the republic he was elected by the newly organized Reichstag to the presidency. The Berlin branch of the saddlers' union, under Communist leadership, expelled Ebert several times for acts which it disapproved of, but he was re-instated by the national body. Ebert's death was mourned by the Amsterdam International and the Labor and Socialist International, as well as by Germany which gave him a national burial.

**Election of Hindenburg.**—The first direct election of president of the republic occurred upon Ebert's death. Under the German system of elections the candidate to be elected to the presidency must have a clear majority at the first polling, or else a second election occurs where a plurality is sufficient. At the first elections, March 29, 1925, Otto Braun, premier of Prussia, was the Social Democratic candidate, ex-Chancellor Marx the candidate of the Center, Jarres, ex-Minister of the Interior, for the parties of the right, and Thaelmann for the Communists. The returns were as follows:

Table 159—First Poll for President in Germany, March, 1925

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Vote</i>	<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Vote</i>
Braun .....	7,798,346	Ludendorf (Fascist).....	284,975
Marx .....	3,884,877	Held (Bavarian People's).....	1,006,790
Jarres .....	10,408,365	Scattering .....	34,245
Thaelmann .....	1,871,207		
Hellpach (Democratic)...	1,567,197	Total .....	26,856,002

No candidate having secured a clear majority, a second election became necessary, which was held on April 26. The various parties grouped themselves behind three chief candidates: the Socialists and Center parties backed Marx, the Communists against the advice of the Communist International retained their man, Thaelmann, while the Nationalist, People's and extreme right parties of every shade adopted Hindenburg as their candidate. The latter, despite spirited opposition by the other parties, secured a plurality of votes:

Table 160—Final Poll for President in Germany, April, 1925

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Vote</i>
Hindenburg .....	14,655,766
Marx .....	13,751,615
Thaelmann .....	1,931,151
Scattering .....	13,416
Total .....	30,351,948

Hindenburg's plurality was 904,151. The Socialists accused the Communists of helping elect the candidate of the Nationalists and militarists. As against slightly over 26,850,000 votes in the first, the second election registered 3,500,000 more votes, nearly all of which went to Hindenburg. The Social Democrats unsuccessfully tried to contest the validity of the election, charging wholesale frauds, and the Reichsbanner, the republican defense organization, refused to participate in Hindenburg's reception in Berlin. The oath of office was administered to Hindenburg by Paul Loebe, president of the Reichstag, a Socialist, who had been re-elected in January, 1925, after a short interlude.

**Luther Ministry.**—Early in January, following the December, 1924, Reichstag elections, a ministry was formed by Finance Minister Luther with the aid of the Nationalists and right parties exclusively. The Socialists and Communists vigorously denounced the reactionary ministry. Rudolf Breitscheid of the Social Democratic Party declared on the floor of the Reichstag that the country was on the road toward the restoration of the old regime. The protective tariff policy, the taxation proposals, and other measures of the ministry, backed up by the right parties were unsuccessfully fought by Socialists and Communists. A number of Communist deputies were on several occasions led forcibly from the Reichstag for their endeavor to block the passage of legislation.

**Social Democratic Party.**—The Congress of the Social Democratic Party was held in Heidelberg during the week of September 13. It adopted a new party program calling for a democratic republic with decentralized administration, equal treatment of all classes before the courts, an advanced social legislative code, a progressive educational policy without interference of the church, a taxation system which would put the burden on those able to pay, and an international policy which would make for peace through disarmament and the building of the United States of Europe. The program also emphasized the fundamental demands for socialization and Socialism. A minority sought to state the theoretical position of the party in a more militant fashion but was out-voted by over 3 to 1. The

difficulties in Saxony where 23 members of the state legislature had been expelled from the party were smoothed over by a decision calling upon the Saxon party to re-admit those expelled and to patch up differences. A resolution to commit the party against entering another coalition with bourgeois parties was voted down. Reports of the Executive and the party's Parliamentary group were adopted, not without opposition. The Congress delegates visited the grave of Ebert, the Socialist president, who was buried in the town.

The party expelled Gustav Adolf Bauer, former imperial chancellor, for his connection with the Barmat financial scandal in which the Barmat brothers were loaned state funds to conduct their speculations. The Social Democrats hailed the Locarno treaties and at first tried to maneuver for a new election when the Nationalists stepped out of Luther's cabinet because of his acceptance of them. After Luther resigned they presented a series of demands before they would enter into another big coalition. At the end of the year no new cabinet had been formed.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party of Germany met in Congress July 12-17 in the Prussian Legislative chambers in Berlin, with 170 delegates. The report of the Central Committee was adopted by a large majority over the opposition of Katz, Rosenberg, Sholem, and others. The latter were characterized as ultra-left. A number of resolutions were adopted on trade union work, the activity of the party, the Communist International, the work of the Parliamentary group, amnesty for political prisoners, and the situation in China and Morocco. A month after the Congress adjourned a letter from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the German party was made public. The Moscow body sharply criticised the Ruth Fischer-Maslov leadership of the German party for lack of effective work in the trade unions, for undervaluing the masses, for using mechanical compulsion instead of party education, neglect of the young Communists, and for failure to use correct tactics to win over the Social Democratic and non-party workers. The Central Committee of the German party accepted the criticisms, declared its agreement with the organization and program suggestions of the Comintern, and re-organized control, displacing the Fischer-Maslov majority.

The trial of the 16 Communists charged with constituting a German Cheka which occurred in February at Leipsic, ended with the sentencing of three to death and the others to prison terms. A number of Communists in the jails at Hamburg and

Berlin went on hunger strikes. The Communists denounced the Socialists for not supporting complete amnesty. In Halle on March 15 during a campaign meeting at the time of the presidential elections a police lieutenant started the firing into the crowd in the hall and a number were killed and wounded.

A German workers' delegation consisting of 56 members, the majority being Social Democrats, was sent to Russia and returned with a very favorable report.

Municipal elections were held on October 25. In Berlin and Baden the Communists scored great successes. In Berlin they increased their representation from 20 to 43 seats in the city council and in Baden from 3 to 5. The Communist Party returned to its high vote of May, 1924. The Berlin Socialists secured 75 seats, giving them with the Communists a majority of the council.

### Cooperation

**Central Union.**—Cooperative societies of all types totalled 52,326 in 1924, as against 51,098 in 1923. The Central Union of Cooperative Societies (Z. D. K.) included 1,185 retail societies; in 1923 there were 1,275 societies in the Union. The membership of 1,038 of these societies was reported as totalling 3,514,548; employees numbered 43,106; sales amounted to 558,440,130 gold marks. The value of goods produced was 123,276,323 gold marks. Comparisons with the previous year are not possible because of the fluctuation of the mark during 1923.

**Wholesale.**—The Cooperative Wholesale (G. E. G.) included 821 societies. It employed 3,598 people, as against 2,986 in 1923, and produced goods valued at 26,298,325 gold marks. Its total sales were 168,466,278 gold marks.

**Spread in Population.**—The following table shows the strata of the population served by the cooperative movement:

Table 161—Groups Served by German Cooperatives,  
1923 and 1924

<i>Group</i>	<i>1923</i>	<i>1924</i>
Independent tradespeople .....	196,811	199,952
Farmers .....	106,963	116,417
Professionals and public employees.....	291,936	328,651
Industrial wage-workers .....	2,187,892	2,207,274
Agricultural wage-workers .....	100,773	99,586
Miscellaneous .....	349,052	365,559
Total .....	3,233,427	3,317,439

**Recovery.**—The German movement is making rapid recovery from the depression caused by the deflation of the currency. In 1924 the wholesale took over the "Lipperts" weaving mill and started a coffee factory at Chemnitz.

**Insurance.**—The "People's Welfare" insurance society had 416,920 policies in force in 1924 as against 1,048,289 in 1922. The society is now in better shape than in 1923. It paid out 628,000 gold marks in benefits, four times as much as in 1923. Premiums collected amounted to 5,361,020 gold marks.

## GREAT BRITAIN

### Industrial

**Increase of Unemployment.**—The year 1925 showed an increase in the number of unemployed registered at the employment exchanges in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the number fluctuating between 1,250,000 and 1,500,000. While in 1924 wages had gone up, in 1925 reductions far exceeded increases with the cost of living actually higher than the preceding year.

**Threatened Mining Stoppage.**—The 1924 agreement between the miners and the owners was terminated by the latter's notice, effective July 31, 1925. The industry was severely depressed, there was extensive unemployment, wages were below pre-war, the miners' average earnings for December, 1924, being 56 shillings 9 pence a week, or about \$14. The owners demanded reductions in wages, district agreements, and an increase in daily hours from seven to eight. The Miners' Federation turned to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and to the transport and railway workers' unions for support to compel the Baldwin government to intervene decisively, or face a coal famine. The Conservative government first appointed a commission of inquiry which the miners ignored, and then Baldwin is reported to have said that there must be wage reductions. The railroad and transport workers' union officials met and issued a joint order for the official stoppage of the movement of coal. On Friday, July 31, the night before the lockout or strike was to become effective, Baldwin announced in the House of Commons that agreement had been reached to continue the existing wages and conditions until May 1, 1926, the mine owners to be given a subsidy of £10,000,000, or about \$50,000,000, to protect their profits for the period. Meanwhile inquiry was to be made as to possibilities of improving the productive efficiency of the industry. Early in the autumn the employers

began a campaign of wage cutting, and were upheld by Baldwin in their contention that the agreement protected only the basis on which wages were to be calculated, and not the actual wage rates. After a protest the miners yielded the point.

**Textile and Seamen's Disputes.**—In the wool textile industry of Yorkshire and the Rochdale area the operatives ceased work on July 23-24 over a threatened reduction in wage rates. They resumed work on August 17, after it was agreed that wage rates were to continue as before, with the recommendations of a court of investigation to examine all facts to be accepted by both sides. The seamen in various ports of Great Britain on August 12 started an unofficial strike against the award agreed to by the union for a reduction in wages. Strong feeling was engendered because of the injection of personalities and the charge that the "reds" were directing the strike. The strikers were defeated after two and a half months.

**Trades Union Congress.**—A. B. Swales, as president, opened the 57th annual Trades Union Congress at Scarborough, September 7-12, with the declaration that "a militant and progressive policy, consistently and steadily pursued, is the only policy that will unify, consolidate, and inspire our rank and file." When the Congress was over the anti-labor forces of Britain and America declared that the left-wingers, the president, Purcell, Hicks, and Cook, with the assistance of the Communists such as Harry Pollitt, had captured the trade union movement. The Congress at Scarborough represented 4,342,982 members as against 4,328,235 the year before.

On the recommendation of the General Council that new premises be secured, with the abandoning of joint departments with the Labor Party, considerable discussion developed showing differences between the "politicals" and the "industrialists." The matter was left in the hands of the Council to be considered further in consultation with the Labor Party Executive.

The question of granting more power to the General Council came up again on a resolution to empower the Council to levy a per capita tax on all affiliated members, to call out affiliated organizations on strike to defend a vital union principle, and to arrange with the Cooperative Wholesale Society for necessary provisioning in an emergency. The delegates were not yet ready to take action and referred the proposals to the new Council to report back to a special conference of responsible executives of the affiliated unions.

Congress turned down a resolution calling for the amalgamation of existing unions into One Big Union by 2,138,000

to 1,787,000 votes, but by a two to one majority adopted a resolution in favor of a struggle by the two arms of labor for the overthrow of capitalism, repudiation of copartnership schemes, and the formation of workshop committees. By huge majorities also the delegates condemned the Dawes plan and British imperialism, and instructed the General Council to send delegations to India, China, and Egypt to investigate labor conditions. After listening to fraternal greetings from Tomskey for the All-Russian Trade Union Council, the Congress went on record unanimously for world trade union unity and told the new General Council to do all in its power to bring it about. Congress ruled that the National Unemployed Workers' Committee and trades councils were not eligible for affiliation on the constitutional ground that they were not *bona fide* unions.

**Report on Russia.**—The extensive report of the trades union delegation which visited Russia in November-December, 1924, appeared in the early part of the year. The delegation included Herbert Smith, Ben Tillett, John Turner, John Bromley, Alan A. H. Findlay, A. A. Purcell (chairman), and Fred Bramley (secretary), all of the General Council. Three advisory delegates experienced in Russian affairs accompanied the trade unionists and prepared the bulk of the report, which was unanimous. The final conclusion of the delegation was:<sup>1</sup>

In view of the information contained in the preceding chapters—all of which has been obtained by themselves from sources and through channels that convince them as to its general accuracy—the Delegation has come to the following conclusions: That the U. S. S. R. is a strong and stable State: That its Government is based firstly on a system of State Socialism that has the active support of a large majority of the workers and the acceptance of an equally large majority of the peasants and, secondly, on a federal structure that gives very full cultural and very fair political liberties to racial and regional minorities, together with full religious toleration: That the machinery of government though fundamentally different from that of other States seems to work well, and that the government it gives is not only in every way better than anything that Russia has ever yet had, but that it has done and is doing work in which other older State systems have failed and are still failing: That these good results have reconciled all but a very small minority to renouncing rights of opposition that are essential to political liberty elsewhere: And that this causes no resistance partly because these rights have been replaced by others of greater value under the Soviet system, and partly because recent movements have been steadily towards their restoration: And finally that the whole constitutes a new departure of the greatest interest that is well worth foreign study and a new development that may be greatly benefited by foreign assistance.

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<sup>1</sup> *Russia; The Official Report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia in November and December, 1924.* Final Conclusion to General and Labor Reports.

**Special Conference on Unemployment.**—On Friday, July 24, delegates of the affiliated unions of the Trades Union Congress gathered in London at a special conference to consider unemployment. Three resolutions were adopted, (1) calling upon the government to extend the overseas trade acts and the trade facilities acts to Russia; (2) condemning the intention of the government to extend the waiting period and otherwise restrict the right to extended benefit, for unemployed workers; and (3) a declaration to organize and bring pressure upon the government to remedy the critical situation, and to present the resolutions by deputation of the General Council to the Prime Minister. At the conference, proposals presented by the secretary of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee for a march on London, a 24-hour general strike and holding up of business in Parliament by the Labor Party representatives, were not given consideration. The threatened mining stoppage overshadowed all else at the time and half of the day's session was devoted to a statement by Secretary A. J. Cook of the miners on the situation and the discussion which followed.

**Industrial Alliance.**—The Miners' Federation of Great Britain took the initiative in calling a number of executives of unions together during the summer to consider a trade union alliance. A constitution was tentatively drafted whereby the alliance was to consist of unions concerned with all forms of transport, engineering, shipbuilding, iron and steel production, mining, and all forms of power production and distribution. An executive council would have power by negotiation, financial aid, partial sympathetic action, sympathetic action by stages, or complete sympathetic action, to help an affiliated organization. The executive of the National Union of Railwaymen, an important link in any such alliance, declared in July that "such an alliance is bound to meet with internal difficulties due to the lack of cohesion between the various industrial sections, and also the component parts of the alliance." The union heads of the N. U. R. seek to have all the railwaymen first get together into one industrial organization.

**Minority Movement.**—The Minority trade unionists held their second annual conference at Battersea, August 29-30, with 683 delegates present. Tom Mann delivered the chairman's address. Resolutions were adopted on the capitalist offensive, international unity, factory committees, trades councils, the General Council, colonial problems, the organization of workers' defense corps, and on the Minority program. The last-named demanded an increase of £1 (\$4.86) a week on all wage rates,

a 44-hour week, nationalization, application of the six-point charter on unemployment, and an adequate scheme on housing. Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the Minority Movement, moved the resolution. It was stated that the purposes of the Minority Movement were among other things "to carry on a wide agitation for the revolutionary class struggle and against the present tendency towards a false social peace and the delusion of a peaceful transition from capitalism to Socialism, and to maintain the closest relations with the Red International of Labor Unions." J. T. Murphy was quoted in the *Workers' Weekly*, the Communist official organ, as saying "labor leaders like Purcell, George Hicks, Cook, etc., have followed our lead, and the moment will come when those who have been expressing themselves in terms of what the National Minority Movement has propagated will have to openly identify themselves with this movement."

**Capitalist Offensive.**—The "Organization for the Maintenance of Supplies," or "O. M. S.," was started to counteract the workers' concerted move such as the united stand of the miners and transport workers. The Fascist organizations were for the first time adopted as auxiliary organizations by the police of several cities, and drilled and armed. On the railways a reserve recruiting force was started among the men. The labor movement seriously discussed the question whether the workers should arm or not in the *Daily Herald*, and in the schools of the Independent Labor Party.

**Death of Bramley.**—Fred Bramley, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, died on October 9. He had been secretary since 1923, and for some time prior to that assistant secretary. He played an important part in the Anglo-Russian world trade union unity negotiations, was a member of the trade union delegation to Russia, and at Scarborough declared that the Russian government was a menace to capitalism because it was founded on a proletarian basis. W. M. Citrine, assistant secretary, became acting secretary.

Arthur Pugh, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Federation, was made chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. Pugh has been connected with the workers' educational movement.

### Political

**Labor Party Conference.**—The relation of the Communist Party and individual Communists to the Labor Party was one of the more important issues to come up at the annual Confer-

ence held in Liverpool, September 29-October 2, 1925. By a vote of 9 to 1 the Communist Party was again excluded from affiliation, and no member of the Communist Party can become or remain a member of a local Labor Party section, or be eligible as a Parliamentary or local government candidate of the Labor Party. By a vote of 2,692,000 against 488,000 it was decided to request affiliated trade unions not to send Communists to Labor Party conferences.

In his presidential address, C. T. Cramp of the National Union of Railwaymen said that under the Dawes scheme "Europe is becoming stabilized and peace is made possible." Ramsay MacDonald received applause when he first spoke. His point of view that labor should again take office when in a minority carried by a 2,000,000 majority. The Conference turned down every Communist amendment, including a resolution calling upon the Labor Party to fight with "every means that the circumstances demand, for the resolute, complete, and final overthrow of the capitalist class."

The Executive Committee resolutions on foreign policy, the British Commonwealth of Nations, unemployment, banking and credit, national finance, local rating, the land, agricultural policy, housing, municipal powers, national health, and electoral reform were all carried with practically no changes. The taxation program did not specifically mention the capital levy. An amendment calling for nationalization of the land without compensation fell through, 2,481,000 to 344,000. An adopted resolution called for nationalization of the mines. A commonwealth of free and self-governing nations was advocated as against the break-up of the empire. A resolution supported by George Lansbury for aid to the *Sunday Worker* issued by the left-wingers and Communists was defeated two to one. Adequate representation of workers on all juries was demanded in view of the acquittal of the persons who kidnapped Harry Pollitt from a railroad train while on his way to address a meeting. Robert Williams was elected chairman for the following year.

**Commonwealth Labor Conference.**—Official delegates from labor parties and trade unions in Australia, British Guiana, Canada, India, Northern and Southern Ireland, Newfoundland, Palestine, South Africa, and Great Britain met in London, July 24-31, for the first time. The agenda included inter-dominion emigration, the Geneva protocol, international labor legislation, inter-dominion trade relations, conditions of Indian labor in the British colonies, and industrial legislation and labor protection in the mandated territories. A resolution for granting self-

government to India was unanimously adopted. The organizations attending are to send statements on the relations of the dominions and Great Britain, and on the political, economic, and educational issues connected with subject peoples in the British Empire.

**National Conference of Labor Women.**—Dr. Marion Phillips, chief woman officer of the Labor Party, reporting to the National Conference of Labor Women held in Birmingham, May 27-28, 1925, declared there were 1,450 women's sections in the Labor Party, with an individual membership of over 200,000. The conference considered a long agenda, under the chairmanship of Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., dealing with extension of the franchise to women aged 21, widows' and old age pensions, housing, schools, clean food, emigration to British dominions, internationalism, armaments and peace, birth control, and a number of miscellaneous matters. Over 1,000 delegates were present.

**Independent Labor Party.**—An increase of 256 branches for the year, with a paid up membership of 34,000, was reported to the Gloucester Conference of the Independent Labor Party, April 12-14, 1925. Clifford Allen's address as chairman criticised the labor government for not setting up administrative inquiries to "report upon the application of Socialism to some of our key industries . . . to take stock of our national resources and the manner in which they are utilized . . . to probe the wages question, and by means of impartial inquiry enable a national verdict to be given as to what constituted a living wage in a civilized community." The delegates referred back but two sections of the annual report, that dealing with the Zinoviev letter, by a vote of 286 to 261, and another concerned with birth control. J. Maxton, M. P., moved a resolution calling for the determination of a living wage by a national commission and the re-organization of such industries as did not pay every person employed such a wage. J. Ramsay MacDonald, answering critics of the Labor government, declared that "when the history of the eight months of the Labor government came to be written, it would not be written by small-minded critics who were anxious only to see its faults." Two reports on the reform of Parliament were submitted, and an emergency resolution on the failure of capitalism moved by David Kirkwood was carried. Liberty of action for I. L. P. members of Parliament in voting upon air, naval, and military credits was carried, 386 to 210 votes. The majority of the committee on the subject favored compensation rather than confiscation. Two reports were also made on banking and credit. Resolutions were adopted on secret treaties,

India, relations with Russia, Egypt, the Geneva protocol and disarmament, capital punishment, unemployment, and free trade and protection.

**Communist Party.**—The seventh national Congress of the Communist Party which was held May 30-June 1, 1925, in Glasgow, listened to speeches of fraternal delegates from Germany and France despite efforts at exclusion made by the Home Secretary. Membership was given as 5,000, average weekly circulation of the *Workers' Weekly* 50,000, and the *Sunday Worker* 100,000. In October the Home Secretary, Joynson-Hicks, had 12 of the leading members of the party arrested, charged with seditious conspiracy and incitement to mutiny. All were found guilty. Seven—J. T. Murphy, R. Page Arnot of the Labor Research Department, Arthur McManus a member of the Executive of the Communist International, T. H. Winttingham, E. W. Gant, J. R. Campbell, editor of the *Workers' Weekly*, and Thomas Bell—were sentenced to six months in prison. One year's sentence was given Albert Inkpin, secretary of the party, Walter Hannington of the Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, Harry Pollitt, secretary of the Minority Movement, William Gallacher, candidate on the Executive of the Communist International, and W. C. Rust of the Young Communist Movement, all five of whom had previously served sentences. Sentence was imposed after they had refused to drop Communist activity if released. The Communist Party of Great Britain was highly commended by the Executive Committee of the Communist International for its successful united front tactics, particularly after the Scarborough Congress.

### Cooperation

**Industrial Societies.**—The British cooperative movement made substantial gains in 1924. There were 1,534 industrial societies with a membership of 4,690,000, whose sales totalled £271,039,000. The value of goods produced by these societies was £67,671,199; employees numbered 72,150. Since 1923 membership increased 2.9 per cent, capital 8.4 per cent, and sales 7 per cent. In no case do the working hours exceed 53 a week; in 779 societies they are 48 or less.

**C. W. S.**—The English Cooperative Wholesale had sales of £72,888,000, an increase of 9 per cent over 1923. Its banking department had total deposits and withdrawals of £552,838,000; its insurance society had 160,087 policies in force. The Wholesale now owns and operates 10 farms with a total of 17,327 acres; these operated at a loss of £21,474.

**Scotland.**—The Scottish Wholesale had total sales of £17,307,700 in 1924; this is an increase of £47,806 over 1923. Rebates to member societies amounted to £137,350, or 4 pence on the pound. The Scottish Wholesale now has 50 productive works turning out goods valued at £5,453,360, an increase of £298,027 over 1923. These plants employ about 10,000 people.

**Congress.**—The 57th congress of Cooperative Unions was held at Southport, June 1-3. Resolutions were adopted urging member societies to consider the establishment of advisory councils, with representation of both employees and management; to undertake welfare work for employees; and to establish superannuation funds. Representation on government food control boards was asked. To solve the unemployment difficulty the Congress urged, in addition to extension of cooperative enterprises, the following program:

1. A national scheme for the development of electric power;
2. Modernization of the transport system;
3. Intensive development of agriculture and reforestation;
4. Raising of the school age to 15 years, with maintenance after 14 years;
5. Adequate old-age pensions at an earlier age than 70;
6. A general peace policy, making for disarmament and the restoration of normal trading relations with all nations.

**Women's Guild Congress.**—The Women's Guild Congress met at Cambridge, June 30-July 2. It called on the government to end unemployment, to take immediate measures to solve the mining situation, to open full trading relations with Russia, and to raise the school age, giving children maintenance and allowance. The C. W. S. was asked to stamp all goods produced. Cooperative organization of the milk supply was urged. The Guild will work for representation of women on the governing board of the International Cooperative Alliance. There are now 53,664 members of the Guild.

## GREECE

### Industrial

**Trade Unions and Disputes.**—The trade union federation of Athens met on September 21 and decided to call a general Congress. In the election of a new Executive 17 voted for Communist and 39 for Socialist candidates.

The railwaymen's union, one of the best organized, struck on March 9, 1925, demanding an eight-hour day and improved wage schedules. The government used the army to run trains, evicted

sympathetic station masters, and used refugees as strike breakers. The men surrendered unconditionally on March 24. The electricians and tramway men of Athens struck in sympathy.

### Political

**Government Suppression.**—The government of General Pangalos at first promised improved working conditions and political freedom when it was established by military power on June 15, but after its power was consolidated it arrested the leaders of the Communist movement, suppressed the party organ *Risospastis*, and sentenced its editor Fitzos to a year and a half in jail. Two successive secretaries of the party were also sentenced for a year or longer. More than 250 Communists were banished to small islands in the Aegian Sea. In the municipal elections in October, however, Communist mayors were elected in Saloniki and in Xanthi, the large industrial center of Thrace where the American Tobacco Company has large warehouses and factories. Dictator Pangalos ordered new elections in Saloniki and the Communist was re-elected. The Socialist Party is the weaker of the working class parties, but has about 3,500 members and six deputies in Parliament.

### Cooperation

**Mainly Agricultural.**—There are 3,665 cooperative societies in Greece. Of these 2,801 are agricultural and 864 are urban.

## HUNGARY

### Industrial

**Economic Hardships for Workers.**—Although Hungary was "reconstructed" by the League of Nations, the workers suffered severe unemployment during 1924-25, with no state unemployment insurance benefits. The consumption of the barest necessities, it is declared by workers' spokesmen, has fallen very sharply as against pre-war. The agricultural workers have suffered as well as the urban residents as there has been no land reform. Efforts of the unions to remedy the situation meet with government repression. Union meetings are frequently forbidden by the fiat of local authorities and police. On June 3, the printers ordered a 24-hour protest strike because of the suppression of newspapers by the government. At the time of the

exposure of Horthy's part in the murder of two Socialist editors, Somogyi and Bacso, government agents swooped down upon the Socialist unions and demanded their cash books. When the Socialists repudiated their compact with Premier Bethlen he threatened to destroy the unions.

### Political

**Government by Suppression.**—On May 31, 1925, the former Home Secretary and legitimist monarchist, Edmund Beniczky, published the statement that Admiral Horthy had instigated the murder of two Socialist editors, Somogyi and Bacso, who were found dead after having been thrown into the river, their bodies horribly mutilated. Instead of action being taken against Horthy, Beniczky was immediately arrested, the paper (non-Socialist) in which the charge was published was suppressed, and the commander-in-chief of the army appeared in Parliament to hush up the affair. The Socialist daily, *Nepszava*, was repeatedly suppressed. Johann Vanczak, its chief editor, although a deputy, had his immunity lifted and was sent to jail, as was Julius Barabas, another editor of the paper. Stephen Vagi, organizer of the Socialist Labor Party, a split-off from the Socialist Party, was arrested together with a large number of followers and thrown into prison. Michael Rakosi, a People's Commissar under Bela Kun in the short-lived Soviet government of 1919, and Zoltan Weinberger, Kun's secretary, returned from exile. Together with 40 others they were captured on September 23, and at first tried by a special court, so that instead of imprisonment they might be sentenced to death. The Socialists demanded they be tried by an ordinary court and the Association of Social Democratic Lawyers of Vienna telegraphed their protest. Rakosi and the others went on a hunger strike, and brutal methods were used to feed them. The government finally yielded and transferred the trial to an ordinary court. Based on first hand observation, a detailed report in *Nepszava* stated that prisoners were beaten, strangled, and subjected to barbaric handling, in order to secure "confessions." Ramsay MacDonald visited Hungary in October and is said to have warned the Hungarian government against the mistreatment of prisoners and suppression of Socialists. *Nepszava* claimed that at the end of 1924 there were 10,386 in the jails, the majority of them political prisoners.

The United States government lent its aid to the reactionary policy of Hungary's rulers by refusing to allow Count Karolyi, a Socialist, to speak on political matters when he was in the

United States in February, and by refusing to permit his wife to enter the United States a second time in October.

**Socialist Party.**—The commission of the Labor and Socialist International which investigated the internal party situation created by the publication in 1924 of the compact signed in 1921 between the party Executive and Count Bethlen, reported on January 27. The compact liberated part of the imprisoned and interned in return for the Socialists giving Bethlen a free hand and not opposing him at home or abroad. The commission stated that the compact had been entered into to abate the terrorism, to enable the workers' organizations to be reconstructed, and to give the party a breathing space. The Executive declared it would call regular annual Congresses and would make changes in the statutes which would permit of delegates being elected in as democratic a manner as conditions permitted. The opposition and the *Vilagossag* and *Garami-Buchinger* immigrant groups declared that they would cooperate for unity without giving up their right of criticism. Notwithstanding the endeavor of the International to achieve much needed solidarity a seceding Socialist Labor Party was founded on April 14 and sought admission to the Labor and Socialist International, but was refused.

Hungary is without universal suffrage, and the secret ballot does not exist. Despite this situation and the reigning reaction and terror, at the local elections in Budapest on May 23 a democratic coalition in which the Socialists participated received 62 per cent of the total vote cast. The reaction, however, having the power of nominating 60 members, secured a majority of the Council's seats. The Socialists obtained 54 seats of the 129 of their bloc. The Socialist Labor Party opposed the coalition and demanded that more militant action outside of Parliament be taken against the reaction.

At the time of the exposure of Horthy's hand in the murder of the Socialist editors, *Nepszava* declared that the Socialists would meet force with force, if any attempt was made to suppress them. The Socialists in Parliament called for a Parliamentary inquiry and the dismissal of Horthy.

Peter Agostan, one of the pioneers of the Socialist movement, who introduced the works of Marx into Hungary, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs in Bela Kun's government, later an exchange prisoner sent to Russia, whence he went to England, died in the latter country in September, 1925.

On August 30, German-speaking Socialists held a conference in Budapest with 20 delegates from the capital and 24 from country groups. It was reported that 140 of the 180 German

groups throttled by the White Terror in 1919, had been re-established and the German paper revived.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party justified the return of Rakösi to Hungary by the hardships the workers were suffering, and the ripeness for re-opening Communist propaganda. They pointed to the split in the Socialist Party, while at the same time reserving a decision on their attitude toward the Socialist Labor Party. They reported that the Budapest shoemakers' union had gone on record favoring the admission of the Russian leather workers to the trade international, and that the tailors' congress had welcomed the Anglo-Russian unity negotiations.

### Cooperation

**Depression.**—The general distributive society of Hungary in 1924 had a turnover of 208,000,000,000 crowns, which indicates the worthlessness of the currency. The sales of the Wholesale (*Hangya*) totalled 548,025,392,693 crowns. The Central Association of Hungarian Distributive and Productive Societies has only 32 members. The movement is suffering because of the rapid fall of the crown. Wages have decreased 16,000 times since 1914 while prices have increased more than 20,000 times. The cooperative union reports that both labor and wage conditions are better in the cooperatives than in private business.

## INDIA

### Industrial

**Labor Disputes.**—Toward the end of March, 1925, a strike eventually involving about 40,000 broke out on the North Western Railway because of the company's refusal to re-instate a discharged fitter in the shops, whom the union contended was signalled out for union activity. After lasting two months the strike failed. Inside the unions a serious split also occurred, one section disavowing the strike. Some small strikes of jute workers and iron and steel workers were won. The Irrawady Flotilla strike in Rangoon, involving about 20,000 collapsed after two months for want of funds. The men struck in September for recognition and increase of wages.

The depression in the textile industry and the unwillingness of the employers to seek any other remedy than a reduction of the already low wages of the textile operatives precipitated

a strike of 150,000 men, women, and children on September 15, which unlike the strike of 1924, ended most successfully. The strikers refused to accept the proposed 11½ per cent cut and closed the mills tight. Many returned to the villages. For the rest the All-India Trade Union Congress raised money locally and by contributions from the British and continental European labor organizations. The union officials sought every avenue to avoid the conflict, proposing a reduction in hours from 10 to eight without any hourly wage increase, re-organization of administrative methods and mechanical equipment, and intervention by government authorities, but to no avail. The strikers were peaceful and orderly. The condition of the workers in the textile mills, mines, plantations and elsewhere is very wretched, wages are very low, housing abominable, the infant death rate frightfully high.

**Trade Union Congress.**—The All-India Trade Union Congress which was organized in 1920 held its fifth session in Bombay, February 14-16, 1925, with 65 delegates representing a membership of 100,000. Some of its leaders and delegates are not wage-earners. The Congress adopted a new constitution on the lines of western trade unionism. It passed resolutions in favor of temperance, technical education for workers in view of the tremendous number of illiterates, an eight-hour day, adult suffrage, increased labor representation, social insurance, protective legislation for women workers, and satisfactory adjustments of the seamen's and railwaymen's grievances. It declared that no section of the population should be treated as untouchable, and recommended N. M. Joshi as the workers' delegate to the International Labor Conference for 1925. The Congress issued in 1925 a directory of trade unions, edited by R. R. Bakhale, which gave information concerning eight federations and 167 unions, about 75 of which were in the government service and kept out of the labor movement. It is claimed there are about 25 unions of railwaymen, with a membership of close to 100,000, and organized post office workers to the number of 40,000, but the union movement has made very little headway in the most important industries—textile, mining, and plantations. The more literate and educated workers are better organized, as in the railway, postal, and government services.

### Political

**Labor Party.**—Leaders of the All-India Trade Union Congress took the first steps early in 1925 toward the formation

of an Indian Labor Party, with a moderate program. Suffrage is restricted by a high property qualification, and members representing labor are nominated by the government to legislative chambers. Out of 140 members of the Legislative Assembly, Labor has one. The spokesmen of the labor movement emphasize the necessity of self-government for India, as N. M. Joshi and D. Chaman Lal did at the British Commonwealth Labor Conference, but they also differentiate the labor demands from the merely nationalist proposals. At the International Labor Conference in May, 1925, Joshi spoke up for the natives of the mandated territories, and secured an inquiry into the condition of Asiatic labor.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party is a small propaganda group which issues publicity secretly at home and publishes abroad its program for immediate withdrawal of British forces and self-determination. The party declares that separation of India from the empire will deprive the British capitalists of its reserves and the empire will therefore crumble. The Communists also warn labor against the concept of a commonwealth of nations built up of bourgeois states.

### Cooperation

**Growth.**—There are upward of 61,000 societies, 54,600 of which are agricultural. These are organized in 530 central unions. The agricultural societies sold goods valued at 49,551 rupees, and bought goods from members valued at 25,316 rupees. The non-agricultural societies sold goods totalling 7,470,713 rupees and purchased goods produced by members valued at 3,878,327 rupees.

**Credit.**—The 52,624 credit societies are organized on the basis of unlimited liability. Loans totalled 126,947,000 rupees.

**Health Societies.**—The unique anti-malaria societies organized for the purpose of promoting health now number 129 and have a central organization for standardizing their methods and promoting this kind of cooperation. Nineteen of these anti-malaria societies are registered with the government. All of them employ doctors and devote much of their energy to filling in ditches and draining marsh lands.

## IRELAND

## Industrial

**Labor Conditions.**—The real wages of unionized Irish workers are higher than those of the British. But there has been in both Southern and Northern Ireland, as in Great Britain, extensive unemployment. Unemployment benefits are lower in the South than in the North of Ireland and in Great Britain.

**Labor Party and Trade Union Congress.**—The united Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress held its annual convention in Newry, on the border between the North and South, August 3-6, 1925, with over 150 delegates representing about 250,000 members. William O'Brien was in the chair, and Thomas Johnson was secretary. The unemployment situation received considerable attention and the two governments were called upon to provide either work or maintenance at full trade union rates. The convention adopted an exhaustive program on national education for children and adults, and also called upon the Executive to set up working class education under trade union auspices. It suggested ways of lowering the cost of living and demanded a government program for the building of houses to remedy the abominable situation. It is reported that in Dublin, for example, thousands live in one room, and other thousands live in houses unfit for habitation. The Congress represented the labor movement of both Northern and Southern Ireland, and it was emphasized repeatedly that labor stood for a united Ireland economically and politically.

During 1925, as in the previous year, there was a running fight between James Larkin and the Labor Party and Trade Union Congress. Larkin's paper suspended very early in the year, but on April 28, 1925, he and his printer were each fined £500 for having libeled Thomas Johnson in the issue of the *Irish Worker* of May 24, 1924. In the United States, as a delegate to the Interparliamentary Union Conference in September, 1925, Thomas Johnson was invited to address the convention of the American Federation of Labor, then taking place at Atlantic City.

**Labor Disputes.**—Work on the harnessing of the river Shannon for electric power, which has Labor's hearty support, was the occasion for a determined campaign of the labor movement against the low wages, 32 shillings a week, offered by the

German company. Labor's spokesmen said that the Irish government had furnished the data on which the wage was fixed by the Germans, with the intent of lowering the existing fairly good wage levels.

### Political

**Elections.**—The Labor Party, which has 14 members in the Dail, put up eight candidates in the Senatorial elections of September 17 and elected three, who sit for 12 years. In the Belfast (Northern Ireland) Parliament, Labor for the first time elected three members in March, 1925. The Labor Party gained many successes in the county council elections of June.

## ITALY

### Industrial

**Fascism and Labor.**—Toward the end of 1925 the Fascist government of Italy confiscated the relief funds of the trade unions and cooperatives, seized the offices and dissolved the *bona fide* trade unions with international connections. On October 5 they had already destroyed freedom of association by an arrangement with the employers' association whereby the latter agreed to deal only with government-controlled Fascist unions. The Fascist Grand Council had also announced legal recognition of Fascist unions only, and a system of compulsory arbitration with enforceable decisions. All strikes of employees of the government or public bodies are forbidden. Works councils are dissolved. "Political strikes, or strikes the object of which is to intimidate the state and coerce its will," to be interpreted by the Fascisti, are punishable. Mussolini, who takes all responsibility for the violent and reactionary deeds of the Fascisti, declared while speaking of the demands of government employees for wage increases: "There are some who are not yet satisfied and would like to begin agitation for further increases. Let them remember that the times when the government tolerated such agitation are now over."

**General Confederation of Labor.**—The General Confederation of Labor, affiliated with Amsterdam, had at the beginning of 1924 over 200,000 members. At the announcement of the agreement between the Fascist unions and the employers, the Confederation Executive voted eight to six against a 24-hour general protest strike because of the difficulties of making it

effective outside of Milan, Turin, and a few other places. Notwithstanding, a general strike broke out in these places spontaneously. The resignation of D'Aragona from the secretaryship was accepted by the same vote as that on the general strike.

**Metal Workers' Strike.**—The Fascist metal workers at Brescia struck on March 3 for an increased cost of living bonus. Inside of a week the *bona fide* union called out its members, and about 8,000 joined the strike of the few Fascisti who were out. On March 13 all the non-Fascist workmen in the metal works of Lombardy were appealed to, and from 120,000 to 130,000 responded. The Fascisti, being involved, could not condemn this strike as anti-national, and break it up. However, their leaders patched up an agreement in negotiations from which the *bona fide* union leaders were excluded. The strikers refused to go back to work on the compromise. Two days later, after the Fascisti had resorted to their usual methods of violence, suppression of meetings and the press, and the employers refused to negotiate, the *bona fide* union ordered the strikers back to work.

### Political

**Consolidation of Fascism by Force.**—Following the disclosures of Mussolini's part in the murder of Matteotti, the dictator declared on January 3, 1925, that he assumed the "whole political, moral and historical responsibility" for what occurred. He called in Farinacci, one of the most violent advocates of force, to become secretary general of the Fascist Party, which claims 9,000 sections with a membership of 700,000, a military organization of 70,000 in the legions and 90,000 in the vanguards, and Fascist trade unions whose membership is from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000. In the four following months, between January 1 and April 30, 21 persons were murdered, 39 severely wounded, 135 ill treated, buildings were ransacked and burnt, and countless numbers were intimidated. Murderous acts continued through the year, particularly in Florence and Bologna. The Fascists carried through a series of laws which paralyzed the *bona fide* union movement and destroyed all municipal government by providing for the appointment of dictatorial mayors in all communes under 5,000 and for larger towns which had their councils dissolved. On October 8 they wiped out the city government of Rome by the selection of a notorious individual, Cremonesi, as governor and dictator. Giving himself new constitutional powers Mussolini became answerable solely to himself, theoretically to a king who is a figurehead. He took over

the ministerial portfolios of war, navy, and air. And his absolutist efforts had the support, moreover, of the American government and bankers who in 1925 gave him extraordinarily easy terms for repayment of the war debts and loaned him in addition \$100,000,000. Mussolini was made to feel, however, the opinion of foreign newspaper men, and of Vandervelde who refused to meet him at Locarno.

The highest court of Italy in November released Rossi, Marinelli, and Filipelli, Fascist leaders and intimates of Mussolini, and charged five unknown individuals with unpremeditated murder of Matteotti. At the time when Matteotti was kidnapped and killed in a brutal manner the protest of the British Labor Party impugned the Italian courts' determination to see that justice was done. The judges of all the courts signed a round robin hotly resenting the insult to their impartiality.

The Fascisti announced that they had discovered a plot of the former deputy Tito Zaniboni to kill Mussolini on November 4. Thereupon they ordered the dissolution of the United Socialist Party, although Zaniboni was not at that time and had not been for some time a member of the party.

**Socialist Party.**—On March 28 the United Socialist Party held a conference in Rome with 197 delegates from 72 provincial branches, representing a membership of 32,000. The circulation of *Giustizia*, the official organ, had risen from 30,000 to 150,000 in the weeks following the Matteotti murder but fell again to 60,000. The party continued throughout the year meeting with the Aventine opposition which was organized in July, 1924, and which abstained from Parliament. Although *Giustizia* was confiscated numberless times, the party members and branches suffered a reign of terror, and dissolution was ordered in November, the party managed to hold on. It adopted an address in Switzerland for foreign communications. Turati was given an ovation at the Labor and Socialist International Congress in August, in Marseilles.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party's deputies in Parliament refused to join the Aventine opposition and at every opportunity defied the Fascists. At several sessions the Communists were beaten and ejected by force from the chamber. The Communists threw themselves into the metal workers' strike in Lombardy. The party continued its efforts to win Bordiga over to the Communist International's position. Serrati has joined the party.

The Maximalists, who are not affiliated with the Communist International, but consider themselves Communists, decided on

September 19 to withdraw their 22 deputies from the Aventine opposition.

### Cooperation

**Fascist Oppression.**—The legitimate cooperative movement in Italy has been almost completely suppressed and the so-called Fascist Cooperative Union, more or less dominated by the government, has undertaken to promote a "loyal" cooperative movement. The *Unione Cooperative* of Milan is one example of a society which had remarkable development until Fascist persecution began. Under this persecution the society suffered serious reverses and finally the government appointed a commission to run the business. Under this political commission conditions became still worse and application was finally made for a restoration of the society's independence. Late in 1925 the Central Union of Cooperatives in Italy, (*Lega Nazionale Cooperative*), almost the last remaining stronghold of independent cooperation, was seized by the local authorities and its rival, the Fascist Cooperative Union, has ordered that it be dissolved. The Garibaldi Steamship Cooperative has also closed down.

**New Organization.**—Three conferences were held at Rome on November 18, December 4, and December 6, 1924, under the auspices of the *Istituto Nazionale di Credito per la Cooperazione*. These were attended respectively by the consumers' cooperatives, by agricultural cooperatives, and by production and labor cooperatives. A plenary conference growing out of these meetings appointed a committee to proceed with the organization of a General Confederation of Italian Cooperation. The Central Union of Cooperatives and the Italian Cooperative Confederation were opposed to this move.

**Education.**—An Institute of Cooperation, Labor, and Social Welfare was opened in Rome in January 1925, to train managers of cooperative societies and technical experts. A two-year course is planned.

**Silk-Drying.**—An interesting experiment in cooperative silk-drying and storing is in progress in Friuli, Venice. In 1920 there were 12 cooperative silk drying societies which stored 921,570 kilograms of silk; in 1924 the amount of silk stored was 1,740,000 kilograms, valued at 50,000,000 lire.

## JAPAN

## Industrial

**Unemployment and High Prices.**—During 1925 there was tremendous unemployment, variously estimated as affecting 400,000 to 3,000,000 persons. Various remedies were suggested, such as establishment of government unemployment exchanges and the curbing of private agencies, relief for day laborers, and unemployment insurance. On October 1, a census of the unemployed began. Besides unemployment the workers suffered severely on account of the lag in wages behind the ever-increasing cost of living.

**Trade Unions.**—In 1924 the Research Bureau of Labor and Industry with the assistance of the General Federation of Labor made a survey of the more important unions, with a total membership of about 250,000. The results indicated nine federations with 110,700 members, four of the largest being:

Federation of Naval Laborers .....	45,600
General Federation of Labor .....	28,000
Federation of Transport Workers.....	11,800
Federation of Laborers of Government Enterprises.....	13,500

In addition, there were a number of independent unions, the three outstanding ones being:

Japan Farmers' Union .....	52,000
Japan Seamen's Union .....	37,000
United Seamen's Union.....	12,600

New legislation giving greater freedom of association to workers to organize and carry on their union activities was considered at the end of the year.

**Split in Unions.**—The General Federation of Labor had considerable differences with the Eastern Local Council which was, however, admitted to the Congress which was held in Kobe, March 17-19, 1925. Immediately after the Congress the Central Committee of the Federation ordered the dissolution of the eastern body. A secession movement from the General Federation followed, with the establishment of the Council of Trade Unions on May 24, with a membership estimated at from 11,000 to 13,000. The Council is under Communist influence, and includes the elements in favor of more direct action and in opposition to the alleged autocratic leadership of Bunji Suzuki and his immediate followers.

Somewhat earlier in the year the movement for one central organization of trade unions, which came to nought in 1922, was revived by two conferences, one in the east of organizations not in sympathy with the General Federation, and another in the west of organizations friendly to it. Practically all the more important unions were represented at these two meetings.

At the Congress of the Federation in March resolutions were adopted to publish a periodical organ, raise membership fees, admit salaried workers, and give more power to the central organization and provide for a strike fund. Demands were made for the prevention of women's and children's work underground in mines, enforcement of the health insurance act, and abolition of the system of temporary engagement of workers. It was decided to hasten the organization of a Proletarian Party, and a telegram was sent to Russia welcoming the re-opening of official relations. Bunji Suzuki was elected president. He was the delegate to the 1925 International Labor Conference, and is the secretary of the proposed Asiatic Labor Conference to be held in 1926, probably at Shanghai.

There are in Japan about 330,000 Korean workers, with about 30,000 organized. In the spring a meeting was held to form a federation, 200 delegates being present, but after officers were elected and a constitution adopted the meeting was broken up and two speakers were arrested.

### Political

**Organization of Labor Party.**—The new legislation extending the franchise to about half of the workers accelerated the plans for the formation of a Proletarian Party. A convention to launch a nation-wide Proletarian Party, with a left wing program, was held on November 31, 1925, at Tokyo, but broke up because of the unwillingness of the right wing and the General Federation of Labor to work with the lefts. On December 2 at Tokyo a Farmer-Labor Party was organized by the Japan Farmers' Union and a group of radicals, with a liberal program. In three hours the party was dissolved by the Home Minister. A third political group is in process of formation by the General Federation of Labor. This movement was begun by a local conference under the direction of the Federation of Labor on June 18, at Amagasaki, near the western industrial center Osaka. The draft program adopted included the general demands of the western Social Democratic parties, such as

political democracy, nationalization, labor legislation, and disarmament. Under the new law Communists may be liable to imprisonment for membership in an illegal society. The arrival of a Soviet trade union delegation in Tokyo on September 22. caused the police to arrest the Communist leaders of the city.

### Cooperation

**General.**—The cooperative movement in Japan started in 1900 and the 25th anniversary found a total of 14,444 societies of all kinds. Thirteen thousand of these are wholly or partly engaged in loaning credit. Eighty-four per cent of them are organized with limited liability. They count a total individual membership of 3,341,000 and a total capital of 115,000,000 yen. Seventy-six per cent of these cooperatives are agricultural, 2 per cent serve industrial workers, and 9 per cent fishermen. The Central Cooperative Union has organized 205 district federations. The total sales by all distributive societies in 1924 amounted to 329 million yen.

**Wholesale.**—The Cooperative Wholesale Society, organized in 1923, sold goods valued at 1,634,626 yen. It serves 104 federations and 592 local societies. Its share capital is 534,000 yen.

## LATVIA

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—The Latvian Federation of Labor, affiliated with Amsterdam, contains about half of the 25,000 unionists in the country. The Federation of Trade Unions, affiliated with Moscow, has several thousand members.

### Political

**Elections.**—Both municipal and parliamentary elections were held during 1925, the former, February 28-March 1, the latter October 3-4. The Social Democratic Party secured 31 aldermen as against 18 formerly, the Communists fell from 13 to seven. In the parliamentary election the Socialists received 260,000 votes, or 33 per cent of the total, compared with 242,000 or 31 per cent at the last poll; and won two more seats, making a total of 33 out of 100. The Socialists also secured a majority among the soldiers. Forty-four parties contested for the 100

seats. Paul Kalnin, a Socialist, became the new speaker of the House.

**Social Democratic Party.**—The Socialists held their Congress in Riga, April 4-5, showing 93 branches with 4,365 members. The Fascisti attempted to smash the offices and destroy printing plants of the party. A labor sports union organized along military lines effectively curbed them.

**Communists.**—Government authorities repeatedly raided Communist headquarters, seized literature, and arrested the leaders.

### Cooperation

**"Konsums".**—*Konsums*, the central cooperative union of Latvia, has 382 affiliated societies, most of them consumers' societies, and representing 80,000 individual members. The turnover in 1924 was 25,000,000 lats; in 1923 sales totalled 19,598,888 lats.

## LITHUANIA

### Industrial

**Small-Scale Industry.**—A government investigation in 1925 of 744 establishments employing more than five workers, and subject to a factory inspection act, declared there were but 707 salaried employees and 12,976 wage-earners in all the undertakings. There is no all-inclusive federation of the small unions, although in Memel, which is claimed by Lithuania, there is a trade union federation of 2,000 members, affiliated with Amsterdam.

### Political

**Suppression of Socialist and Communist Parties.**—On June 20 the Clerical majority in Parliament forcibly threw out the opposition delegates who, led by the eight Socialists, fought the proposed new laws for suppressing Socialist and Communist propaganda, instituting the death penalty for political offenses, and curbing any opposition in preparation for the 1926 parliamentary elections. Organizations or individuals "hostile to the state" may be proceeded against in the severest manner and with utmost disregard for any constitutional procedure, and candidates for office may be struck out at the pleasure of the ruling group. The trial of 50 Communists began in September. They

were subjected to horrible mishandling and brutality in prison. In the Memel diet elections of October the Socialists polled 9,903 and the Communists 1,602 votes, the former winning five seats, the latter none. The Social Democratic Party has 38 deputies, including seven Mensheviks, among the 100 in the Lithuanian Parliament.

### Cooperation

**Cooperative Union.**—Of the 464 distributive cooperative societies in Lithuania, about 250 are members of the Cooperative Union. Their sales in 1924 totalled 10,800,000 litas; in 1923 sales totalled 13,323,476 litas. All societies in the union are distributive agencies.

**Independent Societies.**—There are 500 independent agricultural or industrial cooperative enterprises.

**Banks.**—The Lithuanian Cooperative Bank united 1,000 cooperatives. The bank has assets of 10,000,000 litas.

## LUXEMBURG

### Industrial

**Trade Union Congresses.**—The Trade Union Commission, affiliated with Amsterdam, at its 1925 Congress showed a membership of 13,568. It has been doing special recruiting among the 100,000 foreign workers. The Congress placed special emphasis on workers' education and upon reaching the youth.

The Confederation of Christian Trade Unions met on January 11, 1925, and considered international and financial questions, compelling the employers to make collective agreements, occupational representation, housing, foreign workers, and pensions. With the fall of the reactionary government, works councils were re-established.

### Political

**Labor Party Gains.**—At the elections on March 1 the Labor Party increased its parliamentary representation from six to nine. The party met in Dickirch on October 18 and decided to continue to support the government without participation.

### Cooperation

**Rural Cooperation.**—There are 420 cooperative societies for the purchase of farm machinery. The Federation of Vine-

Growing Cooperative Societies includes 40 groups; the Federation of Dairy Cooperative Societies consists of 133 groups; the Federation of Cattle Insurance Societies has 69 member societies.

## MEXICO

### Industrial

**Labor Conditions.**—There was considerable unemployment during 1925, bringing great hardship to the workers. The cost of living went up, while wages did not appreciably advance. To relieve unemployment, government works were instituted with the assistance of the productive cooperative societies. A national Congress was held in the fall in Mexico City, with representatives of the workers present, to consider methods of reducing the cost of living.

**Labor Disputes.**—A Mexico City tramway company owned by Canadian and British capital refused to recognize the union of its employees, who struck on March 1. President Calles, taking his stand on the guarantee in the constitution giving workers the right to organize, ordered the company to negotiate an agreement with the men, which it did. Calles also fixed 100,000 pesos as the amount due the strikers for loss of time while on strike.

About the same time the President served notice on the railroad workers to take the federal oath as government employees, and to renounce membership in their union.

During a strike at the American owned power plant at Jalapa, state of Vera Cruz, the state government seized the plant. The foreign office of the Mexican government, in answer to a protest of the American Ambassador, Sheffield, declared that the state was justified in not permitting the suspension of public services.

Oil workers belonging to the federation which is opposed by the Mexican Federation of Labor, or C. R. O. M. (*Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana*), struck in May at Tampico against the official union. President Calles ruled the strike illegal because it was a contest between two unions and not between the classes. The oil workers' federation considered calling a general strike on May 15 but Calles declared he would use force to prevent it.

In the same month the bank clerks made demands on their employers which were refused. They took their case before the C. R. O. M., but the latter refused to support them. It was declared that foreign banks would have shut down if the C. R. O. M. backed the clerks.

On September 5 the workers of the British Aguila Petroleum Company struck because of the discharge of certain men. The governor of the state of Vera Cruz said he would not support the strikers, but the local union, affiliated with the C. R. O. M., appealed to the latter, which voted to call a general strike on September 22. With the return of Luis Morones, Minister of Labor and Commerce, to the capital the strike was called off on September 27 and negotiations were resumed between the company and the men.

The teachers whose salaries had not been paid started a general strike in Puebla in the spring and in Vera Cruz early in summer. The C. R. O. M. declared the Puebla strike illegal and a large number of troops was sent into the area. The former secretary of the state federation was killed. In Vera Cruz the teachers sabotaged until Calles sent the money to pay them.

**Trade Unions.**—The C. R. O. M., which claimed 800,000 members in 1924, won victories among the tramway men in Mexico City by securing recognition of their union, and tried to win over the bakers, oil, and railroad workers. It called a national textile congress on October 6 to standardize wages. Representatives of the C. R. O. M. met with Executive Council members of the American Federation of Labor and reached an agreement to curtail migration of Mexican laborers to the United States. The A. F. of L., at the time of the very sharp note of Secretary of State Kellogg to the Mexican government in mid-June, added its voice of protest. Relations between the Mexican labor leaders and the A. F. of L. continued friendly.

The C. R. O. M. invited the Red International of Labor Unions to establish direct connections with it. The latter decided at its Executive meeting of October 20, 1925, to send a written statement to the next congress of the Mexican Federation.

The General Confederation of Workers (*Confederacion General de Trabajadores*), syndicalist and opposed to the C. R. O. M., held a Congress May 3-10. It reported the affiliation of a peasant federation with 6,000 members, and seven other organizations, bringing its total membership up to 12,000. The Confederation is strong in the oil and textile districts.

The Communist trade unions count about 5,000 members. The Catholic organizations, which exist especially on the Pacific coast, have about 25,000. The Railway Union, while not antagonistic to the C. R. O. M., guards its autonomy. It counts about 70,000 members.

### Political

**Labor Party.**—The elections in Coahuila in August returned Manuel Perez Trevino as governor. In the case of the disputed returns in the state of Mexico, where four bodies claimed to be the rightful legislatures with authority to certify the elected gubernatorial candidate, President Calles decided in favor of Carlos Riva Palacio, the Labor candidate. This act cost Calles the resignation of the conservative Valenzuela, Secretary of the Interior, from his cabinet. In the spring it was reported that the Labor Party had antagonized the National Agrarian leaders, Gomez, president of the party, and Manrique, governor of San Luis Potosi. The Calles government had considerable difficulty with agrarian groups who resorted to violence and forcibly took over lands for settlement. In the religious controversy between the Mexican Catholics (Separatists), and the Roman Catholics, the C. R. O. M. denied that the former had its support.

The Labor Party supported the government throughout. The latter introduced an innovation in the personnel of foreign staffs by the appointment of labor attaches in place of military and naval attaches, in its embassies. May Day in Mexico was celebrated as a national holiday, no work being done, not an automobile being allowed to run without a permit of the C. R. O. M. Tens of thousands paraded.

**Communist Party.**—Communists were subjected to individual persecution by the C. R. O. M. which expelled several of them from union posts and from membership. The party held its congress in April, 1925. A year previously all of the Central Committee had either resigned or been dismissed from office, with one exception. Rafael Carrillo, at that time connected with the Youth League, was made secretary of the party, and he was re-elected in 1925. It was decided to oppose the Calles government and the C. R. O. M., to Bolshevize the party, and to carry on work in the trade unions and among the peasants.

The League of Agrarian Communes of Vera Cruz met in Jalapa in the first week of December with 1,000 communes represented. It voted to affiliate with the International Peasant Council of Moscow and elected a full Communist ticket on the

Executive. The Communists demanded complete abolition of the large landed estates and the retention of arms by the peasants. Bertrand D. Wolfe, a Communist representative from the United States, was rejected as a delegate to the Central Council of the C. R. O. M. in Mexico City. He was later expelled from the country for agitating for a railroad strike.

## NETHERLANDS

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—The General Confederation of Labor and the Socialist Party held a "Demonstration Congress" at The Hague September 19-21, 1925, with 1,100 delegates. The first session, which was broadcast throughout the Netherlands, was devoted to honoring the veteran leader P. J. Troelstra, who for reasons of health and age had retired from active political life. Resolutions were adopted for an energetic campaign for the eight-hour day and paid holidays, workers' control, repeal of the amendments to the educational system, introduction of compulsory continuation education, standardization of vocational education, and improvement of apprenticeship conditions.

During the year the Amsterdam Municipal Council rejected a regulation prohibiting public employees from striking.

Effective January 1, 1925, the Federation of Catholic Workers began to function as the amalgamation of two former Catholic federations, with De Bruyn as chairman, and Schutte as secretary.

### Political

**Elections.**—In the parliamentary elections of July 1, 1925, the Socialists obtained 706,317 votes, 22.9 per cent of the total, and won 24 seats of the 100, as against 567,772 votes or 19.4 per cent of the total and 20 deputies in the 1922 elections. The Communists had two members, but elected only one in the 1925 election. Women voted in this election for the first time.

**Socialist Party.**—The Socialists held their Congress in Amsterdam, where they control 37 per cent of the total vote cast, February 14-16, 1925. They adopted an election program which stressed disarmament, workers' control in industry, and an educational system freed of clerical influence. The parliamentary group introduced a bill to reduce army recruits from 19,500 to 3,000 and compulsory service to four months. The party is closer than ever to the unions. In 1924 it had 39,500

members. On August 25 Senator H. H. Van Kol, one of the pioneer leaders of the Dutch movement, passed away.

**Communist Party.**—There were internal crises in the Communist Party which manifested themselves in the elections of July. The Communists laid much stress in propaganda on building up a left wing and on work in the Dutch East Indies.

### Cooperation

**Decline.**—The total sales of the Dutch Cooperative Wholesale showed a falling off; in 1924 goods sold were valued at 11,304,304 guilders, while in 1923 sales totalled 11,556,649 guilders. The Wholesale had 345 affiliated societies with 151,808 members. On January 1, 1925, the Central Union had 132 societies with 117,702 members.

**New Law.**—Substantial changes were made in the cooperative law, removing many of the restrictions formerly placed upon cooperative societies. The new law for the first time permits a married woman to become a member of cooperative societies, but only with her husband's consent.

**Catholic Societies.**—The Federation of Roman Catholic Diocesan Societies had about 25,000 members organized in 100 societies.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—The Alliance of Labor met at Wellington on January 20, 1925, and demanded enactment of a satisfactory workmen's compensation law and the setting up of a commission to investigate living costs and fix a basic wage accordingly. On April 7 a conference was held of all unions and it was agreed to form one national organization instead of continuing two.

### Political

**Labor Party.**—At the annual Conference in April it was decided to exclude Communists from membership or affiliation. In the elections on November 4 the government and the Reform Party won a victory. The Labor Party, which previously had 17 out of 80 members, lost 4 seats.

### Cooperation

**Failure.**—Cooperation in New Zealand received a severe set-back during 1925 when the Cooperative Union and the

Wholesale failed for lack of support. The New Zealand Cooperative Dairy Company markets 61 per cent of the butter produced in the country.

## NORWAY

### Industrial

**Trade Union Congress.**—The Federation of Trade Unions, which had in 1922 withdrawn from the Amsterdam International and then by referendum in 1924 decided not to affiliate to the Red International, at its Congress August 23-31, 1925, voted to enter into relations with the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee for world labor unity. By 155 votes to 76 it declared that the Confederation should be independent of political parties, the individual unions to decide themselves as to affiliation. Committees of action, and nuclei, were also opposed. Connections with the International Labor Organization were broken off. Further organization of the unorganized was demanded, and individual members were instructed to become members of the cooperatives. Halvard Olsen was elected president over Volan, Moscow Communist, by a vote of 155 to 64. In the Congress there were said to be 20 non-party delegates, 110 belonging to the Norwegian Labor Party (Independent Communist), 70 to the Moscow Communist Party, and 50 to the Social Democratic Party.

Ole O. Lian, who had been president of the Federation for 20 years, died on February 21. The Federation showed at the end of 1924 a membership of 92,764 as against 85,599 a year before. At the national economic conference held January 28-29, the unions demanded appointment of a National Economic Council, abolition of gold customs, reduction of expenditure for the military, regulation of imports, inquiry into the shipyard situation, a rate of exchange office, and works councils. On March 21, 60,000 workers in 25 trades secured an increase of wages averaging 9 per cent.

Norwegian unionists assisted the Danish locked-out workers. On May 8 a bill was introduced by the government in the lower House providing for compulsory arbitration and for means of preventing blockades, lockouts, and strikes in connection with a foreign labor dispute.

### Political

**Labor Party.**—The Independent Communists organized in the Labor Party held a convention September 5-7 and voted

against assisting or founding another International. Tranmael was chosen editor of the party's leading organ. The party has 24 out of 150 seats, the Social Democrats eight.

In the town elections on December 7 the Labor Party lost somewhat, and the Communists were almost eliminated except at Bergen. At Oslo, the capital, the Labor Party got 33 members of the city council, the Socialists seven, and the Communists one, out of a total of 84.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party, which is affiliated with the Third International, and which has six members in Parliament, made its influence felt at the Federation of Trade Unions Congress. The Russian trade unions were represented by a fraternal delegate.

### Cooperation

**Cooperative Union.**—The Norwegian Cooperative Union in 1924 was composed of 432 societies with an individual membership of 100,000. The sales of the Wholesale were 31,500,000 crowns, and the sale of all the retail societies 134,327,400 crowns. The educational work is effective. The journal published by the Union has a circulation of 80,000.

**Banking.**—Savings deposits increased from 4,095,851 kroner in 1923 to 4,711,187 kroner in 1924. There are now 12,278 depositors.

**Production.**—The Wholesale produces tobacco, margarine, soap, and coffee. The total value of the tobacco, margarine, and soap produced was 7,033,768 kroner in 1924.

**Insurance.**—The Cooperative Insurance Society issued 8,437 policies totalling 88,296,045 kroner.

## PALESTINE

### Industrial

**Jewish Labor.**—In the middle of June, 1925, it was reported there were over 15,000 Jewish workers employed in Palestine, not counting civil servants, teachers, or writers. The General Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, which reported over 10,000 members, mostly building and land workers, on June 1 started a daily newspaper in Hebrew. It has for some time published a bi-weekly paper in Arabic, which seeks to unite Jewish and Arabic workers. The Federation has done extensive cooperative,

educational, and health promotion work. Labor legislation is very backward, Turkish law still dominating. The British administration took exception to a delegation going to the Labor and Socialist Congress in Marseilles in August. It imprisoned leaders of the Amsterdam and Communist unions, and arrested pickets during strikes, while the police have charged strikers with batons and whips.

**Communists.**—Communists have been beaten, jailed, and expelled from the country, and their clubs have been broken up. They have persistently attacked British imperialism and the Zionist labor groups, whom they designate as the watch-dogs of the former. In the May Day parades and demonstrations in Tel-Aviv (Jaffa), Haifa, and elsewhere, the Communists took an important part.

### Cooperation

**Consumers' Cooperation.**—The only consumers' cooperative in Palestine is Hamaschbir, having 20 branches throughout the country and total sales in 1924 of \$600,000. This is both a wholesale and a retail society. No purchase dividends are paid to members but all surplus is put back into the business. It buys for the agricultural associations and works in close harmony with the producers' societies.

**National Building Guild.**—The National Building Guild is composed of eight societies with 5,000 members. It did a business of \$4,000,000 in 1925.

**Other Types.**—There are 50 land settlements cooperatively worked by 2,500 workers; 37 cooperative clinics, and workers' industrial associations for the manufacture of clothing, boots and shoes, and furniture. A Workers' Cooperative Bank has been established at Tel-Aviv.

## POLAND

### Industrial

**Labor Conditions and Disputes.**—According to government sources there were 200,000 out of work at the beginning of October, 1925. The situation was serious all year. Labor sources placed the total number of unemployed at 400,000. A strike of agricultural workers for better wages which broke out on on March 30 was called off after a month.

**Trade Unions.**—The divided labor movement belongs to three federations, a nationalist one, the largest; a Socialist,

affiliated with Amsterdam; and a Christian. The Amsterdam center, which is called the Central Committee of Polish Trade Unions, represents a membership of 300,000. In 1919 it had 67 unions but by 1925 these were consolidated into 31. It held its Congress June 12-14, in Warsaw, and of the 174 delegates about a dozen belonged to the left wing and Communist groups. The latter called a workers' meeting on the first day of the Congress, and elected a delegation which sought entrance, but was refused. The Communist deputy Prystupa sought admittance also, but was also kept out. The Congress passed a sharp resolution against Communist activity, declared for the eight-hour day, preservation of existing labor legislation and application of all such legislation to the whole of Poland, establishment of works councils and extensive development of social insurance.

In view of the unemployment situation a general Congress of Factory Councils and of the Unemployed was held on July 21. Considerable friction developed between the non-Communist and the Communist elements.

### Political

**Socialist Party.**—Municipal elections held in the spring in several industrial cities, and in the fall in the provinces of Posen and Pomerania, showed extraordinary gains for the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.). The results indicated that the German Social Democrats were uniting with them. The Polish Socialists and the Socialists of Danzig reached an agreement. The former repeatedly raised the question of the rights of non-Polish nationalities and minorities in Parliament.

**Communist Party.**—The Communist Party, which is illegal, held a Congress in March and emphasized in accordance with the resolutions of the Fifth Communist International Congress the necessity of complete Bolshevization. It declared for union of the White Russian and Ukrainian district with the adjoining Soviet Republics, and for union of peasants and the workers. On August 6, Naphtali Bottwin, and on August 21, Hobner, Rutkowski, and Kniewski were executed for having shot at police spies. They were all young Communists, and desperate efforts were made to arouse world opinion against their execution. In connection with Bottwin's shooting many young workers were arrested, tortured in jail, and compelled to resort to frequent hunger strikes. Other Communists, including Deputy Lanzutski, were tried and sentenced. Two prisoners under death sentence, Vieczorkievica and Baginski, were to be exchanged for two Russian prisoners, but on their way to the

Russian frontier were murdered by the man who had them in charge, and who, the Communists declare, was known as a bitter foe and instructed by the Polish government to kill them.

### Cooperation

**General.**—There are in Poland 5,867 distributive societies and 5,771 credit societies. The total number of societies of all kinds, including marketing and productive, is 15,370 with more than 2,000,000 members. Three hundred of these societies are known as "military" consumers' societies, strictly Rochdale in form, and maintaining both stationary stores and moveable stores which follow the army. This military union has a wholesale, and 10 building societies.

**Credit.**—The Central Credit Institute of Agricultural Cooperative Societies has 1,754 branches and assets of \$3,245,000. Affiliated cooperatives include 1,281 distributive societies, 32 cooperative banks, 162 farmers' societies, 153 wholesale societies, and a few miscellaneous groups.

**Amalgamation.**—In April, 1925, the Union of Polish Consumers' Societies (S. P. S. S.), the Union of Labor Cooperative Societies (Z. R. S. S.), and the Union of State and Municipal Workers' Consumers' Societies united to form the Union of Consumers' Societies of the Polish Republic. This includes 909 societies with 574,000 members. The new union is a wholesale cooperative.

The Confederation of Agricultural Cooperative Unions (*Razem*) has 2,406 societies and 653,000 members. The General Union of Cooperative Societies (U. Z. S.) has 867 societies and 597,000 members. Neither of these is in the new union.

## PORTUGAL

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—The General Confederation of Labor is affiliated with the syndicalist International Workingmen's Association at Berlin, and in Lisbon its locals are influential. In Oporto the Socialist unions have a number of members. There are Communist unions also. The Confederation held its first Congress late in September at Santarem, with 164 delegates from 129 organizations. It demanded a six-hour day to meet the unemployment crisis, and adopted resolutions on prison labor, industrial hygiene, protective legislation for women and children,

workers' education, control of emigration, and on conditions in the colonies. A "Negro Slave Day" will be instituted as a demonstration in behalf of the African wage-earners.

The building trades and textile workers met in Congress at the same time. The former emphasized the need of finding a solution to the unemployment situation, the latter the creation of a single federation of those in the industry. In a petition to the government the railwaymen asked for re-instatement of those dismissed as a result of strikes, and recognition of their union.

### Political

**Socialist Party.**—During 1925 the Socialist Party joined the Labor and Socialist International. On July 1, 1924, it had 2,500 members, and a Sport Organization of 3,000. It published two weekly and two fortnightly papers, and one monthly journal.

### Cooperation

**General.**—There are now 200 cooperative societies in the National Federation of Cooperative Societies with a membership of 50,000.

## RUMANIA

### Industrial

**Suppression of Trade Unions.**—On August 31 the Council of the United Trades Unions, the left wing organization, was arrested while in session, and on September 16 the premises of the United unions in Bucharest were raided and the workers there were arrested. The authorities claimed that the council dealt with matters which do not concern the working class. Those taken resorted to a hunger strike. Martial law reigns in the large towns and industrial centers. For publishing a May Day appeal the editors of the trade union and Socialist Party press were tried for high treason by the Klaussenburg court martial. The council of the Rumanian Federation of Trade Unions, affiliated with Amsterdam, was also haled into court. Two or three months later the Rumanian Ochra or secret police discovered that the miners in Zsiltale held a meeting before May 1 to petition the government for permission to hold a May Day celebration. For this they were arrested, and accused under an emergency act carrying with it a minimum penalty of two years' imprisonment.

During the spring it was reported that the two federations of trade unions had agreed to unite on a program of affiliation

with Amsterdam and the elimination of all elements working for non-constitutional methods.

Unemployment has been extensive and real wages very low.

Strikes broke out in the wood working industry and in the factories in Arad and Temesvar; the arrest of the United Trade Union Council led to political strikes. The peasants took a bolder stand in the election campaign for the Agricultural Chambers.

### Political

**Medieval Torture of Prisoners.**—The Rumanian government is controlled by the Liberal Party, which is dominated by the Bratianu brothers. The latter shape the economic policies of the country in accordance with their private interests, which extend, it is said, to over 90 per cent of the country's banks. The agents of the government, the secret police, gendarmes, and the military, are among the most brutal in the world. Prisoners who are taken are subjected to barbarous torture, without parallel except those of medieval torture chambers. A conservative journalist, Costa-Foru, published a few illustrations of treatment which drive the prisoners to suicide and forced confessions. Hunger strikes are constantly resorted to.

The Communist Party's leaders to the number of 70 were brought before the Bucharest military court for trial on April 28. In the fall a monster trial of 485 peasants was held before the court martial of Kishinev. The peasants in South Bessarabia had revolted a year before when a peasant had been killed in Tatar-Bunar by a gendarme. Several thousands of them paid with their lives and their villages were destroyed. Those arrested were subjected to unspeakable and horrible torture. During the trial they were made to stand day and night and not to speak of their forced confessions. Close to 100 were sentenced to prison, and the others freed. Of the Communists who had gone on a hunger strike, Max Goldstein died after having been denied food when he ended his strike. Another, Dubinski, committed suicide.

### Cooperation

**Growth.**—The Central Union of Productive and Distributive Societies reports a membership of 2,650 distributive cooperatives, and 314 productive. The membership of the former is 231,933, and of the latter 11,397. Total sales of the distributive societies are 805,364,000 lei, as against 340,764,000 in 1923, and of the productive societies 32,102,000 lei. There are

also 922 forestry societies. In 1924 a successful cooperative training school was conducted with 447 students.

**Legislation.**—The government will submit to Parliament a code of laws governing cooperation to coordinate and improve the existing laws. The code, as now drafted, will provide for a Directorate of Cooperation, and a Superior Council on Cooperation.

## RUSSIA

### Industrial

**Agriculture.**—The total grain crop of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1925 was officially estimated at about 65,500,000 tons or about 2,775,000,000 bushels, against an average crop for 1909-1913 of 4,079,000,000 bushels. The 1925 crop, however, represents a gain of somewhat less than 15,000,000 tons over each of the years of 1922 and 1923, and about 20,000,000 over the bad year of 1924. The quantity placed upon the market by the peasants is smaller than before the war.

The area sown with technical crops (flax, hemp, sunflower, cotton, sugar-beet, and tobacco) has exceeded the figure of 1916, being 14,213,800 acres in 1925 as against 11,487,700 in 1916. There has also been considerable advance in agricultural methods along lines of soil improvement, multiple field crop rotation, grass growing, and greater use of machinery. In 1923 about 1,000 tractors were purchased by the peasants, in 1925 about 7,500. Cattle increased during 1925, as did draft horses on a smaller scale.

Because of the famine of 1921, which affected about a quarter of the total peasant population, and the bad harvest of 1924, which hit 7,800,000, according to Premier A. I. Rykov, an intensive campaign to educate the peasants in proper methods was conducted during 1925 with considerable results.

**Industry.**—There were gains all along the line during 1925 in industrial production. Official figures are:

**Table 162—Production of Leading Commodities in Russia, 1913-1926.**

<i>Product</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>1923-24</i>	<i>1924-25</i>	<i>1925-26</i>
Oil (million poods <sup>1</sup> ).....	554	369	424	512
Coal (thousand poods) .....	1,717,878	930,213	973,720	1,417,000
Iron-ore smelted (thousand poods)	257,399	40,327	78,880	148,000
Iron (thousand poods).....	263,918	60,601	102,000	168,000
Textiles (yarn) (thousand tons).. <td>286,555</td> <td>101,893</td> <td>186,925</td> <td>260,000</td>	286,555	101,893	186,925	260,000
Sugar (thousand poods).....	57,238	23,023	27,903	57,500

<sup>1</sup> Pood = 36 pounds.

The electrical industry expanded 100 per cent in 1925 over 1924, the metal industry 91, rubber 143, and glass 77 per cent. The program for 1926 purposes to attain very close to 1913 figures by the building of new factories and works without the aid of foreign capital.

The large grain crop of 1925 demands an increase of industrial output, which is still far below the demand. The shortage has served as a stimulus for speculative purchases and the raising of prices by private traders who buy the peasants' grain cheaply and sell them industrial products at high prices. The cooperatives are called on to prevent this practice.

Since 1921, 1,286 applications for concessions from foreigners have been filed, of which about 10 per cent have come from Americans. The number of concessions granted totalled 66; eight in mining, 14 in manufacturing, six in timber, seven in agriculture, 19 in trade, and 12 in transportation and miscellaneous branches. For the fiscal year ending October 1, 1924, the Soviet government drew a net revenue of 14,000,000 gold rubles from these concessions, which altogether employed 20,000 workers. Harriman and Company of the United States signed an agreement with the Soviet government on June 13, 1925, by which it agreed to spend not less than \$4,000,000 on equipment work and to produce not less than 300,000 tons the first year (the output actually turned out in 1924-25 before they were turned over), from the Chiatura manganese mines, located in Georgia, the richest fields of the world. The Soviet government gets a definite payment for each ton exported. About the same time the Anglo-American Lena Goldfields Company received a very extensive mining concession upon which it must spend not less than 22,000,000 gold rubles in construction and prospecting work in three years. The payments to the Soviet government must run to not less than 2,000,000 gold rubles annually.

Private traders were given additional rights such as bank credits, opportunities to trade with state trusts and cooperatives, and a reduction in taxes. Industrial concerns were permitted to be organized without preliminary permission if they employed less than 20 workmen; those employing from 21 to 200 must secure the consent of the district Soviets. Concerns having more than 200 must conclude concessionary agreements. The peasants were permitted to hire labor. The technicians and specialists were given considerably improved material conditions and opportunities. Efforts were made to give the peasants greater freedom to elect their representatives to district Soviets. The problem of the "kulaks," or wealthy peasants, who were reported to hold the bulk

of the marketable grain in their hands at the expense of the poor peasants and the state, presented a serious problem to the Communist Party Congress in December.

**Foreign Trade.**—In 1923-24 the Soviet Union exported wheat for the first time to the extent of 185,000,000 poods, but in 1924-25 it had to import about 30,000,000 poods. Nevertheless the total value of the foreign trade for 1924-25 was 654,200,000 rubles as against 610,700,000 for the previous year. Exports dropped from 370,000,000 rubles to 324,200,000 rubles, but imports increased from 240,700,000 to 370,000,000 rubles. The total foreign trade for 1924-25 was 26.2 per cent of 1913. Decreased production prevents a much greater percentage leaving the country. For nine months, October 1, 1924, to June 30, 1925, the turnover of trade between Russia and the United States was \$66,600,000 as against \$50,800,000 for the same period of the previous fiscal year. Russia sold furs mainly, and took mostly cotton, agricultural implements, factory equipment, and technical materials in return. The United States was in 1925 the largest exporter to Russia, Great Britain and Germany coming next. On November 18 the commissariats of foreign and internal trade were consolidated into one ministry with Tsurupa as head and Krassin as first assistant.

**Labor Conditions.**—Unemployment did not improve during 1925; if anything it grew worse. On July 1, 1925, there were 1,200,000 unemployed registered at the labor exchanges, of which 29 per cent were skilled, 28.9 intellectual, and about 35 per cent unskilled workers. Remedies against unemployment such as reduction or abolition of overtime, training of skilled workers, insurance, trade union relief, employment on public works, and the institution of unemployed producers' associations, were resorted to.

There were still some delays in the payment of wages in large-scale nationalized industry, particularly to the miners, metal workers, and intellectuals.

On September 30, 1924, a total of 1,679,268 gainfully occupied workers was reported, as against 2,552,011 in 1913. Between October 1, 1924, and September 30, 1925, factory production increased 31.6 per cent and the number of workers 17.4 per cent. With the improved harvest for 1925 the demand for industrial products will increase and the shortage of skilled labor becomes serious. The Commissariat of Labor reported for 1925 a deficit in skilled and semi-skilled labor of over 150,000.

**Trade Unions.**—Trade union membership was 5,822,682 on April 1, 1924, and 7,846,789 on October 1, 1925, an increase in the 18 months of 35 per cent. The elementary and secondary school teachers held their first congress on January 12-18, 1925, in Moscow. They complained of low salaries, irregular payment, too many duties, arbitrary transfer or dismissal, bad housing, deprivation of religious liberty, and passivity of the union. Leaders of the Communist Party addressed the 1,682 delegates. A declaration was adopted to the effect that the teachers had mistakenly kept aloof from the fight of the working and peasant masses, but now placed full trust in the Communist Party and Communism.

The miners met in April. Objection was raised to falling piece rates when output was increased, and to delays in payment. While the central committee's finances showed a balance, it was pointed out that in a number of the sub-divisions expenses exceeded receipts.

At the congress of the postal, telegraph, and telephone workers, June 5-12 in Moscow, it was brought out that, while wages generally averaged 78 per cent of the 1914 level (60 per cent in heavy industry), the postal workers were getting only 50 per cent. It was urged that a 25 per cent increase be granted in 1925.

The Central Council of Russian Trade Unions, in an effort to correct some defects among the organizations, pointed out that trade union officials had lost contact with the masses, there had been no serious control, there was corruption by officials, the workers are not as active in the organizations as they should be, the right of free criticism is curtailed, the works councils tend to be instruments of the management instead of defenders of the union men, and that too many "voluntary" contributions are called for. The Central Committee of the Communist Party endorsed this attitude of the Federation and added that the unions were overburdened with economic and political work and compelled to overlook their prime function, that of defending the interests of the great mass of their members. The committee took severely to task the local party branches which meddled and did not leave to the trade unions the questions of working conditions and collective agreements.

In early spring there was a strike in the Central Urals, involving about 10,000. In the summer a large group of textile workers struck and won their demand for increased wages.

The Anglo-Russian unity negotiations were endorsed by the Central Committee of the Russian Federation. A Russian trade

union delegation was heartily received at the British Trades Union Congress in Scarborough. The membership of the Russian unions at the end of 1925 was 6,500,000, in 23 industrial unions.

### Political

**Budget.**—For the fiscal year 1925-26 it was announced the total budget would be 3,778,636,892 gold rubles, or \$1,944,486,545, an increase of about one-third over the federal budget of 1924-25. The total sum for the local budgets would run between 1,250,000,000 and 1,300,000,000 rubles, making a total of 5,000,000,000 rubles. The government is planning an internal 300,000,000 gold ruble reconstruction loan to bear interest at 10 per cent. Starting October 4 the sale of 40 per cent vodka was permitted, and while its re-introduction will not be made use of primarily for revenue the amount brought in will be considerable. The large harvest will increase the direct agricultural tax. More is to be put into reconstruction of state industry, trade, and banks, than will be taken out. The government was not able to borrow any large sums from abroad during 1925 and it is going on the assumption that it will not in 1926. The State Bank borrowed 75,000,000 gold marks from German banks for a few months.

**Foreign Affairs.**—Foreign Minister Chicherin visited Warsaw, Berlin, and Paris in the effort to prevent the isolation of Soviet Russia by the western powers. An agreement was reached with Poland, settling frontier troubles, among other things. An important commercial treaty was signed with Germany. On December 17 Chicherin signed at Paris a treaty with Turkey. Krassin, who had been ambassador to France, changed places with Rakovsky, who had been stationed at London. With the proposed admission of Germany into the League of Nations and the signing of the Locarno treaties without Russia's participation, Russian spokesmen declared their willingness to attend conferences to discuss disarmament, economic or other matters, but denounced the League of Nations as a combination of the stronger powers to exploit the weaker ones. Russia accepted the invitation to the disarmament conference called for February, 1926.

The Soviet government took a sympathetic interest in China's efforts to free itself from imperialist domination, to the dismay of the other powers. Relations with the British Conservative government were seriously strained. Chicherin on several occasions denied that his government was aiming at the destruction of the British empire. The rise of Reza Khan in Persia betokened greater friendliness with Russia and less for England.

The Baltic states were drawn into an alliance to Russia's disadvantage, the latter claimed. The controversy with Rumania over Bessarabia continued. The Belgian Socialist coalition government refused to recognize Russia because of Georgia and Armenia and non-respect of Belgian property rights. Although foreign trade with the United States doubled and Charles E. Hughes, who was a bitter foe of recognition, resigned as Secretary of State, no steps were taken toward re-establishing diplomatic relations. The United States is the only important country which has not recognized the Soviet Union. At the end of the year Senator Borah, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, again introduced a bill for recognition. Rakovsky is reported to have made the statement that his government would not again confiscate private property. The negotiations with France over payment of the Russian debts continued over the whole year without satisfactory conclusion.

**Red Army.**—On January 15 Leon Trotsky resigned as chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council. Mikhail Frunze was called to the post on January 26, but died on October 31. Frunze was of peasant stock and had entered the revolutionary movement in 1904. He was active in the 1905 revolution; during the World War he sowed the seed of revolt inside the army; was one of the leaders of the 1917 revolution; and decisively defeated the Wrangel troops in Southern Russia and the Crimea. Clemeny Voroshilov took Frunze's place on November 6. He was commander of the Moscow military district and has a brilliant revolutionary record leading Red Guards and Red Army units since 1904.

The Red Army and Navy consists of about 550,000 men. In his report to the Soviet Congress in the spring Frunze compared the strength of the armies of the neighbors of Russia with that of the Red Army. He mentioned Rumania, Poland, and the Baltic states. The Red Army was equal to their armies together, but about 150,000 less than that of France. Russia did not yet secure the return of Wrangel's fleet from France. Thirty-one airplanes were presented to the government by the workers, who raised the money by popular subscription.

**Education.**—The 200th jubilee of the Russian Academy of Sciences was celebrated September 5-15, 1925, by the presence of distinguished scientists from all parts of the world.

On January 1, 1924, there were schools for 47.3 per cent of the children of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), the largest republic in the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics (U. S. S. R.). On January 1, 1925, the figure had gone up to 59.5 per cent of the children between 8 and 11. A census of children will be taken in 1926. In the U. S. S. R., in 1922-23 there were 2,828 elementary schools for illiterate and partly illiterate persons, while in 1924-25 the number of schools had risen to 42,004. An increase of about 30,000,000 rubles was allocated to education in the budget of the R. S. F. S. R. for 1925-26.

Work in the trade unions and Red Army, among the non-Russian peoples and tribes, trade and vocational schools, reorganization of the secondary schools, proletarianization of the universities, teaching of the peasant children to become progressive agriculturists, and the study of pedagogy in the universities, continued in 1925, and ambitious programs were mapped out for the succeeding years.

Circulation of newspapers and periodicals was more than three times as great in 1925 as pre-war, with the workers and peasants as the main consumers. About 200,000 worker and village correspondents help to maintain the mass character of the press. There were in addition tens of thousands of wall newspapers in the factories and the village reading rooms. Publication of books increased by about 50 per cent in 1925, the total number aggregating about 20,000, mostly Leninist literature. A large staff is at work in the Marx-Engels Institute collecting and editing Socialist works for publication.

**Religion, Marriage, Crime.**—The Russian church continued to be divided into contending factions. The former Patriarch Tikhon who had been released from jail died on April 8. As long as church groups do not engage in political activity the Soviet government does not interfere, although the Communist Party conducts propaganda against religion. A new marriage law was proposed which does not require registration and which gives both parties the same rights in all particulars. Divorce continues to be possible at the request of one party.

The re-introduction of 40 per cent vodka was explained by the inability to prevent "bootlegging," the waste in cereals in small brewing (the large distilleries use potatoes), the injurious effects of the secretly distilled alcohol, and lastly the economic power "bootlegging" gave to the richer peasants and usurers.

The Moscow Soviet decided at the end of the year to pay peasant families for taking care of the orphan children who number 300,000 in the cities and who develop criminal tendencies. The Communist Youth organizations have tried, with indifferent success, to work among these war waifs.

The Soviet government continued to take drastic steps to weed out graft. Sentences of death were carried out on a number of occasions for misappropriation of state merchandise. In Lenin-grad the assistant commandant of the port, the chief of the Transport Department, the head of the Supply Department, the chief of fuel stores and the head of the Building Department were among those executed. Nine contractors were sentenced to death for grafting on the Red Army. People's Commissars and state officials of the republic of Nakhitchewan were arrested in the spring for mismanagement.

The total population as estimated on January 1, 1925, was 139,750,500, of which Soviet Russia proper (R. S. F. S. R.) contained 96,559,600, the Ukraine 27,857,200, and Transcaucasia 5,421,000. The rural population numbered 116,884,200, the urban 22,876,300. The number of Jews was 2,800,000, among whom tradesmen and persons without definite occupations were given as 915,000. Thousands of acres of land were set aside for the purpose of promoting Jewish settlement on the land with the assistance of the American Joint Distribution Council which gave large sums to equip the settlers.

**Communist Party.**—The party had on January 1, 1925, 741,117 members and applicants as against 446,089 a year previously. Workers made up 57.9 per cent, and peasants 25.3 per cent, although peasant members engaged exclusively in farming were only 8 per cent. Office workers and clerks constituted 16.8 per cent but took a much more active part in party work in proportion to their numbers.

Leon Trotsky returned to Moscow in May only to retire again in October because of ill health. He had been assigned important duties as chairman of the general concessions committee and as head of the scientific and technical branch of the Supreme Economic Council. He had energetically pushed electrification plans and improvement in the quality of commodities. He openly repudiated Max Eastman's book, *Since Lenin Died*, but not drastically enough in the view of a number of the national Communist parties.

At the 14th Communist Party Congress at Moscow, December 15-31, the leading issue was the attitude toward the rich peasants. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Sokolnikoff, and Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, opposed the existing conciliatory agricultural policy, which allowed the larger peasants to acquire wealth and influence. Their attitude appeared to be based on the belief that the present stabilization of capitalism is of short duration. In order to promote their opposition, these leaders asked for more democ-

racy in the party. Stalin and Rykov defended party policies as they were, declaring that peasant support must be won, that the dangers were being exaggerated, and that democracy must not be used to the injury of the party and the revolution. The opposition was defeated. The Political Bureau, or central group of the Central Executive Committee, was increased from seven members to nine. Trotsky was replaced on it after a year's retirement. The other members are Zinoviev, Voroshilov, Molotov, Stalin, Kalinin, Bucharin, Rykov, and Tomsky. Kamenev was demoted from a full to a substitute member. Stalin was re-elected general-secretary.

**Mensheviks, Georgia, Political Prisoners.**—On August 25 the Social Democratic Labor Party celebrated the 75th anniversary of the birth of one of the earliest and leading Russian pioneers, Paul Axelrod. The Labor and Socialist International in session at the time in Marseilles listened to a eulogy of Axelrod by Abramovitch representing the S. D. L. P. on the Executive.

The trial of the "Committee for the Independence of Georgia," which in August, 1924, attempted an armed revolt against Soviet Russia's control of that country, ended in August, 1925, with 10 years' imprisonment for four and the setting free of 30. The Communists accused the Mensheviks of being financed by the imperialist powers. The foreign delegation of the Social Democratic Party of Georgia declared that at least 3,000 had been shot by the Bolsheviks and that the revolt was an insurrection of the peasant masses. In the fall of 1925 the party held a secret conference, the first since the uprising. An illegal paper, *Our Unity*, is issued.

A conference of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party and the Armenian Socialist Party known as "*Daschnakzoutioun*" took place in Paris in January and agreement was reached to refuse any negotiations with the Bolsheviks.

In the summer of 1925 the concentration camp for political prisoners on the Solovetsky Islands was discontinued. Early in the year there was a hunger strike by the political prisoners in Susdal, one of the prisons, which lasted two weeks. Gotz, one of the 12 members of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party sentenced to imprisonment in 1922 who was, however, to be set free in 1925, was reported again arrested in the middle of the year. After going on a hunger strike he was released. The other members of the committee who were also supposed to be set free were reported either banished or kept in jail. Timofejeff was recalled from Turkestan where

he lived in comparative freedom, and put in prison, where he went on a hunger strike in October.

### Cooperation

**Congress.**—The 39th Congress of the All-Russian Central Union of Cooperative Societies (*Centrosoyus*) met in Moscow, March 16-21, 1925. The Central consisted at that time of 22 national unions, 10 regional, 13 gubernia, and 212 district unions. There were 1,377 urban societies with 3,561,000 members, 22,244 rural societies with 4,551,900 members, and 1,353 other societies with 608,400 members. Societies of all types totalled 25,974 with 8,722,000 members. The total turnover for all these societies for the six month period ending March 1, 1925, was 1,751,465,000 rubles.

*Centrosoyus* has also 347 directly affiliated organizations. Its turnover was 173,167,539 rubles for the first nine months of 1924. It produced goods worth 19,847,441 rubles. Among its products were confectionery, meat preserves, books, corn flour, mustard, starch and treacle, preserved fruit, tobacco, vegetable oil, boots and shoes, leather, feather-down, and wire nails.

**Volume.**—Thirty-five per cent of all the trade in Russia is now said to be done by the cooperatives, and 65 per cent of all articles of household consumption is distributed by these societies. Membership in these cooperatives is now purely voluntary. There are probably, however, hundreds of thousands of members whose names are still on the books since the period of compulsory cooperation and who do not know whether they are members or not.

**Banking.**—On October 1, 1925, the Vsekobank had a balance of 90,000,000 rubles, as against 36,000,000 rubles on the same date in 1923. From January to June, 1925, the Narodny Bank did a business of \$250,000,000. Its assets are \$15,000,000. Its capital is \$1,750,000, but additional capital of \$2,500,000 is authorized.

## SOUTH AFRICA.

### Industrial

**Labor Conditions and Disputes.**—Continuance of unemployment called forth a conference of the trade unions on March 25, 1925, to deal with the situation. An attempt to restrict colored labor was defeated in the Senate on July 7, although it was passed in the lower House, controlled by the Nationalist-

Labor coalition. The African Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union held a Congress on April 13 at Johannesburg, and among other demands pressed for a minimum wage bill for natives. The latter are paid as low as 2 shillings a day.

The shipping strike which developed in Great Britain spread to South Africa in September and did not come to an end until October 12, causing considerable tie-up of shipping.

### Political

**Labor Party Coalition.**—The defeat by the Senate of the electoral bill aroused opposition from the government majority in the House. A bill was adopted by both Houses providing for machinery to fix minimum and fair wages. In the British Empire Labor Conference which was held in July in London, the unfortunate situation of the several hundred thousand Indians in South Africa was discussed.

### Cooperation

**Compulsory Cooperation.**—A law is being framed for South Africa, modelled upon that of Queensland, making membership for the minority compulsory when 75 per cent of the producers of any one commodity have formed a cooperative organization. A severe penalty is attached whenever a grower refuses to market through this organization. There are now 50 cooperative societies with 8,000 members. These include 37 per cent of all the mealie farmers.

## SPAIN

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—At the end of 1924 the General Union of Workers, the federation affiliated with Amsterdam, reported 210,741 members. It emphasized amalgamation, and during the year established regional federations to consolidate the unions of the locality. The "Free" Trade Unions, a federation organized in January, 1924, held a congress on August 26, 1925, at Barcelona with 138 delegates representing a membership of 127,000. It declared against any political or party action, and called upon the government to establish an unemployment insurance system and to provide more adequate compensation in case of accident. The Congress also adopted several resolutions for

a minimum wage, no infringement of the eight-hour day, and trade union control of money advanced by the workers for pensions. On May 1, despite the prohibition by the dictatorship of any public demonstrations, there was a general holiday by the workers to indicate their solidarity and discipline.

**Labor Disputes.**—A strike of the miners occurred in Biscay Province. The workers demanded nationalization of the mines, which are in a backward condition. In the same region a strike of metal workers took place, higher wages being demanded. A commission of inquiry was set up and work was resumed.

### Political

**Socialist Party.**—Pablo Iglesias, pioneer leader of the Spanish Socialist movement, died on December 9 at the age of 75. He was chairman of the party and of the General Union of Workers since 1888, and had been a member of the First International. In 1909 he was counsel for Professor Francisco Ferrer who was executed for teaching advanced political views.

**Communists.**—Maurin and Arlandis, active trade unionists connected with the Red International, were captured after doing extensive illegal work, and imprisoned. A considerable number of Communist unionists were thrown into jail.

### Cooperation

**Growth.**—In 1924 the Federation of Cooperative Societies of Northern Spain included 43 societies with 18,000 members and did a business of 18,000,000 pesetas. The Wholesale sold goods worth 3,462,421 pesetas. The Federation of Catalanian Cooperative Societies included 103 societies with 19,259 members. Its turnover was 21,618,278 pesetas.

**Farming.**—Under the land settlement act of 1917 settlers are required to form cooperative societies for the purchase of articles required in cultivating the land. These societies are subsidized by the state, and are required to affiliate with the Federation of Cooperative Societies of the Land Settlement.

**Secretariat.**—A permanent Cooperative Secretariat was appointed in March, 1924, to supervise the organization and administration of cooperative societies.

## SWEDEN

## Industrial

**Labor Disputes.**—In the negotiations of new collective agreements at the beginning of 1925, strikes of the workers took place. The employers' association demanded a wage reduction and announced a lockout of 130,000, mainly in the metal, paper, saw milling, and textile industries. A special mediation board appointed by the government secured the postponement of the notices for the lockout until March 16, when it began and lasted 10 days. The Communists called for a general strike but their demand was ignored by the trade unions affected. A compromise was effected, with some increases in wages for paper mill workers and the old conditions in most of the other industries. A landworkers' strike which broke out on October 24, 1924, ended on February 26, 1925, with wage increases. The conflict was very bitter, the workers resorting to sabotage on the job, and the land owners retaliating by expelling the workers from their houses. On April 8 a strike of about 8,000 seamen took place over the question of employment exchanges which the union controlled.

**Trade Unions.**—The Swedish Federation of Trade Unions, affiliated with Amsterdam, showed an increase in its membership between 1923 and 1924 of 47,315, having at the latter date 360,337. There has been a steady rise, and retention of the war gains. During 1925 the Federation took steps to change from craft to industrial unions. The purpose was to clear up the demarcation disputes and make for concerted effort in wage movements.

## Political

**Socialist Government.**—Both houses of Parliament adopted the Socialist disarmament bill which cut the cost for military purposes about one-third. In 1928 the naval program will be reconsidered. The Socialists proposed additional social legislation, such as unemployment insurance, instead of any reduction in taxes, which the conservative elements demanded. The People's Party, upon which the Socialists depend for a majority, are not in favor of the insurance measure, while the Socialists do not look kindly on the People's Party favorite proposal of prohibition. A special government committee made an extensive study of industrial democracy in Europe.

On February 24, Hjalmar Branting died. Hundreds of thousands participated in his funeral. The services were attended by delegations from trade union and Socialist groups of Europe, as well as from all parts of the country, and by the royal family. Branting was from 1887 until 1917 editor of the official party paper *Social Demokraten*, from 1896 to 1925 a member of Parliament, and was several times Prime Minister. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1921, was a member of the Council of the League of Nations, and presided at one International Labor Conference. On May 5, F. W. Thorsson passed away. He had succeeded Branting as the leader of the party, and was in all three Branting cabinets. Rickard Sandler succeeded Branting as Prime Minister, and Per Albin Hansson, the Minister of National Defense, was elected to Branting's place as parliamentary leader of the party.

**Communists.**—The Independent Communists, who broke away from the Communist International under the leadership of Z. Hoeglund, met in Congress on September 20, and decided to start negotiations with the Socialists for re-union. The Moscow Communists, who obtained five deputies against one for Hoeglund's group in the 1924 elections, continued their active opposition to the Social Democrats and Independent Communists. A delegation of members of the Swedish postal employees' union visited Russia and on its return hailed the unity negotiations of the Anglo-Russian trade union committee. For strike activity the secretary of the Young Communists was imprisoned six months.

### Cooperation

**Growth.**—The Swedish Union reports a membership of 876 societies, having an individual membership of 292,469 and sales of 234,000,000 crowns. The capital and reserves of the Wholesale are 10,100,000 crowns and the annual business 83,775,000 crowns, an increase of 11,485,851 crowns over 1923. The largest consumers' society in Sweden is that in Stockholm with 110 branch stores and more than 23,000 members. The sales of this society in 1924 were 20,254,000 crowns. The Swedish Union reported a substantial victory in 1925 over the Swedish millers' ring which had attempted to increase the price of flour and was finally brought to terms by the competition of the Wholesale.

**Scandinavian Wholesale.**—The Scandinavian Wholesale Society, an international cooperative society for Sweden, Nor-

way, and Denmark, increased its business considerably for 1924 with total sales of 22,900,000 crowns.

## SWITZERLAND

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—The Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, attached to Amsterdam, showed at the end of 1924 a membership of 151,502, just holding its own. The General Council meeting in the summer turned down propositions pressing the International Federation of Trade Unions for admission of the Russians. It also defeated by a narrow majority a proposal that a contribution be made to the I. F. T. U. for a memorial to the International Labor Office.

The Christian Social Workers' Union, including workers' associations and cooperatives, held a Congress at Zug August 15-16, with J. Scherrer in the chair. It demanded the development of cooperation and vocational education, a customs tariff, encouragement of construction of cheap houses, furtherance of agriculture, increased taxation of alcohol, and extensive social insurance.

### Political

**Social Democratic Party.**—Both at the municipal elections in the early part of the year and in the parliamentary poll of October 25 the Social Democratic Party scored considerable gains. In the Zurich city council the party gained 11 seats, making 55, which with the nine of the Communists gives these two parties a majority. In Aargau the Socialists gained 10 seats, and they made gains elsewhere. In the election of national deputies the party gained six seats, bringing its parliamentary representation up to 49 out of 198.

The Congress of the party was held September 12-13, in Zurich, and emphasized the need to reduce the cost of living by abolition of high tariffs, no indirect taxation, reductions in military expenses, and also outlined plans for the extension of social insurance. The party pointed out that in proportion to its population Switzerland maintained the most expensive army in the world. The party Congress did not discuss affiliation with the Labor and Socialist International. The Social Reform group which separated from the party in 1916 registered losses in the elections, and at the end of the year considered opening negotiations for rejoining.

Hermann Greulich died on November 8, in his 84th year. He was one of the organizers of the party, a member of the First International, and was well known throughout the International Socialist movement.

**Communist Party.**—In the elections in Zurich the Communists lost a few seats, but gained one in the parliamentary elections, now having three. They sought an alliance with the Social Democrats, but the latter refused to fight the elections jointly. In the trade unions the Communist and left wing influence is felt.

### Cooperation

**Growth.**—In 1924 the Swiss Union reported a membership of 519 societies and 352,400 individual members. Total sales were 272,286,000 francs as against 264,310,800 in 1923. The Wholesale alone had a turnover of 123,594,000 francs, 4,000,000 more than in 1923, and had net profit of 533,000 francs. Six educational journals are now being published in three languages, a total of 9,141,000 copies being distributed. The Konkordia union composed of Catholics, now numbers 89 societies with a total annual business of 10,500,000 francs.

**Amalgamation.**—On December 10, 1924, there was a meeting at Zurich to discuss the formation of a Swiss Cooperative Union to include the 11,000 societies of all types thought to exist in Switzerland. A commission was appointed to study the question further.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### Industrial

**Trade Unions.**—A trade union unity Congress of two existing federations was held October 10-12, in Belgrade, after negotiations had continued for several months. Unions will be admitted which are independent and are opposed to making political party propaganda. The new federation, known as the United Trade Federation, remains affiliated with Amsterdam, and its membership increased to about 40,000. In the summer the building workers met under the chairmanship of G. Kaeppler of the trade international and decided upon plans of amalgamation.

### Political

**Socialist Party.**—The Socialists, who had two deputies in Parliament, lost them in the elections of February 8. The governing groups used methods of violence, while the three-fold

nationalist hatreds between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes prevented a statement of class issues. Socialist speakers were beaten and in some instances killed. Typical of government pressure was the dissolution of the Croatian Republican Peasant Party and the arrest of its leaders.

**Communists.**—The Communist Party, which once had 54 seats in Parliament, and which was declared illegal, re-organized as the Independent Labor Party. But before the February, 1925, elections this was also dissolved and the party elected no deputies to Parliament. The change of front of the leaders of the Croats, particularly Stephen Raditch, whereby they made peace with Pachitch after they were arrested, aroused the ire of the Communists. Raditch's party had been connected with the International Peasant Council of Moscow.

## XIV. DEATH ROLL OF 1925

**AGOSTON, Peter** (51), Hungarian Socialist, former editor of official party organ *Nepsava*, under-secretary in the Karolyi government, commissar for foreign affairs in Hungarian Soviet government; Paris.

**ANDERSON, John W.** (44), vice-president, Order of Railroad Telegraphers; died while in charge of strike on Atlantic Coast Line; Wilmington, Del., October 24.

**BEERS, Ethel M.** (50), former secretary, Women's Trade Union League, active for many years in Chicago Federation of High School Teachers and in the Socialist Party; Chicago, March 21.

**BOJOR**, Rumanian Communist, committed suicide in prison after two months' solitary confinement; Bucharest, November 22.

**BOTTWIN, Naphtali** (20), Polish Communist who shot the Polish provocateur Cechnovski; executed Lemberg, Poland, August 6.

**BRAMLEY, Fred** (50), secretary general council, British Trades Union Congress, member Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association and of Independent Labor Party; Amsterdam, October 10.

**BRANTING, Hjalmar** (64), Swedish Socialist, journalist, astronomer, three times Socialist Prime Minister of Sweden, former President of the League of Nations' Labor Office; Stockholm, February 24.

**BROWN, William Thomas** (53), first vice-president, Order of Railroad Telegraphers 1915-1925, former chairman Rock Island System Division; died while conducting Atlantic Coast Line strike, Savannah, Ga., November 24.

**BUDENNAYA, Nadezhda**, Russian Red Army cavalry captain, wife of Commander-in-chief Budenny, several times wounded in battles against counter-revolutionists; Moscow, December 9.

**CROSS, Joseph** (65), for 20 years secretary of British Amalgamated Weavers' Association; Blackburn, England, January 11.

**DERSCH, Herman** (66), for 39 years member of Socialist Labor Party, formerly active in Social Democratic Party of Germany in defiance of Bismarck's conspiracy laws; Cleveland, November 13.

**DUBINSKY**, Rumanian Communist, committed suicide in prison; Bucharest, November 22.

**DUTTON**, Joseph M. (59), assistant financier, International Molders' Union, 1905-1925; Cincinnati, August 25.

**EBERT**, Friedrich (54), German Social Democratic leader, first President of the German Republic, began life as a saddler, member of Reichstag 1912-1918; Berlin, February 28.

**FLYNN**, T. A. (67), general secretary, British Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses; London, July 8.

**FREEMAN**, George (89), Socialist lecturer, writer on foreign affairs for New York *Sun*, anti-imperialist, editor-in-chief, *Gaelic American*; New York, December 8.

**FRIEDMAN**, Marko (33), Bulgarian lawyer, former member of Sofia, Bulgaria, municipal council, editor Jewish workers' paper *Bratstvo*; hanged for alleged complicity in blowing up of cathedral; Sofia, May 27.

**FRUNZE**, Michael (40), People's Commissar of War and Marine, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; member of central committee, Russian Communist Party; Moscow, October 31.

**FULTON**, James, secretary British National Union of Foundry Workers; May.

**GOLDSTEIN**, Max, Rumanian Communist, died after 50-day hunger strike in Doftan prison; November.

**GREULICH**, Hermann (84), one of the founders of Swiss Socialist Party, for 22 years Socialist member of Swiss Parliament; Zurich, November 8.

**GRUNDY**, T., general secretary, British National Wool-sorters' Society, for 22 years, leader in campaign against anthrax.

**HANNA**, Paul (42), Socialist journalist, former Washington correspondent of Federated Press, New York *Call*, London *Daily Herald*, managing editor, New York *New Leader*; New York, February 24.

**HANNAHAN**, John J. (69), grand master, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, 1902-1908; St. Paul, September 4.

**HARDIE**, Lillie Wilson (Nan), Widow of Keir Hardie; Old Cumnock, Scotland, October 18, 1924.

**HARRIMAN**, Job (64), one of leaders of secession from Socialist Labor Party in 1899; one of founders of Socialist Party in 1900; founder of Llano colony, Calif., and of Newllano colony, La.; Sierre Madre, Calif., October 26.

**HERRON**, George Davis (63), Socialist writer, lecturer, one of founders of Rand School of Social Science, New York; Munich, Germany, October 10, 1925.

**HEYDEMANN**, Hans (29), Communist member Estonian Parliament, executed for espionage and alleged participation in December, 1924, uprising; Dorpat, August 29.

**HOORGIN, Isaiah** (38), president, Amtorg Trading Company, New York representative of Soviet Russian State Commercial Import and Export Bureau; Long Lake, N. Y., August 27.

**HUBER, William D.** (72), charter member, Yonkers, N. Y., Local 726, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, general president of the brotherhood, 1899-1913; Indianapolis, September 10.

**IGLESIAS, Pablo Posse** (75), president Spanish Socialist Party, former editor of *El Socialista*, member of Parliament from Madrid, organizer of general protest strike against execution of Francisco Ferrer, 1909; Madrid, December 9.

**JOHNSON, W. H.**, general secretary, British National Brass and Metal Mechanics; December, 1924.

**KIESEWETTER, Wilhelm** (72), early Bohemian Socialist, member in Germany of General German Workmen's Union founded by Lassalle, party editor, one of first Socialist members of Austrian Parliament, Social Democratic senator in Czechoslovakia; Prague, April 20.

**KOEV, Gheorglin**, Communist workman, hanged for alleged complicity in explosion of bomb in Sveti Kral cathedral; Sofia, Bulgaria, May 27.

**KULISCIOFF, Anna** (64), political exile from Russia at 17, founder of Italian woman's movement, lecturer and writer for Italian Socialist Party; Milan, December 29.

**LA FOLLETTE, Robert Marion** (70), senator from Wisconsin, candidate for presidency on Independent ticket, 1924; Washington, June 18.

**LANGE, Eric** (50) treasurer Swedish Federation of Trade Unions, previous treasurer Swedish Metal Workers' Union; Stockholm, February 24.

**LEKAI (or LASSEN), John**, one of founders of Young Communist movement of Hungary and of Young Communist International; New York, July.

**LIAN, Ole O.** (56), president of Norwegian Trade Union Center for 20 years, Independent Communist, broke with Communist International over Norwegian Labor Party question; February 21.

**MAROUN, Anton**, secretary Egyptian Trade Union Federation, lawyer, member central committee Egyptian Communist Party, twice on hunger strike; refused pardon; August 1.

**MASSINGHAM, H. W.** (64), British journalist, member Independent Labor Party; Cornwall, August 28, 1924.

**McGUIRE, Alexander J.** (53), member general executive board Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees; Chicago, February 18.

**MERRHEIM, A.** (54), former secretary French Metal Workers' Union, a leader of left wing opposition in the trade unions, present at Zimmerwald conference, 1915; October 22.

**MORENO, Francisco J.**, Communist member of Chamber of Deputies of state of Vera Cruz, Mexico; assassinated, Jalapa, September 15.

**MORF, Rudolf** (87), member of the First International, punished for agitation for shorter work day, 1868; Switzerland, May 7.

**MUELLER, Enrico**, secretary, Young Communist League of Buenos Ayres; Buenos Ayres.

**NARIMANOV, Nariman** (55), president central executive committee Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Republics, one of the four presidents of the central executive committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; March 19.

**O'BRIEN, J. J.** (63), printer, vice-president Muscatine, Iowa, Trade and Labor Alliance; April.

**PREVY, Marguerite**, Socialist speaker and organizer, active in obtaining release of Eugene V. Debs from Atlanta prison; Minneapolis, April 14.

**PRIESTLEY, Charles**, active worker in British trade unions, cooperatives, friendly societies, and Independent Labor Party; Manchester, November 23.

**PRING, George W.** (56), vice-president Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Shipbuilders, and Helpers; Kansas City, March 26.

**REUKMANN, Jakob** (72), Austrian Socialist leader, first Socialist mayor of Vienna; Vienna, July.

**SABATIER, Andre**, shot by factory engineer in strike demonstration against Moroccan war; Suresnes, France, October 12.

**SAROVICH, Mike**, active left wing worker in Zeigler, Ill., United Mine Workers' local, shot by Klan member of union in dispute over union elections; Zeigler, August 16.

**SCHOENFELD, Mark** (76), pioneer in Socialist Labor Party; New York, November 12.

**SILLIER, Otto** (68), president German Lithographers' Union 1891-1919; secretary International Federation of Lithographers 1907-1920; Berlin, March 5.

**SKLIANSKY, Efrem M.** (33), physician, head of Moscow Textile Trust, active in October revolution, former Soviet Assistant Minister of War, member of Economic Department of the Russian government; Long Lake, N. Y., August 27.

**SPEYER, George J.** (71), former manager New York Call Printing Company, founder of the *Rundschau*, a German-American Socialist monthly, member of Typographical Union No. 7; New York, August 15.

**STONE, Warren S.** (65), president Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, pioneer in labor banking; Cleveland, June 12.

**STOYANOFF, Haralmya**, Bulgarian Communist deputy; assassinated, Sofia, March 6.

**STRACHIMIROFF, Todor**, Bulgarian Communist deputy; assassinated, Sofia, February 17.

**STROBELL, George H.** (70), vice-president Russian Reconstruction Farms, Socialist writer and lecturer, former manager New York People's House; Maslov Kut, Russia, October 2.

**THORSSON, F. Vilhelm**, Swedish Social Democratic leader, minister of finance in Branting cabinets, elected head of party after Branting's death; Stockholm, May 5.

**VAN KOL, Henri H.** (73), Dutch Socialist pioneer, member of First International, frequently elected to lower house of Dutch States General and later to Senate; Amsterdam, August 22.

**VERDAN, Fritz** (47), former president Swiss Typographical Federation, head of International Secretariat of Printers.

**WIGNALL, James**, national organizer for British Transport and General Workers' Union, Labor member of Parliament since 1918; London, June 10.

**YAT-SEN, Sun** (68), Chinese physician, founder of *Kuomintang* (People's Party), first president Chinese Republic 1911, founder of the Canton Republic; Peking, March 11.

**YESSENIN, Sergei** (27), Bolshevik poet; Leningrad, December 27.

**ZADGORSKY, Petor**, Communist workman, hanged by Bulgarian government for alleged complicity in Sveti Kral cathedral bomb explosion; Sofia, May 27.

## XV. RECENT BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

(A number of early 1925 publications were listed in the *American Labor Year Book, 1925*, and are not repeated here.  
pm. = pamphlet.)

### I. INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

#### Industry, Commerce, Finance

- Abbati, H. The unclaimed wealth. New York, Macmillan, 1924.
- Adams, Arthur Barts. Economics of business cycles. New York, McGraw, Hill, 1925.
- Adams, W. Real wealth and financial poverty. London, Palmer, 1925.
- American academy of political and social science. Giant power. Morris L. Cooke (ed.) Philadelphia, 1925.
- Science in modern industry. Philadelphia, 1925.
- American management association. Economics for employees: methods and content. New York, 1924.
- Ashton, T. S. Iron and steel in the industrial revolution. New York, Longmans, 1924.
- Bader, Louis. World developments in the cotton industry. New York, University press, 1925.
- Bank of the Manhattan co. Up from the soil. New York, 1925.
- Bartholomew, J. G. The Oxford economic atlas. New York. Oxford university press, 6th ed. 1925.
- Bellerby, J. R. Monetary stability. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- Benn, Sir Ernest. The confessions of a capitalist. London, Hutchinson, 1925.
- Bertram, Arthur. The economic illusion. New York, Seltzer, 1926.
- Bottomley, Samuel. The gold standard, its relation to business, labor, and world peace. London, Martian publishing co., 1925.
- Boucke, O. Fred. Principles of economics. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- Brookings, Robert Somers. Industrial ownership; its economic and social significance. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- Burns, Cecil Delisle. Industry and civilization. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- The philosophy of labor. New York, Oxford university press, 1926.

- Cable, B. Labor and profits. London, Jarrolds, 1925.
- Campbell, C. G. Commonwealth. New York, Century, 1925.
- Carver, Thomas Nixon. The present economic revolution in the United States. Boston, Little, Brown, 1925.
- Cassel, Gustav. Fundamental thoughts in economics. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1926.
- Clark, Horace F., and Chase, Frank A. Elements of the modern building and loan associations. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- Cole, Arthur Harrison. The American wool manufacture. Cambridge, Harvard university press, 1926.
- Cowdick, Edward S. Manpower in industry. New York, Holt, 1924.
- D'Albe, E. E. Fournier. Hephaestus: or the soul of the machine. New York, Dutton, 1925.
- Devine, Edward T. Coal. Bloomington, Ill., American review service press, 1925.
- Dies, Edward Jerome. The wheat pit. Chicago, Argyle, 1925.
- Dobb, Maurice. Capitalist enterprise and social progress. London, Routledge, 1925.
- Dunn, Robert Williams. American foreign investments. New York, Viking press, 1926.
- Foster, William Trufant, and Catchings, Waddill. Profits. New York, Holt, 1925.
- Hamilton, Walton Hale, and Wright, Helen R. The case of bituminous coal. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- Harap, H. The education of the consumer. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- Harrison, H. D. Industrial psychology and the production of wealth. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1925.
- Hawtrey, R. G. The economic problem. New York, Longmans, Green, 1926.
- Hayward, William R., and Johnson, Gerald W. The story of man's work. New York, Minton, Balch, 1925.
- Hobson, John Atkinson. Free thought in the social sciences. New York, Macmillan, 1926.
- Hopkins, J. A. H. Banking. New York, National bureau of information and education, 1924.
- Coal industry. New York, National bureau of information and education, 1924.
- Horricks, J. W. A short history of mercantilism. New York, Brentano, 1925.
- Hunt, Edward Eyre. (ed.) Scientific management since Taylor. New York, McGraw, Hill, 1924.
- , Tryon, F. G., and Willits, Joseph H. What the coal commission found. Baltimore, Williams, Wilkins, 1925.
- Jeffrey, E. C. Coal and civilization. New York, Macmillan, 1925.

- Jennings, W. W. History of economic progress in the United States. New York, Crowell, 1925.
- Jones, Wellington D., and Whittlesey, Derwent D. An introduction to economic geography. Chicago, University of Chicago press, 1925.
- King, Clyde L. (ed.) Price of coal, anthracite and bituminous. Philadelphia, American academy of political and social science, 1924.
- Kirkbride, Franklin B. The modern trust company. New York, Sterrett, Willis, 1925.
- Lavington, F. The trade cycle. London, King, 1925.
- Lilley, Ernest Raymond. The oil industry. New York, Van Nostrand, 1925.
- Metcalf, Henry Clayton. (ed.) Linking science and industry. Baltimore, Williams, Wilkins, 1925.
- Moriarity, William Daniel. Economics for citizenship. New York, Longmans, 1925.
- Moulton, Harold G. The financial organization of society. Chicago, University of Chicago press, rev. ed. 1925.
- Mukerjee, Radhakamal. Borderlands of economics. London, Unwin, 1925.
- Mumford, John K. Anthracite. New York, Industries publishing co., 1925.
- Mundey, A. H. Tin and the tin industry. New York, Pitman, 1926.
- Murray, W. S. Superpower. New York, McGraw, Hill, 1925.
- Nash, L. R. Economics of public utilities. New York, McGraw, Hill, 1925.
- National industrial conference board. Trade associations: their economic significance and legal status. New York, 1925.
- New York federation of progressive women. Our economic system. New York, 1925. (pm.)
- Paxson, Frederic L. History of the American frontier. New York, Holt, 1925.
- Pennsylvania. Giant power survey board. Report to the general assembly. Harrisburg, 1925.
- Pointer, Robert R. The federal reserve monster. Bismarck, N. D., Clark, Campbell, 1924.
- Presley, Fred Y. The economic cycle. Cambridge, Harvard university, 1925. (pm.)
- Ravage, Marcus Ely. Story of teapot dome. New York, New republic, 1925.
- Schechter, Frank I. The historical foundations of the law relating to trade marks. New York, Columbia university press, 1925.
- Seligman, Edwin R. A. Essays in economics. New York, Macmillan, 1925.

- Sinclair, Upton. *Mammonart: an essay in economic interpretation*. Pasadena, Calif., 1925.
- Smith, James H. *Collectivist economics*. London, Routledge, 1925.
- Splawn, M. W. *The consolidation of railroads*. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- Starr, Mark. *A worker looks at economics*. London, Labor publishing co., 1925.
- Stehman, J. Warren. *The financial history of the American telephone and telegraph company*. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1925.
- Tarbell, Ida M. *The history of the standard oil company*. New York, Macmillan, rev. ed., 1925.
- *The life of Elbert H. Gary: the story of steel*. New York, Appleton, 1925.
- Thompson, Slason. *A short history of American railways*. New York, Appleton, 1925.
- Thorp, Willard L. *The integration of industrial operation*. Washington, Bureau of the census, 1924.
- Todd, John A. *The science of prices*. New York, Oxford university press, 1925.
- Tugwell, Rexford Guy, Munro, Thomas, and Stryker, Roy E. *American economic life*. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1925.
- United States. Bureau of the census. *Statistical atlas of the United States*, 1924. Washington, 1925.
- *Bureau of foreign and domestic commerce. Statistical abstract of the United States*, 1924. Washington, 1925.
- *Coal commission. Report*. In five parts. (Senate doc. 195, 68th cong., 2nd sess.) Washington, 1925.
- *Department of commerce. Commerce yearbook*, 1924. Washington, 1925.
- *13th annual report of the secretary of commerce*, 1925. Washington, 1925.
- Walton, Perry. *The story of textiles*. Boston, Walton advertising and printing co., 1925.
- Whelpley, J. D. *Reconstruction*. New York, Funk, Wagnalls, 1925.
- Williams, T. G. *Main currents of social and industrial change, 1870-1924*. New York, Pitman, 1925.
- Withers, Hartley. *The case for capitalism*. London, Jarrold, 1925.

### International Relations and War

- Angell, Norman. *Human nature and the peace problem*. London, Collins, 1925.
- Ashley, Percy. *Europe from Waterloo to Sarajevo*. New York, Knopf, 1926.
- Aubert, Louis. *The reconstruction of Europe*. New Haven, Yale university press, 1925.

- Baker, P. J. Noel. The Geneva protocol. London, King, 1925.
- Buell, Raymond Leslie. International relations. New York, Holt, 1925.
- Buxton, Charles Roden. The black man's right. London, Independent labor party publications dept., 1925. (pm.)
- Bywater, Hector C. The great Pacific war: a history of the American-Japanese campaign of 1931-33. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1925.
- Colyer, W. T. Americanism: a world menace. London, Labor publishing co., 1925.
- Culbertson, William Smith. International economic policies: a survey of the economics of diplomacy. New York, Appleton, 1925.
- de Bustamante, Antonio S. The world court. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- Dumas, Samuel, and Vedel-Peterson, K. O. Losses of life caused by war. Oxford, Clarendon press, 1923.
- Eddy, Sherwood, and Page, Kirby. The abolition of war. New York, Doran, 1915. (pm.)
- Ewart, John S. The roots and causes of the war. New York, Doran, 1925.
- Fanshawe, Maurice. Reconstruction. Five years of work by the league of nations. London, Unwin, 1925.
- Friedrich, Ernst. The war in pictures. Amsterdam, International federation of trade unions, 1925.
- Gibson, Harry P. War abolition. Schenectady, Robson, Adees, 1925.
- Glasgow, George. From Dawes to Locarno. London, 1925.
- Haldane, J. B. S. Callinicus: a defense of chemical warfare. New York, Dutton, 1925.
- Hall, Norris F., Chaffee, Jr., Zechariah, and Hudson, Manley, O. The next war. Cambridge, Harvard alumni bulletin press, 1925.
- Harding, Stan. The underworld of state. London, Unwin, 1925.
- Hart, B. H. Liddell. Paris; or the future of war. New York, Dutton, 1925.
- Henderson, Arthur. Labor and the Geneva protocol. London, Labor party, 1925.
- High, Stanley. Europe turns the corner. New York, Abingdon press, 1925.
- International labor office. Migration movements, 1920-25. Geneva, 1925.
- Jones, Chester Lloyd. Caribbean diplomacy. New York, Appleton, 1925.
- Kahn, Otto H. Myth of American imperialism. New York, 52 William street, 1925. (pm.)

- Keen, F. N. Towards international justice. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1924.
- Kellor, Frances, and Hatvany, Antonia. The United States senate and the international court. New York, Seltzer, 1925.
- Keltie, John Scott, and Epstein, M. (ed.) Statesman's year book, 1925. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- Lochner, Louis P. Henry Ford, America's Don Quixote. New York, International publishers, 1925.
- Magnes, Judah L. War time addresses, 1917-1921. New York, Seltzer, 1925.
- Miller, D. H. The Geneva protocol. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- Mining and metallurgical society of America. International control of minerals. New York, 1925. (pm.)
- Mitchell, William. Winged defense. New York, Putnam, 1925.
- Mitrany, D. The problem of international sanctions. New York, Oxford university press, 1925. (pm.)
- Moon, Parker Thomas. Syllabus on international relations. New York, Macmillan, 1925.
- National industrial conference board. The inter-ally debts and the United States. New York, 1925.
- Nearing, Scott. Stopping a war. New York, Social science publishers, 1925. (pm.)
- , and Freeman, Joseph. Dollar diplomacy. New York, Huebsch, and Viking press, 1925.
- Newfang, Oscar. The road to world peace: A federation of nations. New York, Putnam, 1924.
- Nicholson, J. H. The remaking of the nations. New York, Dutton, 1925.
- Norman, C. H. A searchlight on the European war. London, Labor publishing co., 1925.
- Ponsonby, Arthur. Now is the time: an appeal for peace. London, Parsons, 1925.
- Rankin, Enid Scott. The dominion of sea and air. New York, Century, 1925.
- Read, Elizabeth F. International law and international relations. New York, American foundation, 1925.
- Robinson, James Harvey. An introduction to the history of western Europe; II, the emergence of existing conditions and ways of thinking. Boston, Ginn, rev. ed., 1926.
- Speranza, Gino. Race or nation: a conflict of divided loyalties. Indianapolis, Bobbs, Merrill, 1926.
- Toynbee, Arnold J. Survey of international affairs, 1920-1923. New York, Oxford university press, 1925.
- The world after the peace conference. New York, Oxford university press, 1925.

- Tyler, Mason Whiting.** The European powers and the near east, 1875-1908. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1925.
- Weston, William Jayne.** World industry and commerce. New York, Pitman, 1925.
- Willoughby, W. W.** Opium as an international problem. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1925.

### General Labor Conditions

- Andrews, C. F.** Christ and labor. New York, Doran, 1924.
- Rabson, R. W.** Recent labor progress; with special reference to the work of the federal government under James J. Davis. New York, Revell, 1924.
- Blum, Solomon.** Labor economics. New York, Holt, 1925.
- Buxton, Leonard Halford Dudley.** Primitive labor. London, Methuen, 1924.
- Dataller, Roger.** From a pitman's notebook. New York, Dial press, 1925.
- Dow, Grove S.** Social problems of today. New York, Crowell, 1925.
- Firth, Violet M.** The psychology of the servant problem. London, Daniel, 1925.
- Floyd, William (ed.).** Social progress. New York, The arbitrator, 1925.
- Furniss, Edgar S., and Guild, Lawrence R.** Labor problems: a book of materials for their study. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1925.
- Goodrich, Carter.** The miner's freedom. Boston, Marshall, Jones, 1925.
- Hearnshaw, F. J.** Democracy and labor. New York, Macmillan, 1924.
- Humberstone, Thomas Lloyd. (ed.)** Science and labor; principal addresses at a conference. London, Benn, 1924.
- Rand school of social science.** Labor research department. American labor year book, 1926. New York, 1926.
- Rowntree, B. Seeböhm.** The human factor in business. New York, Longmans, 2nd ed. 1925.
- Ryan, John A.** Industrial democracy from a catholic viewpoint. Washington, Rossi-Bryn co., 1925.
- Russell Sage foundation.** Bibliography—labor and industry. New York, 1925. (pm.)
- Silverman, H. A.** The economics of social problems. London, University tutorial press, 1925.
- Socialist labor party.** Review and an outlook: what is ahead of the American working class? New York, New York labor news co., 1925. (pm.)
- United States.** Bureau of labor statistics. Labor conditions in the shoe industry in Massachusetts, 1920-1924. Robert S. Billups and Philip L. Jones. (Bulletin 384.) Washington, 1925.

**Zimmerman, James Fulton.** Impressment of American seamen. New York, Longmans, 1925.

### Distribution of Income and Wealth

**Anderson, B. M.** Income of the American people and the ratio of foreign to domestic trade, 1890-1924. New York, Chase national bank, 1925. (pm.)

**National bureau of economic research.** Income in the various states: its sources and distribution, 1919, 1920, and 1921. New York, 1925.

**Robson, William A.** The relation of wealth to welfare. New York, Macmillan, 1925.

**United States. Bureau of internal revenue.** Statistics of income, 1923. Washington, 1925.

**Wittels, Fritz.** An end to poverty. London, Allen, Unwin, 1925.

### Waste in Industry

**Arrhenius, Svante August.** Chemistry in modern life. New York, Van Nostrand, 1925.

**Chase, Stuart.** The tragedy of waste. New York, Macmillan, 1925.

**Polakov, Walter N.** Man and his affairs from the engineering point of view. Baltimore, Williams, Wilkins, 1925.

**Stocking, George Ward.** The oil industry and the competitive system: a study in waste. New York, Holt, 1925.

### Wages

**Cohen, Joseph L.** Family income insurance: a scheme of family endowment by the method of insurance. London, King, 1925.

**Cox, F. P.** Management viewpoint of extra incentive wage plans. New York, American management association, 1925.

**Douglas, Paul H.** Wages and the family. Chicago, University of Chicago press, 1925.

**Holmes, Stanley S.** Extra incentive wage plans used by the Hawthorne works of the Western electric co., inc. New York, American management association, 1925.

**Hotchkiss, Willard E.** Extra incentive wage plans in the men's clothing industry in Chicago. New York, American management association, 1925.

**International labor office.** Family allowances. Geneva, 1924.

**Metropolitan life insurance company.** Methods of paying factory workers. New York, 1925.

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- Rathbone, Eleanor F.** The disinherited family. New York, Longmans, 1925.
- United States.** Bureau of Labor Statistics. Union scale of wages and hours of labor, May 15, 1924. (Bulletin 388.) Washington, 1925.
- Wages and hours of labor in the boot and shoe industry, 1907 to 1924. (Bulletin 374.) Washington, 1925.
- Wages and hours of labor in cotton goods manufacturing, 1924. (Bulletin 371.) Washington, 1925.
- Wages and hours of labor in the hosiery and underwear industry, 1907 to 1924. (Bulletin 376.) Washington, 1925.
- Wages and hours of labor in the iron and steel industry, 1907 to 1924. (Bulletin 381.) Washington, 1925.
- Wages and hours of labor in the men's clothing industry, 1911 to 1924. (Bulletin 387.) Washington, 1925.
- Wages and hours of labor in metalliferous mines, 1924. (Bulletin 394.) Washington, 1925.
- Wages and hours of labor in the paper and pulp industry, 1923. (Bulletin 365.) Washington, 1925.
- Wages and hours of labor in the slaughtering and meat packing industry, 1923. (Bulletin 373.) Washington, 1925.
- Wages and hours of labor in woolen and worsted goods manufacturing, 1924. (Bulletin 377.) Washington, 1925.
- United typothetae of America.** Industrial bureau. Changes in union wage scales in the book and job printing industry, 1914 to 1924. Chicago, 1924.
- Vibart, Hugh H. R.** Family allowances in practice: an examination of the family wage system and of the compensation fund in Belgium, France, Germany, and Holland. London, King, 1926.

### Cost of Living

- Berridge, William A., Winslow, Emma A., and Flinn, Richard A.** Purchasing power of the consumer. Chicago, Shaw, 1925.
- Charity organization society, Association for improving the condition of the poor, and United Hebrew charities.** Clothing allowances for the family. New York, 1925. (pm.)
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- McMahon, Theresa S.** Social and economic standards of living. Boston, Heath, 1925.
- National industrial conference board.** The cost of living in the United States. New York, 1925.
- United States.** Bureau of labor statistics. Retail prices, 1890-1924. Washington, 1925.

### Hours

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—Report on the development of facilities for the utilization of workers' leisure. Geneva, 1924.

—Report on night work in bakeries. Geneva, 1924.

—Report on a weekly suspension of work for 24 hours in glass-manufacturing processes where tank furnaces are used. Geneva, 1924.

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### Unemployment

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**Feldman, H.** The regularization of employment. New York, Harper, 1925.

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### Industrial Accidents

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- Quarry accidents in the United States during the calendar year 1923.** William W. Adams. (Bulletin 246.) Washington, 1925.

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- , **Reznikoff, Paul, and Burnham, Grace M.** Tetra-ethyl lead. Chicago, American medical association, 1925. (pm.)
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### Women in Industry

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- Hughes, Gwendolyn Salisbury.** Mothers in industry. New York, New republic, 1925. (pm.)
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- United States. Women's bureau.** Facts about working women, a graphic presentation based on census statistics and studies of the women's bureau. (Bulletin 46.) Washington, 1925.
- Family status of breadwinning women in four selected cities.** (Bulletin 41.) Washington, 1925.

- Home environment and employment opportunities of women in coal-mine workers' families. (Bulletin 45.) Washington, 1925.
- Standard and scheduled hours of work for women in industry. (Bulletin 43.) Washington, 1925.
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- Green, William. Child labor. New York, Workers' education bureau of America, 1925. (pm.)
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- Phelps, E. M. (ed.) Child labor. New York, Wilson, 1925.
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- National industrial conference board. Industrial pensions in the United States. New York, 1925.
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### Immigration

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- Bercovici, Konrad. On new shores. New York, Century, 1925.
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### Turkey

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### Yugoslavia

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# XVI. INTERNATIONAL LABOR DIRECTORY

## I. LABOR UNIONS

### International

#### General International Federations

- International Federation of Trade Unions: Jan Oudegeest, John W. Brown and Joh. Sassenbach, Tesselschadestraat 31, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Red International of Labor Unions: A. Losovsky, Dvoretz Truda, Salianka 12, Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
- International Federation of Christian Trade Unions: P. J. Serrarens, Drift 10-12, Utrecht, Netherlands.
- International Workmen's Association: Fritz Kater, Kopernikusstrasse 25, Berlin O. 34, Germany.
- Pan-American Federation of Labor: Chester M. Wright, Santiago Iglesias, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.

#### International Trade Secretariats

##### Affiliated with International Federation of Trade Unions

- Bookbinders and Kindred Trades, International Federation of: H. Hochstrasser, Monbijoustrasse 61, Berne, Switzerland.
- Building Workers, International Federation of: George Richard Kaeppler, Wallstrasse 1, Hamburg 25, Germany.
- Clothing Workers' International Federation: T. van der Heeg, Amstel 224, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, International Federation of: G. J. A. Smit, Jr., P. C. Hoofstraat 179, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Diamond Workers, Universal Alliance of: L. van Berckelaer, Plantin-Moretuslei 68, Antwerp, Belgium.
- Factory Workers, International Federation of General: R. Stenhuis, Kalfjeslaan 46, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Food and Drink Trades Workers, International Union of: J. Schifferstein, Kornerstrasse 12, Zurich 4, Switzerland.
- Glassworkers, International Secretariat of: Ch. Delzant, 211 Rue Lafayette, Paris 10, France.
- Hairdressers, International Secretariat of: Fr. Etzkorn, Engelufur 15, Berlin S. O. 16, Germany.
- Hatters, International Federation of: E. Reina, Piazzetta Moriggia 6, Monza, Italy.
- Hotel and Restaurant Workers, International Union of: Strohlinger, Elsasserstrasse 86, Berlin N. W. 24, Germany.
- Land Workers' Federation, International: G. Schmidt, Enckeplatz 6, Berlin S. W. 48, Germany.
- Lithographers and Kindred Trades, International Federation of: F. Poels, 65 Rue du Midi, Brussels, Belgium.
- Metal Workers, International Federation of: C. Ilg, Monbijoustrasse 61, Berne, Switzerland.
- Miners, International Federation of: Frank Hodges, Windsor House, Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1, England.

Painters and Allied Trades, International Secretariat of: Otto Streine, Alsterterrasse 10, Hamburg 36, Germany.  
 Postal Telegraph, and Telephone Workers, International Federation of: L. Maier, Peter Jordanstrasse 96, Vienna 18, Austria.  
 Potters, International Secretariat of: George Woltmann, Brahestrasse, Charlottenburg, Berlin, Germany.  
 Printers, International Secretariat of: Hans Grundbacher, Laenggasstrasse 36, Berne, Switzerland.  
 Public Service Employees, International Federation of: N. Van Hinte, Generaal Vetterstraat 34, Amsterdam, Netherlands.  
 Shoe and Leather Workers, International Federation of: J. Simon, Essenweinstrasse 1, Nuremburg, Germany.  
 Stone Workers, International Secretariat of: Robert Kolb, Hardaustrasse 11, Zurich 3, Switzerland.  
 Textile Workers, International Federation of: Tom Shaw, 22 Chandos House, Palmer Street, Westminster, London, S. W. 1, England.  
 Tobacco Workers, International Secretariat of: H. J. J. Eichelsheim, 18 Plantage Badlaan, Amsterdam, Netherlands.  
 Transport Workers, International Federation of: Edo Fimmen, Vondelstraat 61, Amsterdam, Netherlands.  
 Woodworkers, International Union of: G. Woudenberg, Alberdingk Thijmstraat 30, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

### Affiliated with International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions

Agricultural Workers: R. F. Carels, 13 Avenue de la Renaissance, Brussels, Belgium.  
 Building Operatives: J. Andriessen, Cathrijnesingel 67; J. Schaafsma, Maliestraat 2, Utrecht, Netherlands.  
 Clothing Workers: A. F. J. Diemel, Drift 10-12, Utrecht, Netherlands.  
 Employees: G. Tessier, 5 Rue Cadet, Paris 11, France.  
 Factory and Transport Workers: F. Brussel, Rijswijksweg 289, The Hague, Netherlands.  
 Food and Drink Trades Workers: S. P. van Tol, Drift 10-12, Utrecht, Netherlands.  
 Graphical Trades: J. Hofman, Bosboom Toussaintstrasse 30, Amsterdam, Netherlands.  
 Leather Workers: C. Roestenberg, Schoolstraat, Kaatsheuvel, Netherlands.  
 Metal Workers: F. v. Welie, Koningslaan 9, Utrecht, Netherlands.  
 Miners: J. v. Buggenhout, 19 Rue Pletinckx, Brussels, Belgium.  
 Post-office Workers: I. Schreurs, Elisabeth Strouvelaan 65, Maastricht, Netherlands.  
 Railwaymen and Tramwaymen: H. F. Timmermanns, Drift 10-12, Utrecht, Netherlands.  
 Textile Workers: Albert van der Meys, Bellamystraat 22 bis, Utrecht, Netherlands.  
 Tobacco Workers: Jacques Gemen, Hemelrijken 121-123, Eindhoven, Netherlands.  
 Wood Workers: H. Kurtscheid, 9 Venloerwall, Cologne, Germany.

### Unaffiliated

Civil Servants, International Federation of: M. Noordhoff, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Education Workers' International: 33 Rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, Paris 10, France.

Seamen's Federation, International: C. Damm, 9 Rue Du-bois, Antwerp, Belgium.

### National Federations Abroad

**Argentina**—Union Sindical Argentina: J. Silvetti, Rioja 835, Buenos Aires.  
Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina: Parana 134, Buenos Aires.

**Australia**—Federal Grand Council of Labor: J. S. Garden, Trades Hall, Goulburn Street, Sydney, New South Wales.  
Labor Research and Information Bureau: G. Winter, Trades Hall, Goulburn Street, Sydney, New South Wales.  
Trades Hall Council: E. J. Holloway, Trades Hall, Melbourne, Victoria.

New South Wales Labor Council: J. S. Garden, Trades Hall, Sydney.

Queensland Trades and Labor Council: R. J. Mulvey, Trades Hall, Brisbane.

United Trades and Labor Council of South Australia: J. P. Howard, Trades Hall, Adelaide.

West Australia Trades and Labor Council: H. J. Millington, Trades Hall, Perth.

Tasmanian Trades and Labor Council: C. E. Culley, Trades Hall, Hobart.

**Austria**—Gewerkschaftskommission Deutschoesterreichs: A. Hueber, Ebendorferstrasse 7, Vienna 1.

Zentralkommission der Christlichen Gewerkschaften Oesterreichs: M. Allinger, Elisabethstrasse 9, Vienna 1.

Reichsverband der Deutschen Arbeitnehmervereinigungen Oesterreichs: F. Ertle, Matrosengasse 9, Vienna VI.

**Belgium**—Commission Syndicale de Belgique: Cornelius Mertens, Maison Syndicale, Rue Joseph Stevens 8, Brussels.

Confederation Generale des Syndicats Chretiens de Belgique: Henri Paurvels, 13 Avenue de la Renaissance, Brussels.

**Brazil**—Confederacao Operaria Brasileira: Rosendo dos Santos, Caixa Postal 12427, Rio de Janeiro.

**British Guiana**—British Guiana Labor Union: H. Critchlow, 142 Regent Street, Lacy Town, Georgetown, Demerara.

**Bulgaria**—Obcht Rabotnicheski Syndicalen Saius w Balgaria: Grigore Danoff, Ul. Nischka 15, Sofia.

Obscht Rabotnitcheski Syndicalen Saius v Balgaria: D. Dimitrow, Syndicalen Dom, ul. Kyrill i Methodi 54, Sofia.

**Canada**—Trades and Labor Congress of Canada: P. M. Draper, 172 McLaren Street, Ottawa.

Canadian Federation of Labor: J. T. Gunn, 26 Strathcona Ave., Toronto.

One Big Union: R. B. Russell, 54 Adelaide Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada: J. H. A. Poirier, 67 Montmartre Street, Quebec.

**Chile**—Federacion Obrera de Chile: Casilla 3907, Santiago.

Gran Federacion Obrera de Chile: A. Castillo, Calle San Alfonso 22, Santiago.

Federacion Chilena del Trabajo: R. Molina, Santiago.

Industrial Workers of the World: Calle Nataliel 1057, Santiago.

**Colombia**—Directorio Nacional Socialista y Obrero: Bogota.

**Czechoslovakia**—Zentral Gewerkschaftskommission des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes in der Tsechoslowakei: Franz Macoun, Farbergasse 1, Reichenberg.

Odborove Sdruzeni Ceskoslovenske: Rudolf Tayerle, Bartolomejska ul 14, Prague.

Ceskoslovenska Obec Delnicka Ustredna Odborovy ch Organizace: Alois Tucny, Vavalske Nam 42, Prague.

Verband der Christlichen Gewerkschaften fur das Gebeite des Czechoslovakischen Staates: Hans Scheutz, Melzgasse 17, Zwittau, Moravia.

Risska Ceskoslovenska Vseodborova Komise Krestanskosocialni: Nova Ul. 8-1, Bruenn.

**Denmark**—De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark: Carl F. Madsen, Norre Farimagsgade 49, Copenhagen.

**Dominican Republic**—Hermandad Comunal Nacionalista: J. E. Kunhardt, Puerto Plata.

**Ecuador**—Confederacion Obrera Ecuatoriana: Guayaquil. Federacion del Trabajo: Guayaquil.

**Estonia**—Tallinna Ametiuhisuste Kesknoukogu: A. Jakson, Gogolpuiestee 4, Tallinn.

Riigi ja Omavalitsuse Teenijate Kesk Liit: T. Loik, Lai Tan 22, Tallinn.

**Finland**—Suomen Ammattijarjesto: Edvard Huttunen, Sirkuskatu T5, Helsingfors.

**France**—Confederation Generale du Travail: Leon Jouhaux, 211 Rue Lafayette, Paris 10.

Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire: 33 Rue Grange-aux-Belles, Paris.

Federation Nationale des Syndicats de Fonctionnaires: C. Laurent, 5 Rue de Poitiers, Paris 7.

Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs Chretiens: G. Tessier, 5 Rue Cadet, Paris 9.

**Germany**—Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund: Theodor Leipart, Inselstrasse 6, Berlin S. 14.

Allgemeiner Freier Angestelltenbund: W. Stahr, Werftstrasse 7, Berlin N. W. 52.

Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands: Kopernikusstrasse 25, Berlin O. 34.

Gesamtverband der Christlichen Gewerkschaften Deutschlands: A. Stegerwald, Kaiserallee 25/1, Berlin-Wilmersdorf.

Gewerkschaftsring Deutscher Arbeiter-, Angestellten- und Beamtenverbände: E. Lemmer, Greifswalderstrasse 222, Berlin, N. O. 55.

Deutscher Beamtenbund: Hofe, Chausseestrasse 50, Berlin, N. 4.

**Great Britain**—Trades Union Congress: 32 Eccleston Square, London, S. W. 1.

General Federation of Trade Unions: William A. Appleton, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W. C. 1.

**Greece**—Confederation Generale du Travail: T. Lamprinopoulos, Piraeus, Athens.

**Hungary**—Ungarlandischer Gewerkschaftsverband: Sam Jaszai and Benó Gal, Kertész Utca 24-28, Budapest VII.

Keresztensocialista Országos Szakszervezetek Központja: Johann Toblar, Kossuth-Lajos Utca 1, Budapest IV.

**Iceland**—Althýdusamband Islands: P. G. Gudmundsson, Tysgata 5, Reykjavik.

**India**—All India Trades Union Congress: D. Chaman Lal, Fort, Bombay.

Bengal Trades Union Federation: H. W. B. Moreno, 85 Dharamtola Street, Calcutta.

**Ireland**—Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress: Thomas Johnson, 32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin.

**Italy**—Confederazione Generale del Lavoro: 2 Via Manfredo Fanti, Milan.

- Confederazione Italiana dei Lavoratori: A. Grandi, Via Duilio 2a. Rome 33.
- Confederazione Nazionale della Corporazioni Sindicali: E. Rossoni, Via Monte Grappa II, Bologna.
- Unione Sindacale Italiana: Via Achille Mauri 8, Milan.
- Japan**—General Federation of Labor (Nippon Rodo Sodomei). Bunji Suzuki, 3 Shikoku-Cho, Mita, Shiba-ku, Tokyo.
- Japan Farmers' Union (Nippon Nomin Kumiai): N. Sugiyama, 344 Enari-cho, Nishinoda, Kita-ku, Osaka.
- Federation of Naval Labor Unions (Kaigun Rodo Kumiai Renmei): T. Kunoh, 4 chome, Sakaigawa-Tori, Kure.
- Latvia**—Zentralburo der Gewerkschaften Lettlands: Aku Iela 10, Riga.
- Lithuania**—Lietuvos Darbo Federacija: Ozeskienes Gatve 12, Kaunas.
- Luxemburg**—Gewerkschaftskommission Luxemburgs: Neypergstrasse 13, Luxemburg-Gare.
- Federation des Syndicats Chretiens de Luxemburg: 7 Rue Bourbon, Luxemburg-Gare.
- Mexico**—Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana: Belisario Dominguez 64, Mexico City.
- Confederacion Nacional de Obreros Catolicos: Arzobispado, Mexico.
- Confederacion General de Trabajadores: Uruguay 25, Mexico.
- Confederacion Nacional Catolica del Trabajo: S. Hidalgo Calle 7, No. 362, Guadalajara, Jalisco.
- Netherlands**—Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakverenigingen: E. Kupers, Amstel 224, Amsterdam.
- National Arbeids-Secretariat: Th. J. Dissel, Nassaukade 101, Amsterdam.
- Algemeen Nederlandsch Vakverbond: F. C. van Ingen Schenau, Regentesselaan 112, The Hague.
- Christelyk Nationaal Vakverbond in Nederland: H. Amelink, Stadhouderslaan 45, Utrecht.
- Roomsche Katholieke Werkliedenverbond in Nederland: J. A. Schutte, Drift 8, Utrecht.
- New Zealand**—New Zealand Workers' Union: Charles Grayndler, Queen's Chambers, Wellington.
- New Zealand Alliance of Labor: James Roberts, 80 Manners Street, Wellington.
- Nicaragua**—Federacion del Trabajo: Managua.
- Norway**—Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganisation i Norge: Folkets Hus, Moellergaten 18, Oslo.
- Norsk Syndikalistisk Federation: Box 2003, Oslo.
- Palestine**—General Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, Tel Aviv.
- Panama**—Federacion Obrera de Panama: J. Artafulla, Panama City.
- Paraguay**—Federacion Obrera de Paraguay, Asuncion.
- Peru**—Federacion Obrera Regional Peruana: Rimac 188, Lima.
- Gran Confederacion de Profesionales y Obreros: Portal de Escribanos, altos, 344, Lima.
- Centro Internacional Obrero de Solidaridad Latino-Americana: Victor A. Pujazon, Lima.
- Philippines**—Federacion de Trabajo de Filipinas, Manila.
- Poland**—Komisja Centralna Zwiazkow Zawodowych: Z. Zulawski, Rue Warecka 7, Warsaw.
- Ziednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie: Walenty Zasina, Sienna 31, Warsaw.
- Centralna Komisja Chrzescijanskich Zwiazkow Zawodowych: 5 Sniadekich, Warsaw.
- Zwiazek Klasowych Zwiazkow Zawodowych w Polsce: S. M. Zygelbojm, 33 Dzielna, Warsaw.

- Zarząd Centralny Zjednoczenia Zawodowego Polskiego: Poznań ulica Działyńskich 3, Warsaw.
- Porto Rico**—Federación Libre de los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico: Rafael Alonso, San Juan.
- Portugal**—Confederação Geral do Trabalho: Calçado do Combro 38, Lisbon.
- Rumania**—Consiliul General a Sindicatelor: Strada Brezoianu 37, Bucharest.
- Russia**—All Russian Council of Trade Unions: N. Tomskey, Dvoretz Truda, Solianka 12, Moscow.
- Salvador**—Unión Obrera Salvadoreña: San Salvador.
- South Africa**—South African Industrial Federation: J. Geddes, New Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg.  
Industrial and Commercial Workers' Amalgamated Union (native): M. M'simang, Johannesburg.  
Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa: Clements Kadalie, 24 Loop Street, Cape Town.
- Spain**—Unión General de Trabajadores de España: Casa del Pueblo, Calle del Piamonte 2, Madrid.  
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo: Calle San Pablo 95, Barcelona.  
Confederación Nacional de Sindicatos Católicos de Obreros: C. P. Sommer, Costanilla de San Andres 7, Madrid.
- Sweden**—Landsorganisationen i Sverige: H. Lindquist, Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.  
Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation: Box 413, Stockholm.
- Switzerland**—Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund: Monbijoustrasse 61, Berne.  
Vereinigung Schweizerischer Angestelltenverbaende: F. Horand, Pelikanstrasse 18, Zurich.  
Christlich Nationaler Gewerkschaftsbund der Schweiz: J. Mueller, Gallusstrasse 20, St. Gall.
- Turkey**—Coule Dibi Raghib: 4 Pacha Han, Galata, Constantinople.
- Uruguay**—Federación Obrera Regional Uruguaya: Soriano 1433, Montevideo.
- Yugoslavia**—Commission Syndicale: Radnitchki Dom, Kratja Milano Ulica, Belgrade.  
Glavni Radnicki Savez Jugoslavije: Luka Pavitchevitch, Sumadyska ul., 16, Belgrade.  
Allgemeiner Arbeiterverband Jugoslaviens: Illica 55/I, Zagreb (Agram).  
Jugoslovanska Strokovna Zveza: Stari trg 2, I, Ljubljana.

## United States

### American Federation of Labor and Affiliated Organizations

American Federation of Labor: Frank Morrison, American Federation of Labor Building, 9th Street and Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.

#### Departments

- Building Trades Department: William J. Tracy, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.  
Metal Trades Department: A. J. Berres, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.  
Railroad Employees' Department: John Scott, Riviera Bldg., 4750 Broadway, Chicago, Ill.  
Union Label Trades Department: John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

**A. F. of L. National Unions**

- Actors and Artists of America, Associated: Paul D. Dullzell, 45 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and: Thomas J. McNamara, 803 United Home Building, St. Louis, Mo.
- Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America: Charles F. Hohmann, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Barbers' International Union, Journeymen: Jacob Fischer, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of: William McCarthy, Room 821, Longacre Building, 42nd Street and Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of: Wm. F. Kramer, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of: Joseph Flynn, Suite 504, Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kan.
- Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of: Felix J. Belair, Room 308, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Boot and Shoe Workers' Union: C. L. Baine, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
- Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United: John Rader, 2347-49-51 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United: William Tracy, Room 440, 323-331 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Bricklayers', Masons', and Plasterers' International Union of America: John J. Gleeson, 1417 K. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
- Bridge, Structural, and Ornamental Iron Workers, International Association of: W. J. McCain, 1615-20 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo.
- Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International: Will R. Boyer, 853 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
- Building Service Employees' International Union: 166 West Washington Street, Sixth Floor, Chicago, Ill.
- Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of: Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Cigarmakers' International Union of America: George W. Perkins, Room 620, 508 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
- Cloth Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers' International Union: Max Zuckerman, 621 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car: W. O. Murphy, 360-361 Union Station, Kansas City, Mo.
- Coopers' International Union of North America: Forrest M. Krepps, Meriweather Building, Kansas City, Kan.
- Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America: Andries Meyer, 132 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Elastic Goring Weavers' Amalgamated Association: Joseph Hurley, 19 West Ashland Street, Brockton, Mass.
- Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of: G. M. Bugniazet, Machinists' Building, Ninth Street and Mount Vernon Place, Washington, D. C.
- Elevator Constructors, International Union of: Joseph F. Murphy, 14-15 Borough Hall Building, 391 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Federal Employees, National Federation of: James McKeon, 10 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.

- Fire Fighters, International Association of: George J. Richardson, 105-6 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary: C. L. Shamp, 3615 North 24th Street, Omaha, Neb.
- Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of: Leonard Holtschult, 418 Calumet Building, 7th and Chestnut Streets, St. Louis, Mo.
- Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International: Isaac Wohl, 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y.
- Garment Workers of America, United: B. A. Larger, 116-17 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada: Harry Jenkins, Rooms 1006-8 Colonial Trust Company Building, 13th and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Glass Workers' Union, American Flint: Charles J. Shipman, Rooms 200-10 American Bank Building, Toledo, Ohio.
- Glass Workers, Window, National: George C. Connell, 712 Park Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Glove Workers' Union of America, International: Elisabeth Christman, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The: Sam Squibb, 25 School Street, Quincy, 69, Mass.
- Hatters of North America, United: Martin Lawlor, Room 418, Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International: A. Persion, 25 School Street, Quincy, 69, Mass.
- Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen: Hubert S. Marshall, Room 605, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America: Jere L. Sullivan, 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of: David J. Davis, 510 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Jewelry Workers' Union, International: J. Eisenberg, 58 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, International: Abraham Baroff, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal: A. D. Yoder, Lathers' Building, Detroit Avenue and West 26th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Laundry Workers' International Union: Harry L. Morrison, 799 Second Avenue, Troy, N. Y.
- Leather Workers, United, International Union: J. J. Pfeiffer, Rooms 600-602, Walsix Building, Sixth and Walnut Streets, Kansas City, Mo.
- Letter Carriers, National Association of: M. T. Finnan, 405 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural: George F. Klinker, Lafayette, Ind.
- Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada: James M. O'Connor, 205 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Longshoremen's Association, International: John J. Joyce, 744-48 Bramson Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Machinists, International Association of: E. C. Davison, Machinists' Building, Ninth Street and Mount Vernon Place, Washington, D. C.

- Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, United Brotherhood of: E. E. Millman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
- Marble, Slate, and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of: Stephen C. Hogan, 406 East 149th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Masters, Mates, and Pilots of North America, National Organization: John H. Pruett, 24 Moore Street, New York, N. Y.
- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated: Dennis Lane, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Metal Engravers' International Union: Bjarne H. Alstad, 53 Alford Street, Rochester, N. Y.
- Metal Polishers' International Union: Charles R. Atherton, Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of: Ernest Mills, Room 502, Mercantile Building, 15th and Arapahoe Streets, Denver, Colo.
- Mine Workers of America, United: Thomas Kennedy, 1101-8 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Molders' Union of North America, International: Victor Kleiber, 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Musicians, American Federation of: William Kerngood, 239-241 Halsey Street, Newark, N. J.
- Oil Field, Gas, Well, and Refinery Workers of America: J. L. Coulter, 208½ West 12th Street, Fort Worth, Texas.
- Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of: Charles J. Lammert, Painters' and Decorators' Building, Lafayette, Ind.
- Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of: Matthew Burns, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, N. Y.
- Pattern Makers' League of North America: James Wilson, Rooms 1008-9, Second National Bank Building, Ninth and Main Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Pavers, Rammersmen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of: Edward I. Hannah, 336 East 59th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada: Carl Bergstrom, Box 130, Rockport, Mass.
- Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International: Henry F. Schmal, Tower Grove Bank Building, 3136 South Grand Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
- Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International: Jacob Fischer, 260 East 138th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative: T. A. Scully, 401-3 Castell Building, Middletown, Ohio.
- Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of: Thomas E. Burke, 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Post Office Clerks, National Federation of: Thomas F. Flaherty, 300 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative: John McGilivray, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United: Geo. W. Hawkins, Columbus, Kan.
- Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate: James E. Goodyear, 1630 West Loudon Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International: Joseph C. Orr, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
- Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of: John P. Burke, Post Office Drawer V., Fort Edward, N. Y.

- Quarry Workers' International Union of North America: Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
- Railroad Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of: T. A. Austin, 4750-54 North Kimball Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Railroad Telegraphers, Order of: Leonard Jackson Ross, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.
- Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, Brotherhood of: George S. Levi, Seventh Floor, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks' Building, Court and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood of: J. M. Ellis, 508 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
- Railway Mail Association: H. W. Strickland, Rooms 506-8, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Retail Clerk's International Protective Association: H. J. Conway, Levering Building, Lafayette, Ind.
- Roofers', Damp, and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition: Joseph M. Gavlak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Seamen's Union of America, International: Victor A. Olander, 359 North Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Sheet Metal Workers' International Association: William L. Sullivan, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
- Siderographers, International Association of: Joseph L. Heffern, 2232 Decatur Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
- Steam and Operating Engineers, International Union of: Dave Evans, 6334 Yale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Steel and Copper Plate Engravers' League, International: Harry Nortine, 4111 Franklin Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International: Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive Street, Kansas City, Mo.
- Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen: Joseph Blasey, 324 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Stove Mounters' International Union: Frank Grimshaw, 6466 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
- Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of: W. D. Mahon, 260 East High Street, Detroit, Mich.
- Switchmen's Union of North America: M. R. Welch, 39 West North Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen: Thomas Sweeney, 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Teachers, American Federation of: F. G. Stecker, Room 512, 327 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of: Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of: D. J. Moriarity, 200 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Telegraphers' Union of America, Commercial: Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Textile Workers of America, United: Sara A. Conboy, Room 605 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- Theatrical Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of: Richard J. Green, 110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Tobacco Workers' International Union: E. Lewis Evans, Rooms 50-53, Our Home Life Insurance Building, Louisville, Ky.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union: John J. Collins, P. O. Station L, Box 10, New York, N. Y.

Typographical Union, International: J. W. Hays, 2820 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Ind.  
Upholsterers' International Union of North America: William Kohn, 230 East 58th Street, New York, N. Y.  
Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United: Edwin Gentzler, 935 West King Street, York, Pa.  
Wire Weavers' Protective Association, American: Charles C. Bradley, 9122 89th Street, Woodhaven, N. Y.  
Wood Carvers' Association of North America, International: Frank Detlef, 8605 85th Street, Woodhaven, Long Island, N. Y.

### A. F. of L. State Federations of Labor

Alabama: Lewis Bowen, 910 Farley Building, Birmingham.  
Arizona: B. P. Carpenter, Box 463, Phoenix.  
Arkansas: H. M. Thackrey, Labor Temple, 519 Scott Street, Little Rock.  
California: Paul Scharrenberg, Underwood Building, 525 Market Street, San Francisco.  
Colorado: John E. Gross, Box 1408, Denver.  
Connecticut: John J. Egan, 847 Main Street, Bridgeport.  
Delaware: Fred W. Stierle, Box 592, Wilmington.  
Florida: W. P. Mooty, Box 490, Miami.  
Georgia: Louie P. Marquardt, Box 2119, Atlanta.  
Idaho: I. W. Wright, 311 Labor Temple, 114 South 10th Street, Boise.  
Illinois: Victor A. Olander, 164-166 West Washington Street, Chicago.  
Indiana: Adolph J. Fritz, 605 People's Bank Building, Indianapolis.  
Iowa: J. B. Wiley, Labor Temple, 109 8th Street, Des Moines.  
Kansas: William Howe, Box 428, Topeka.  
Kentucky: Peter J. Campbell, Box 305, Louisville.  
Louisiana: Ernest H. Zwally, Box 291, Shreveport.  
Maine: Howard C. Woodside, 44 C Street, South Portland.  
Maryland-District of Columbia: Frank Coleman, 414 Washington Loan and Trust Building, Washington, D. C.  
Massachusetts: Martin T. Joyce, Rooms 12-13, Pemberton Building, Boston, 9.  
Michigan: John J. Scannell, 1586 Dickerson Avenue, Detroit.  
Minnesota: George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, 406 North Franklin Street, St. Paul.  
Mississippi: Sam E. Lary, 215 West Capitol Street, Jackson.  
Missouri: George R. Patterson, 413 Title Guaranty Building, St. Louis.  
Montana: Edwin H. Manson, Box 1152, Helena.  
Nebraska: C. P. Birk, 503 East 8th Street, Grand Island.  
Nevada: Lillie M. Barbour, Box 324, Virginia City.  
New Hampshire: John E. Keleher, P. O. Box 294, Cascade.  
New Jersey: Henry F. Hilfers, 41 Franklin Street, Newark.  
New Mexico: J. H. Hanks, 114½ West Colorado Avenue, Albuquerque.  
New York: John M. O'Hanlon, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany.  
North Carolina: C. G. Worley, Box 925, Asheville.  
North Dakota: Charles G. Johnson, Box 299, Grand Forks.  
Ohio: Thomas J. Donnelly, Rooms 320-321, Atlas Bldg., Columbus.  
Oklahoma: Victor S. Purdy, 521½ West Main Street, Oklahoma City.  
Oregon: E. J. Stack, Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson Streets, Portland.  
Pennsylvania: James E. Kellew, 430 North Street, Harrisburg.

Porto Rico: Free Federation of Workingmen: Rafael Alonso, Box 270, San Juan.  
 Rhode Island: Lawrence A. Grace, 37 Weybosset Street, Providence.  
 South Carolina: F. E. Hatchell, Box 571, Columbia.  
 South Dakota: Theodore Reise, 523 South Montana Street, Mitchell.  
 Tennessee: W. C. Birthwright, 207 Polk Avenue North, Nashville.  
 Texas: George H. Slater, Labor Temple, Dallas.  
 Utah: W. W. Ottley, Labor Temple, Salt Lake City.  
 Vermont: Fred W. Suito, Scampini Building, Barre.  
 Virginia: W. B. Broughton, 103 West Main Street, Norfolk.  
 Washington: Wm. M. Short, 508 Maynard Building, Seattle.  
 West Virginia: Brooks Watson, Box 138, Charleston.  
 Wisconsin: J. J. Handley, 516 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee.  
 Wyoming: Ward Hudson, Rooms 4-5, Mine Workers' Building, Cheyenne.

### A. F. of L. Fraternal Organizations

Women's International Union Label League: Mrs. Anna B. Field, Citizens State Bank Building, Elwood, Ind.  
 National Women's Trade Union League: Elisabeth Christman, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

### Independent General Organizations

Industrial Workers of the World (Chicago faction): John I. Turner, 3333 West Belmont Avenue, Chicago, Ill.  
 Industrial Workers of the World (Re-Organized faction): Matthew Johnson, Box 3291, Portland, Ore.  
 One Big Union of America: F. I. Clough, 101 South Idaho Street, Butte, Montana.  
 Knights of Labor: T. H. Canning, 228 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.  
 Trade Union Educational League: William Z. Foster, 156 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.  
 American Negro Labor Congress: 19 South Lincoln Street, Chicago, Ill.

### Independent Trade Unions

Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers, United: 4620 Beaubien Street, Detroit, Mich.  
 Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of: H. Porter, 74 Bible House, New York City.  
 Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated, Joseph Schlossberg, 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y.  
 Express Workers, American Federation of: H. O. Richardson, Mills Building, Washington, D. C.  
 Food Workers, Amalgamated: August Burkhardt, 81 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.  
 Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of: Charles E. Lindquist, B. of L. E. Building, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of: A. W. Hawley, 901 Guardian Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, National: George A. Grubb, 313 Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.  
 Metal Workers, Amalgamated: Carl Larsen, 81 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.  
 Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of: A. E. King, American Trust Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Railroad Workers, American Federation of: George Eckroth, 315 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Railroad Yardmasters of America: W. M. Brown, 1st National Bank Building, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Railway Conductors of America, Order of: E. P. Curtis, The Masonic Temple, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.  
 Shoe Workers Protective Union: Daniel M. Fitzgerald, 683 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Mass.  
 Sleeping Car Porters, Brotherhood of: Roy Lancaster, 2311 7th Avenue, New York, N. Y.  
 Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of: F. E. Langdon, 306 Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.  
 Textile Operatives, American Federation of: William E. Batty, Post Office Box 272, Salem, Mass.  
 Train Dispatchers Association, American: C. L. Darling, 10 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.

## II. LABOR, SOCIALIST, AND COMMUNIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

- International**—Labor and Socialist International: Friedrich Adler, Stockerstrasse 41, Zurich 2, Switzerland.  
 Socialist Youth International: E. Ollenhauer, Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S. W. 68, Germany  
 Communist International: Gregory Zinoviev, Mokhovaia 16, Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.  
 Young Communist International: Ikkim Mokhovaia 16, Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.  
 Jewish Socialist Labor Federation (Poale Zion): B. Locker, Blumauergasse 1, Vienna II, Austria.
- Argentina**—Socialist Party: Manuel Gonzalez Maseda, Rivadavia 2089, Buenos Aires.
- Armenia**—Armenian Revolutionary Federation: A. Isahakianz, 71 Avenue Kleber, Paris, France.
- Australia**—Labor Party: D. McNamara, Trades Hall, Melbourne, Victoria.  
 New South Wales branch: W. Carey, Trades Hall, Sydney.  
 Queensland branch: L. McDonald, "Worker" office, Brisbane.  
 Victoria branch: D. McNamara, Trades Hall, Melbourne.  
 South Australia branch: F. G. Ward, Trades Hall, Adelaide.  
 Western Australia branch: H. Millington, Trades Hall, Perth.  
 Tasmania branch: J. A. Guy, 55 Paterson Street, Launceston.  
 Communist Party: L. Leece, 395 Sussex Street, Sydney, New South Wales.  
 Socialist Party: D. Cameron, 184 Exhibition Street, Melbourne, Victoria.  
 Socialist Labor Party: J. O. Moroney, 16 George Street, West, Sydney, New South Wales.
- Austria**—Sozial Demokratische Arbeiterpartei in Oesterreich: Ferdinand Skaret, Robert Danneberg, Julius Deutsch, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.  
 Verband der Sozialistischen Arbeiterjugend Oesterreichs: Karl Heinz, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.  
 Czechoslovakische Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in Oesterreich: Skrivan, Margaretenplatz 7, Vienna V.  
 Kommunistische Partei Oesterreichs: Alserstrasse 69, Vienna, VIII.
- Belgium**—Parti Ouvrier Belge: J. Van Roosbroeck, 17 Rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels.  
 Federation Nationale des Jeunes Gardes Socialistes: C. de Bruyker, Azaleastr. 16, Ghent.  
 Parti Communiste: 3 Rue Steenpoort, Brussels.
- Bolivia and Peru**—Labor Party: Political Representative in London, A. Boyle, 104 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.

- Bulgaria**—Social Democratic Labor Party: D. Niekoff, 22 Rue Lomska, Sofia.  
 Socialistischer Jugendverband: N. Drajeff, 22 Rue Lomska, Sofia.  
 Parti Socialiste Communiste: T. Soukanoff, Narodn Dom, Kyrilli i Methodi 54, Sofia.
- Canada**—Socialist Party of Canada: Ewen MacLeod, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.  
 Independent Labor Party of Ontario: J. T. Marks, Labor Temple, Church Street, Toronto.  
 Canadian Labor Party: J. Simpson, Labor Temple, Church St., Toronto, Ontario.  
 Communist Party of Canada: 310 Tyrrell Bldg., 95 King St., East, Toronto, Ontario.
- Chile**—Communist Party: Cassila 327, Antofogasta.  
 Partido Obrero Socialista: L. E. Recabarren, 1372, Calle de Catorce de Febrero, Antofogasta.
- Cyprus**—Labor Party: Panos A. Phasouliotis, Limassol, Cyprus.
- Czechoslovakia**—Tschechoslovakische Sozial Demokratische Arbeiterpartei: J. Marek, A. Novak, F. Janik, Hybernka 7, Prague II.  
 Deutsche Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik: S. Taub, 17 Nekazanka, Prague II.  
 Ungarische Sozial Demokratische Partei: Ventur-Gasse 7, Bratislava.  
 Kommunistische Partei: A. Zapotocky, Kralovska 13, Prague-Karlin.  
 Polish Socialist Labor Party: O. Lukosz, Hotel Unger, Karwin.  
 Ruthenian Social Democratic Workers' Party: Vojtech Picha, 10 Rasinova ul., Uzhorod.  
 Young People's Socialist League (Czech): Johann Pauer, Hybernka 7, Prague II.  
 Young People's Socialist League (German): Ernst Paul, Seilerstrasse 1, Teplitz-Schonau.  
 Young People's Socialist League (Polish): Hotel Unger, Karwin.
- Danzig**—Social Democratic Party: J. Mau, Spendhaus 6, Danzig.
- Denmark**—Socialdemokratiske Forbund: Alsing Andersen. Roemersgade 22, Copenhagen.  
 Kommunistiske Parti: Blaagaerdsgade 29, Copenhagen.  
 Danmarks Socialdemokratiske Ungdom: Chr. Christiansen, Ostergade 31, Aarhus.
- Esthonia**—Socialist Labor Party: E. Jonas, Brookusmägi 4, Tallinn.  
 Independent Socialist Party of Esthonia: Kleine Pernausche Strasse 31, "Walwaja," Tallinn.
- Finland**—Social Democratic Party: T. Tainio, 3 Sirkuskatu, Helsingfors.  
 Communist Party: A. Usenius, 94 Brankyrkagatan, Stockholm, Sweden.  
 Young People's Socialist League: 3 Sirkuskatu, Helsingfors.
- France**—Parti Socialiste Unifié: Paul Faure, 12 Rue Feydau, Paris II.  
 Federation Nationale des Jeunes Gardes Socialistes: H. Hauck, 42 Rue Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Paris II.  
 Federation Nationale des Jeunes Socialistes: F. Crequ, 95 Rue Ordener, Paris 18.  
 Parti Communiste: L. Sellier, 37 Rue Sainte Croix de la Bretonnerie, Paris IV.
- Georgia**—Sozial-Demokratische Arbeiterpartei: I. Tseretelli, Villa la Terrasse, Le Perruchet, Le Pecq, France.

- Germany**—Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands: Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S. W. 68.  
 Verband der Sozialistischen Arbeiterjugend Deutschlands: A. Albrecht, Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S. W. 68.  
 Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands: Warthestrasse 69, Berlin-Neuköln.
- Great Britain**—Labor Party: Arthur Henderson, 33 Eccleston Square, London, S. W. 1.  
 Independent Labor Party: A. Fenner Brockway, 14 Great George Street, Westminster, London, S. W. 1.  
 Guild of Youth: Frank Rouse, 14 Great George Street, Westminster, London S. W. 1.  
 Communist Party: Albert Inkpin, 16 King Street, London W. C. 2.  
 Socialist Labor Party: Jean Kennedy, 50 Renfrew Street, Glasgow.  
 Social Democratic Federation: T. Kennedy, 4/12 Palmer Street, London, S. W. 1.  
 Fabian Society: F. W. Galton, 25 Tothill Street, London, S. W. 1.  
 Cooperative Party: S. F. Perry, 123 Pall Mall, S. W. 1, London.
- Greece**—Socialist Party: N. Yannios, 15 Rue Paparigopoulo, Athens.
- Hungary**—Sozialdemokratische Partei: Stefan Farkas, Josef Büchler, Erzsebet-Korüt 41, Budapest VII.  
 Socialist Emigrants' "Világossag": Sigmund Kunfi, Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna V.  
 Kommunistische Partei Ungarns: Alserstrasse 69, Vienna VIII, Austria.
- Iceland**—Althyduflokhurin: J. Baldvinssen, 7 Haldrinsson, Reykjavik.
- India**—Communist Party of India: Post Office Box 348, Zurich, Switzerland.
- Ireland**—Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress: Thomas Johnson 32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin.  
 Communist Party of Ireland: 22 St. Patrick's Road, Drumcondra, Dublin.
- Italy**—Socialist Party of the Italian Workers: A. Gasparini, Casa Postale 2840, Lugano, Switzerland.  
 Partito Socialista Italiano: Fioritto, Via del Seminario 87, Rome.  
 Unione Socialista Italiana: V. Vercelloni, Via del Tritone 61, Rome.  
 Partito Comunista Italiano: Via Visconti 14, Milan.
- Japan**—Socialist Federation of Japan: 19 Shinsakurada-Cho, Shiba, Tokyo.  
 Socialist League of Japan: Kin Yamakawa, 682 Araiuku Omori, Tokyo.
- Latvia**—Social Democratic Labor Party of Latvia: Bruno Kalenin, 11/13, Matisa Eela, dz6, Riga.
- Lithuania**—Social Democratic Party: Markauskas, Keistucio gatve 40, Kaunas.  
 Parti Socialiste Populaire de Lithuanie: Pajaujis, Laisves Aleja 34, Kaunas.  
 Revolutionäre Volkspartei der Sozialisten: N. Januschkievics, P/A Butkis, Grolmannstrasse, 55/III, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Germany.
- Luxemburg**—Parti Ouvrier Luxembourgeois: Hubert Clement, 101 Rue Victor Hugo, Esch-Alzette.
- Malta**—The Labor Party: W. Savona, Malta.
- Mexico**—Labor Party: 40 Belisario Dominguez, Mexico City.  
 Communist Party: Manuel Ramirez, Apartado 2031, Mexico City.

- Netherlands**—Socialdemokratische Arbeiderspartij: C. Werkhoven, Keizersgracht 376, Amsterdam.  
 Socialistische Partij: Kolthek, Cornelius van der Lindenstrasse, 25/II, Amsterdam.  
 Centrale van Arbeiders Jeugdverenigingen: Koos Vorrink, Reguliersgracht 78, Amsterdam.  
 Communistische Partij: Laings Nekstraat 33, Amsterdam.
- New Zealand**—Labor Party: W. Nash, Fletcher's Buildings, 4 Willis Street, Wellington.
- Norway**—Labor Party: M. Tranmael, Folketshus, Oslo.  
 Social Democratic Labor Party: Olav Oksvik, Ovre Slotsgate 13B/IV, Oslo.  
 Communist Party: Oslo.
- Palestine**—Jewish Socialist Labor Party: Tel Aviv.
- Poland**—Socialist Party: Ignace Daszynski, Rue Warecka 7, Warsaw.  
 Independent Socialist Labor Party: Dr. B. Drobner, 25 Straszewskiego, Cracow.  
 Deutsche Sozial Demokratische Partei: 11 Ul. Dworcowa, Katowice.  
 Communist Labor Party of Poland: P/A K. P. Oesterreichs, Alserstrasse 69, Vienna VIII.
- Portugal**—Socialist Party: A. Franco, Alameda das Linhas de Torres 34, Lisbon.
- Rumania**—Federation of Socialist Parties: Ilie Moscovici, Strada Otetelesanu 5, Bucharest.
- Russia**—Communist Party: Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, Tsentralny Komitet, K. P. R., Moscow.  
 Socialist Revolutionary Party: Vassili Soukhomline, 35 Rue des Sables, Brussels, Belgium.  
 Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia, delegation abroad: R. Abramovitch, Courbierestrasse 12, Berlin W. 62, Germany.
- South Africa**—South African Labor Party: Arch Jamieson, 303 Smith Street, Durban.  
 Communist Party: W. H. Andrews, 54 Fox Street, Johannesburg.
- Spain**—Partido Socialista: Andrès Saborit, Calle de Carranza 20, Apartado 10,036, Madrid.  
 Communist Party: Los Madrazo 14, Madrid.
- Sweden**—Socialdemokratiska Arbetarepartiet: Rickard Lindstrom, Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.  
 Communist Party: A. Usenius, 94 Brankyrkagatan, Stockholm.
- Switzerland**—Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz: Monbijoustrasse 61, Berne.
- Turkey**—Independent Socialist Party: Rassim Chakir, Bechiktache, Orta-Baghtche 57, Constantinople.
- Ukraine**—Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party, foreign delegation, A. Merklings, Arbesova 6/III, Prague-Vrsovice, Czechoslovakia.
- Uruguay**—Communist Party: "Justicia," Montevideo.  
 Partido Socialista: Curiales 1540, Montevideo.
- United States**—Socialist Party: George R. Kirkpatrick, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.  
 Young People's Socialist League: Aarne J. Parker, 23 Townsend Street, Fitchburg, Mass.  
 Jewish Socialist Labor Party (Poale Zion): 133 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.  
 Workers' Party: C. E. Ruthenberg, 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.  
 Young Workers' League: 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

- Farmer-Labor Party:** Bert Martin, 715 E. & C. Bldg., Denver, Colo.  
**Socialist Labor Party:** Arnold Petersen, 45 Rose Street, New York, N. Y.  
**Proletarian Party:** John Keracher, 184 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.  
**West Indies—**Trinidad Workingmen's Association: P. O. Box 114, Port of Spain, Trinidad.  
**Yugoslavia—**Socialist Party: Zivko Topalovic, Bokeljska 4, Belgrade.

### III. WORKERS' EDUCATION MOVEMENT

- Austria—**Zentralstelle für das Bildungswesen der Sozialdemokratischer Arbeiterpartei Deutschösterreichs: Rechte Weinzeile 97, Vienna V.  
 Gewerkschaftskommission (Bildungsausschuss): Ebendorferstrasse 7, Vienna I.  
 Labor College: Sickenbergerstrasse 1, Vienna 19.  
**Belgium—**Centrale d'Education Ouvriere: Maison du Peuple, 17 Rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels.  
**Czechoslovakia—**Delnicka Akademie: Hybernaska 7, Prague II.  
 Zentralstelle für das Bildungswesen der Deutschen Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei in der Tscheschoslowakischen Republik, Havlickovo nam. 32, Prague II.  
**Denmark—**Bildungsausschuss der Sozialdemokratischen Partei: C. Bramsnaes, 22 Roemersgade, Copenhagen.  
**France—**Confederation Generale du Travail (Conseil Economique, Section de l'Education), 211 Rue Lafayette, Paris.  
**Germany—**Reichsausschuss für Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit: R. Weimann, Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin, S. W. 68.  
**Great Britain—**Workers' Educational Association: J. M. Mac-tavish, 16 Harpur Street, London, W. C. 1.  
 The Labor College: 13 Penywern Road, Earl's Court, London, S. W. 5, and 334 Kew Road, Kew, London.  
 Scottish Labor College: J. P. M. Millar, 22 Elm Row, Edinburgh.  
 National Council of Labor Colleges, England, Scotland, and Ireland: J. P. M. Millar, 22 Elm Row, Edinburgh.  
**Italy—**Italian Socialist Party (Education Committee): Via del Seminario 87, Rome.  
**Japan—**Association of Workers' Education: 1502 Moto Kanasugicho, Nippori, Tokyo.  
 Osaka Rodo Gakko: Toyohiko Kagawa, 121 Enari-cho Kono-hana-Ku, Osaka.  
**Luxembourg—**Centrale d'Education Ouvriere: H. Clement, 101 Rue Victor Hugo, Esch-Alzette.  
 Commission Syndicale (Comite d'Education): 13 Rue Ney-perg, Luxembourg.  
**Netherlands—**Instituut voor Arbeidersontwikkeling: P. Voogd, Reguliersgracht 78, Amsterdam.  
 Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakverenigingen, Commissie voor Arbeiders Ontwikkeling: Amstel 224, Amsterdam.  
**South Africa—**Workers' Educational Association, Transvaal Section: E. J. Bailey, Post Office Box 3907, Johannesburg.  
**Switzerland—**Schweizerischer Arbeiterbildungsausschuss: Kistlerweg 23, Berne.  
**United States—**Workers' Education Bureau of America: Spencer Miller, Jr., 476 West 24th Street, New York, N. Y.  
**Arkansas—**Commonwealth College: Harold Z. Brown, Mena.  
**Colorado—**Denver Labor College: Mrs. August Koester, 13th and Bannock Streets, Denver.  
 Greeley Labor College: George Brooks, 1744 Eighth Avenue, Greeley.  
 Pueblo Labor College: E. M. Radley, Pueblo.

- Connecticut**—Trade Union College: J. H. Smith, 145 Starr Street, New Haven.
- District of Columbia**—Trade Union College of Washington: Mary C. Dent, 1423 New York Avenue, Washington.  
Speakers' Service Bureau, Lock Box 1602, Washington.
- Illinois**—Amalgamated Labor Classes: 400 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago.  
Chicago Trade Union College: Agnes Nestor, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago.  
Labor School (Workers' Party): 1902 West Division Street, Chicago.  
Women's Trade Union League Training School: Alice Henry, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago.
- Iowa**—Labor College: Thomas J. Pettit, 3319 Fifth Avenue, Des Moines.
- Massachusetts**—Amherst Holyoke Classes for Workers: J. F. Rohan, 72 Nonotuck Street, Holyoke.  
Amherst Springfield Classes for Workers: H. A. Russel, 19 Sanford Street, Springfield.  
Boston School of Social Science: Jacob Kassner, 21 Middlesex Street, Boston.  
Boston Trade Union College: John van Vaerenewyck, 32 Boylston Street, Boston.
- Michigan**—Workers' Education Association (Socialist): Thomas Smock, House of the Masses, 2102 Gratiot Avenue, Detroit.
- Minnesota**—Minneapolis Workers' College: E. H. Holman, 1964 Marshall Avenue, Minneapolis.  
St. Paul Labor College: S. S. Tingle, Labor Temple, Franklin Street, St. Paul.  
Work People's College (I. W. W.): Duluth.  
Work People's College: Smithville.
- Missouri**—The People's College: M. N. Bunker, Kansas City.
- Nebraska**—Labor Temple School: George A. Steiner, Box 570, Omaha.
- New York**—Brookwood Workers' College: A. J. Muste, Katonah.  
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Educational Department: Fannia M. Cohn, 3 West 16th Street, New York.  
Labor Bureau, Inc.: George Soule, 2 West 43rd Street, New York.  
Labor College: 476 Clinton Avenue North, Rochester.  
Labor College of New York: John P. Coughlin, 287 Broadway, New York.  
Labor Temple School: Will Durant, 239 East 14th Street, New York.  
League for Industrial Democracy: Harry W. Laidler, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.  
Pioneer Youth of America: Joshua Lieberman, 3 West 16th Street, New York.  
Rand School of Social Science: Algernon Lee, 7 East 15th Street, New York.  
Union Health Center: George M. Price, 131 East 17th Street, New York.  
Women's Trade Union College: Mabel Leslie, 247 Lexington Avenue, New York.  
Workers' School (Workers' Party): 108 East 14th Street, New York.  
Workers' Health Bureau: Grace M. Burnham, 799 Broadway, New York.
- Oregon**—Portland Labor College: E. E. Schwartztrauber, Labor Temple, Portland.
- Pennsylvania**—Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers; Clara Taylor, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr.

Labor College of Philadelphia: E. J. Lever, 1239 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor: Department of Education, Harrisburg.

**Washington**—Seattle Labor College: Labor Temple, Seattle.

**Wisconsin**—Milwaukee Workers' College: Frank Metcalfe, 400 Pereles Building, 85 Oneida Street, Milwaukee.

#### IV. MAIN COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

**International**—International Cooperative Alliance: H. J. May, 4 Great Smith Street, London, S. W. 1, England.

**Argentina**—"El Hogar Obrero," Cooperativa de Credito, Edificacion, y Consumo, Calle Martin Garcia 465, Buenos Aires.

**Armenia**—Union of Armenian Cooperative Societies, Erivan.

**Australia**—Australian Cooperative Union: Room 630, Daking House, Rawson Place, Sydney, New South Wales.

**Austria**—Verband Deutschoesterreichischer Konsumvereine: Praterstrasse 8, Vienna.

Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft fur Konsumvereine, Praterstrasse 8, Vienna.

Allgemeiner Verband Deutscher Erwerbs und Wirtschafts-Genossenschaften in Oesterreich: Lindengasse 5, Vienna.

**Belgium**—Fédération des Sociétés Coopératives Belges: 48 Rue du Rupel, Antwerp.

Office Coopératif Belge: V. Serwy, 4-5 Place de la Justice, Brussels.

**Brazil**—Confederação Syndicalista Cooperatista Brasileira: Rua do Theatro, Rio de Janeiro.

**Bulgaria**—Société Coopérative de Consommation "Bratski Troude": Rue Alabinska 52, Sofia.

Centrale Coopérative "Napred," Rue Veslets 2, Sofia.

**Canada**—Cooperative Union of Canada: 215 Nelson Street, Brantford, Ontario.

**Chile**—Cooperativas de Consumos para los Empleados de los Ferrocarriles: Santiago.

**Cuba**—Cooperativa de Obreros "Romeo y Julieta": Calle Nepituno 265, Havana.

**Czechoslovakia**—Ustredni Svaz Ceskoslevanskych Druzstev v Praze: Myslikova U1. 15, Prague.

Velkonákupni Společnost Konsumnich Druzstev v Praze: Palackeho 63, Prague-Karlin.

Verband Deutscher Wirtschaftgenossenschaften: Fugnerovo Nam 4, Prague.

Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft fur Consumvereine: Fugnerovo Nam 4, Prague II.

**Danzig**—Danziger Verband der Deutschen Raiffeisen-Genossenschaften: Krebsmarkt 7 v. 8, Danzig.

**Denmark**—Fællesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeninger: Njalsgade 15, Copenhagen.

Andelsudvalget: Christiansgade 24, Aarhus.

**Estonia**—Eesti Ühistegeline Liit: Suur Roosikrantsi Tänn 15, Tallinn.

Eesti Tarvitajateühisusti Kesküüsus: Puiestee 15, Tallinn.

**Finland**—Yleinen Osuuskappojen Liitto: Helsingfors.

Suomen Osuuskappojen Keskusosuuskunta: Vilhonkatu 7, Helsingfors.

Kulutusuusuuskuntien Keskusliitto: Kirkkokatu 14, Helsingfors.

Osuustukkukauppa: Vironkatu 5, Helsingfors.

Pellervo Seura, Saellskapet-Pellervo: Simonkatu 6, Helsingfors.

**France**—Fédération Nationale des Coopératives de Consommation: E. Polsson, 85 Rue Charlot, Paris.

- Magasin de Gros des Cooperatives de France, 29 Boulevard Bourdon, Paris.  
 Banque des Cooperatives de France: 29 Boulevard Bourdon, Paris.  
 Chambre Consultative des Associations Ouvrières de Production, 44 Rue du Renard, Paris.  
 Comité d'Education de la Fédération Nationale des Cooperatives: Alice Jouenne, 71 Rue du Cardinal Lemoine, Paris.
- Georgia**—Central Cooperative Union of the Republic of Georgia: 15 Cooperation Street, Tiflis.
- Germany**—Zentralverband Deutscher Konsumvereine: Heinrich Kaufmann, Beim Strohhaue 38, Hamburg, 5.  
 Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft Deutscher Konsumvereine: Besenbinderhof 52, Hamburg.  
 Reichsverband Deutscher Konsumvereine: Kappelerstrasse 149, Düsseldorf-Reisholz.  
 Reichsverband der Deutschen Landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften: Königin Augustastrasse 43, Berlin W. 10.  
 Generalverband der Deutschen Raiffeisen-Genossenschaften: Raiffeisenhaus, Koethenstrasse 39, Berlin W. 9.
- Great Britain**—Cooperative Union, Ltd.: A. Whitehead, Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester.  
 Cooperative Wholesale Society, Ltd.: A. Lancaster, 1 Balloon Street, Manchester.  
 Scottish Cooperative Wholesale, Morrison Street, Glasgow, Scotland.
- Hungary**—"Hangya" Termelő-Értékesítő Fogyasztási Szövetkezet: A. Magyar Gazdaszöveteg Szövetkezeti Központja: Kőzraktár utca 34, Budapest.  
 Magyarországi Szövetkezetek Szövetsege: Üllői Ut., 25, Budapest.  
 Magyarországi Fogyasztási és Termelő Szövetkezetek Központi Egyesülete: Rakoczy Ut. 42, Budapest.
- India**—Central Cooperative Institute: 9 Bakehouse Lane, Fort Bombay.  
 The Bengal Cooperative Organization Society: Dacré Lane 6, Calcutta.  
 Madras Provincial Cooperative Union, Ltd.: Royapettah, Madras.  
 Dharma Samavaya, Samavaya Mansions: Corporation Place, Calcutta.  
 Bombay Central Cooperative Institute, Sirdar's Building, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.
- Ireland**—Irish Agricultural Organization Society: The Plunkett House, 84 Merrion Square, Dublin.  
 Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society: 151 Thomas Street, Dublin.
- Japan**—Central Union of Cooperative Societies: Agebachō 21, Ushigome, Tokyo.
- Latvia**—Centrālā Saveenība "Konsums": Dzirnava Eela 68, Riga.
- Latvijas Pateretāju Biedrība Savienība: Avotu Eela 4, Riga.
- Lithuania**—Lietuvos Kooperacijos Bendrovių Sąjunga: Laisvės Aleja 62, Kovno.
- Luxemburg**—Fédération Générale des Cooperatives Agricoles: Luxembourg.
- Mexico**—Sociedad Nacional Cooperativa, S. G. L.: 4a Palma 45, Desp. 33 y 34, Apartado Postal 8724, Mexico.
- Netherlands**—Centrale Bond van Nederlandsche Verbruikerscoöperaties: Ie Sweelinckstraat 29, The Hague.  
 Cooperative Groothandelsvereniging "De Handelskamer": Ruijgeplaatweg 29, Rotterdam.
- New Zealand**—Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society of New Zealand, Ltd.: P. O. Box 90, Taumarunui.

- Norway**—Norges Kooperative Landsforening: Kirkegaten 4, Oslo.
- Poland**—Związek Polskich Stowarzyszen Spozywcow: Ul. Grzyzny 13, Warsaw-Mokotow.  
Związek Rewizyjny Spoldzielni Robotniczych w Polsce: Wolska 44, Warsaw.  
Związek Spoldzielni Rzeszypospolikj: Polskiej Ul. Nowagrodzka 21, Warsaw.
- Portugal**—Federação Nacional das Cooperatives: Rua Alves Correia 32, Lisbon.
- Rumania**—Centrala Cooperativelor Satesti de Productie si Consum; Strada Brezoianu 17, Bucharest.  
Centrala Bancilor Populare: Str. Brezoianu 17, Bucharest.
- Russia**—Vserossiisky Tsentralny Soyuz Petrobittelnykh Obshchestv, "Centrosoyus": Jljinka, Tcherkassky per., No. 15 Moscow.—London office: Hazlitt House, Southampton Buildings, London W. C. 2, England.  
All-Russian Cooperative Society, "Arcos": 49 Moorgate, London E. C., England.  
Moscow Narodny Bank: Miasnitzkaia, 15, Moscow.—London office: Hazlitt House, Southampton Buildings, London W. C. 2.  
Union of Far Eastern Cooperative Societies: Chita, Far Eastern Republic, Asiatic Russia.
- Spain**—Federacion Regional de Cooperativas de Cataluna: Calle de la Aurora 11 bis, Barcelona.  
Union de Cooperativas del Norte de Espana: Plaza del Mercado del Ensanche, 3, Bilbao.
- Sweden**—Kooperativa Förbundet i Sverige: Stadsgarden 12, Stockholm.
- Switzerland**—Verband Schweizerischer Konsumvereine: Thiersteinallee 14, Basle.  
Verband Ostschweizerischer Landwirthschaftlicher Genossenschaften: Aeussere Schaffhauserstrasse 6, Winterthur.  
Verband der Genossenschaften "Konkordia" der Schweiz: Ausstellungstrasse 21, Zurich.
- United States**—Cooperative League of the United States of America: 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.  
All-American Cooperative Commission: Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Yugoslavia**—Central Union of Serbian Agricultural Cooperative Societies: Rue Ressayvaska 15, Belgrade.

## V. LABOR LEGISLATION AND DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS

### United States

- American Association for Labor Legislation: John B. Andrews, 131 East 23rd Street, New York, N. Y.
- American Civil Liberties Union: Forrest Bailey, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- Committee for International Workers' Aid, 1553 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.
- General Defense Committee (I. W. W.): 3333 West Belmont Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- International Committee for Political Prisoners: 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- International Labor Defense, 23 South Lincoln Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Mooney Defense Committee: Post Office Box 374, San Francisco, Calif.
- National Child Labor Committee: Owen R. Lovejoy, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- National Consumers' League: Florence Kelley, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee: 43 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.

## VI. PRINCIPAL LABOR, SOCIALIST, AND COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS

### International Publications

(D = daily; w., weekly; f., fortnightly; m., monthly; bi-m., bi-monthly; q., quarterly; irreg., irregular.)

- The International Trade Union Review*—(International Federation of Trade Unions q.). *News Letter*, w., *International Educational Notes* m.: 31 Tesselschadestraat, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Red Labor Union International*—(Red International of Labor Unions organ): Post Office Box 7077, Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
- News Service*—(International Workingmen's Association irreg.): Kopernikusstrasse 25/II, Berlin O. 35, Germany.
- Bauarbeiter-Internationale* (International Union of Building Workers, q.): Wallstrasse 1, Hamburg 25, Germany.
- Bulletin* (International Federation of Hatters q.): Piazzetta Moriggia 6, Monza, Italy.
- Bulletin*—(International Landworkers' Federation): Enckeplatz 6, Berlin S. W. 48, Germany.
- Bulletin*—(International Federation of Lithographers and Kindred Trades q.): 65 Rue du Midi, Brussels, Belgium.
- Bulletin*—(International Union of Woodworkers bi-m.): Alberdingk Thijmstraat 30, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Bulletin Mensuel* (International Union of Food and Drink Trades Workers m.): Körnerstrasse, 12, Zurich 4, Switzerland.
- International Correspondence*—(International Boot and Shoe Operatives' and Leather Workers' Federation): Essenweinstrasse 1, Nuremberg, Germany.
- L'Internationale de l'Enseignement*—(Education Workers' International m.): 33 Rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, Paris 10, France.
- Internationale P. T. T.*—(International Federation of Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Workers q.): Peter Jordanstrasse 96, Vienna, Austria.
- Mitteilungen; Communications*—(International Secretariat of Printers q.): Laenggasstrasse, 36, Berne, Switzerland.
- Mitteilungsblatt* (International Secretariat of Painters and Kindred Trades q.): Claus Grothstrasse 1, Hamburg, Germany.
- News Letter*—(International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, and Technical Employees m.): P. C. Hooftstraat 179, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- News Letter* (m.), *Press Report* (w.): (International Transport Workers' Federation organs): Vondelstraat 61, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- Bulletin of the Labor and Socialist International* (Labor and Socialist International irreg.), *Press Reports* (w.): Stockerstrasse 41, Zurich 2, Switzerland.
- Socialist Youth International*—(Socialist Youth International m.): Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S. W. 68, Germany.
- The Communist International*—(Irreg.): Smolny, Leningrad, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; or 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- International Press Correspondence*—(Communist International publicity service, English, French, and German editions, w.): Bergasse 31, Vienna 9, Austria.
- The Young Communist International Review* (f.), *The International of Youth* (m.) (Young Communist International organs): Ikkim Mokhovaia 16, Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
- International Labor Review* (m.), *Industrial and Labor Information* (w.), (League of Nations International Labor Office pubs.): Geneva, Switzerland.

## Papers in Countries Other Than United States

- Argentina**—*La Protesta* (Federation of Trade Unions d.): Calle Peru 1537, Buenos Aires.  
*Bandera Proletaria* (Syndicalist Union): Rioja 835, Buenos Aires.  
*La Vanguardia* (Socialist d.): Reconquista 675, Buenos Aires.  
*La Internacional* (Communist Party organ): Independencia 417, Buenos Aires.
- Armenia**—*Droschak*: 3 Avenue Beau-Sejour, Geneva, Switzerland.
- Australia**—*The Australian Worker* (Australian Workers' Union w.): St. Andrew's Place, Sydney, New South Wales.  
*The Daily Standard* (Labor d.): Adelaide Street, Brisbane, Queensland.  
*The Sydney Labor Daily* (Labor d.): Sydney, New South Wales.  
*Voice of Labor* (Labor Party w.): Trades Hall, Hobart, Tasmania.  
*Westralian Worker* (West Australian Labor Party w.): 38-40 Stirling Street, E. Perth, W. Australia.  
*The Worker* (Labor w.): Elizabeth Street, Brisbane, Queensland.  
*The Labor Call* (Australian Labor Party w.): Patrick Street, Melbourne, Victoria.  
*The Union Voice* (Socialist Party w.): Socialist Hall, 184 Exhibition Street, Melbourne, Victoria.  
*Workers' Weekly* (Communist): 395 Sussex Street, Sydney, New South Wales.
- Austria**—*Arbeit und Wirtschaft* (w.), *Der Betriebsrat* (bi-m.) (Federation of Trade Unions organs): Ebendorferstrasse 7, Vienna 1.  
*Arbeiterzeitung* (Social Democratic Labor Party d.): Rechte Wienzeile 97, Vienna.  
*Der Kampf* (Socialist m.): Gumpendorferstrasse 18, Vienna I.  
*Die Rote Fahne* (Communist Party d.): Alserstrasse 69, Vienna 8.
- Belgium**—*Le Mouvement Syndical Belge* (Federation of Trade Unions bi-m.): Maison Syndicale, 8 Rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels.  
*Le Peuple* (Labor and Socialist Party d.): *Het Volksblad*: 35 Rue des Sables, Brussels.  
*Le Drapeau Rouge* (Communist Party d.): 57-59 Rue des Alexiens, Brussels.  
*De Volksgazet* (Socialist d.): Somersstraat 20, Antwerp.  
*Education Recreation* (French), *Ontwikkeling* (Dutch), (Labor High School m.): Maison du Peuple, 17 Rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels.
- Brazil**—*Movimento Comunista* (Communist): Sao Paulo.  
*O Solidario*: Rua 15 Novembro 50, Santos.  
*O Internacional*: Caixa Postal 2727, Sao Paulo.  
*A Plebe*: Caixa Postal 195, Sao Paulo.  
*The Free Workman* (Syndicalist w.): Rua dom Pedro II, No. 19, Porto Alegre.
- Bulgaria**—*Narod* (Social Democratic Labor Party d.): Rue Lomska 22, Sofia.  
*Rabotnitschesko Sname* (Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions w.): Ul. Nischka 15, Sofia.  
*Rabotnitscheski Vestnik* (General Federation of Trade Unions (Left) d.): Syndika en Dom, Ul. Kyrill i Methodi 54, Sofia.
- Canada**—*Alberta Labor News* (Alberta Federation of Labor w.): 10010-102nd Street, Edmonton, Alberta.  
*L'Artisan* (La Societe des Artisans m.): 20 St. Denis Street, Montreal, Quebec.  
*The Booster* (Brotherhood of Dominion Express Employees m.): Toronto, Ontario.  
*British Columbia Federationist* (w.): 1129 How Street, Vancouver, B. C.  
*British Columbia Musician* (Musicians' Union Local 145 w.): 991 Nelson Street, Vancouver, B. C.  
*The Bulletin* (Machinists District Lodge 2 m.): Winnipeg, Manitoba.

- The Canadian Barber* (Journeymen Barbers' Federation m.): Toronto, Ontario.
- Canadian Congress Journal* (Trades and Labor Congress m.): 172 McLaren Street, Ottawa, Ontario.
- The Canadian Cooperator* (The Cooperative Union m.): 215 Nelson Street, Brantford, Ontario.
- Canadian Labor Press* (w.): 246 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Ontario.
- Canadian Railroad Employees' Monthly* (m.): 189 Gloucester Street, Ottawa, Ontario.
- Canadian Trades Unionist* (Canadian Federation of Labor m.): 26 Stratcona Avenue, Toronto, Ontario.
- Carpenters' Monthly Bulletin* (Carpenters, Ontario Provincial Council m.): 9 Mountnoel Avenue, Toronto, Ontario.
- The Citizen* (w.): 54 Argyle Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- The Confederate*: Brandon, Manitoba.
- The Labor Leader* (w.): 257 Adelaide Street, West, Toronto, Ontario.
- The Labor News* (m.): Lister Building, Hamilton, Ontario.
- The Labor Statesman* (District Trades and Labor Council w.): 16 Hastings Street, East, Vancouver, British Columbia.
- The Labor World-Le Monde Ouvrier* (Trades and Labor Council w.): 11 St. Paul Street, West, Montreal, Quebec.
- Maritime Labor Herald* (w.): Union Street, Glace Bay, Nova Scotia.
- New Democracy* (w.): Lister Building, Hamilton, Ontario.
- The One Big Union Bulletin* (w.): 54 Adelaide Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- The Ontario Fire Fighter* (m.): 132 Bellevue Avenue, Toronto, Ontario.
- The Organizer* (Amalgamated Civil Servants m.): 2041 Halifax Street, Regina, Saskatchewan.
- Trade Report* (Carpenters, Ontario Provincial Council m.): Toronto, Ontario.
- Western Clarion* (Socialist Party f.): P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, British Columbia.
- Western Union Printer* (Western Canada Conference of Typographical Unions m.): Medicine Hat, Alberta.
- The Worker* (Communist Party w.): 301, Tyrell Building, 95 King Street, East, Toronto, Ontario.
- The Workers' Weekly* (w.): Muir and Bell, Stellarton, Nova Scotia.
- Chile**—*Comunista* (Labor Federation and Communist Party d.): Casilla 327, Antofagasta.
- La Federacion Obrera* (Labor Federation d.): Miraflores 163, Santiago.
- El Socialista*: 1372 Calle de Catorce de Febrero, Antofagasta.
- Accion Directa* (Industrial Workers of the World w.): Correo 3, Casilla 5015, Santiago.
- Colombia**—*El Socialista*: Bogota.
- Cuba**—*Lucha de Clases* (Communist Party f.): I Agramonte 37 (Altos), Havana.
- Tierra* (Anarchist w.): Zulueta 37 (Altos), Havana.
- Czechoslovakia**—*Odborove Sdruzene Ceskoslovenske and Gewerkschaftsblatt* (Federation of Trade Unions bi-m.): Bartolomejska ul. 14, Prague.
- Socialni Prace* (National-Social Trade Union Central m.): Václavské Nam. 42, Prague II.
- Pravo Lidu* (Social Democratic Labor Party d.): Hyberniska 7, Prague II.
- Sozialdemokrat* (German Socialist Party): 18 Nekazanka, Prague II.
- Robotnik Slaski* (Polish Socialist Party w.): Rynek 24, Frysztat.
- Rude Pravo* (Communist Party d.): Myslikova Ulica 15, Prague II.

*Vorwaerts* (Communist Party d.): Reichenberg.  
*Svoboda* (Communist Party d.): Kladno.

**Danzig**—*Danziger Volkstimme*: Am Spendhaus 6, Danzig.

**Denmark**—*Arbejderen* (Federation of Trade Unions w.): Norre Fari-magsgade 49, Copenhagen.

*Social-Demokraten* (Social-Democratic Party d.): Norre Fari-magsgade 49, Copenhagen.

*Arbejder Bladet* (Communist Party d.): Blaagaerds-gade 29.4, Copenhagen.

**Ecuador**—*La Confederacion Obrera Ecuatoriana* (Confederation of Labor organ): Quito.

*El Bolitin* (trade union irreg.): Ambato.

*Confederacion Obrera*: Bocaya 1403, Guayaquil.

**Esthonia**—*Uhendus* (Socialist w.): Brookusmägi 4, Tallinn.

**Finland**—*Suomen Ammatijarjesto* (Federation of Trade Unions m.): Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors.

*Suomen Socialdemokraatti* (Socialist d.): Sirkuskatu 3, Helsingfors.

*Suomen Tyoemies* (Communist d.): Helsingfors.

**France**—*Le Peuple* (General Confederation of Labor d.): 211 Rue Lafayette, Parix X.

*La Vie Ouvriere* (Syndicalist-Communist trade union w.): 144 Rue Pelleport, Paris XX.

*La Lutte de Classe* (Red International of Labor Unions m.): 144 Rue Pelleport, Paris XX.

*Le Populaire* (Socialist Party f.): 12 Rue Feydeau, Paris II.

*L'Information Sociale* (Socialist w.): 7 Rue Pasquier, Paris VIII.

*La Nouvelle Revue Socialiste* (Socialist m.): 9 Rue de la Poterie, Paris I.

*L'Humanite* (Communist Party d.): 142 Rue Montmartre, Paris II.

*Les Cahiers du Bolchevisme* (Communist Party w.): 142 Rue Montmartre, Paris II.

*Clarte* (Communist m.): 16 Rue Jacques Callot, Paris VI.

**Germany**—*Die Arbeit* (m.): *Gewerkschafts-Zeitung* (Federation of Trade Unions organs): Inselstrasse 6, Berlin S. 14.

*Der Syndikalist* (Syndicalist w.): Kopernikusstrasse 25, Berlin O. 34.

*Vorwaerts* (Social Democratic Party d.): Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S. W. 68.

*Die Gesellschaft* (Socialist m.): J. H. W. Dietz, Nachf, Berlin S. W. 68.

*Die Rote Fahne* (Communist Party d.): Berlin-Neukoln.

**Great Britain**—*The Daily Herald* (Trade Union and Labor Party d.): 2 Carmelite Street, London, E. C. 4.

*The Labor Magazine* (m.), *Labor Press Service* (w.), *Labor Bulletin of Industrial and Political Information* (m.), *Labor Woman* (m.): (Trades Union Congress and Labor Party): 33 Eccleston Square, London, S. W. 1.

*The Monthly Circular of the Labor Research Department*: 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1.

*Lansbury's Labor Weekly* (w.): 200 Palace Chambers, London, S. W. 1.

*The Sunday Worker* (Minority Movement w.): 74 Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London W. C. 1.

*The Worker* (Minority Movement w.): 39 Shuttle Street, Glasgow, Scotland.

*Trade Union Unity* (m.): 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1.

*The New Leader* (Independent Labor Party w.): 24 High Holborn, London W. C. 2.

*The Socialist Review* (Independent Labor Party m.): 14 Great George Street, London S. W. 1.

- Forward* (Socialist w.): 26 Brown Street, Port Dundas, Glasgow, Scotland.
- Justice* (Social Democratic Federation w.): 103 Southwark Street, S. E. 1, London.
- The Socialist Standard* (Socialist Party m.): 17 Mount Pleasant, London W. C. 1.
- Communist Review* (Communist Party m.): 16 King Street, Covent Garden, London W. C. 2.
- The Workers' Weekly* (Communist Party w.): 16 King Street, London W. C. 2.
- The Workers' Dreadnaught* (Communist Workers' Movement w.): 152 Fleet Street, London E. C. 4.
- The Labor Monthly* (International labor review): 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1.
- Fabian News* (Fabian Society m.): 25 Tothill Street, London S. W. 1.
- The Highway* (Workers' Educational Association m.): 16 Harpur Street, London W. C. 1.
- The Plebs* (Labor College m.): 162a Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1.
- Soviet Union Review*: 68 Lincoln's Inn Fields, Kingsway, London W. C. 2.
- Greece**—*Risospastis* (Communist Party organ): Athens.
- Guatemala**—*Novacione* (Central American Federation of Labor w.): Guatemala City.
- Hungary**—*Szakszervezeti Ertesito* (Council of Trade Unions organ): Kertesz-utca 24, Budapest VII.
- Nepsava* (Social Democratic Party d.): Konti-utca 4, Budapest VII.
- India**—*The All-India Trade Union Bulletin* (m.): Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
- Swadharma* (Labor w.): 86 Savarana Perumal Mudaly Street, Vepery, Madras.
- The Socialist* (Socialist w.): 434 Thakurdwar, Bombay II.
- Ireland**—*The Voice of Labor* (Transport and General Workers' Union w.): 35 Parnell Square, Dublin.
- The Irish Statesman* (Irish Agricultural Organization Society w.): 84 Merrion Square, Dublin.
- Italy**—*Battaglie Sindacali* (Confederation of Labor w.): 2 Via Manfredi Fantl, Milan.
- Avanti* (Socialist Party d.): Villagio Barovalle 2, Milan.
- La Giustizia* (Socialist Party organ): Via Kramer 19, Milan 20.
- Il Comunista* (Communist Party d.): Rome.
- Japan**—*Domei Rodo* (General Federation of Labor w.): Mita Shikokumachi, Shiba-ku, Tokyo.
- Nippon Nomin Shimibun* (Japan Farmers' Union m.): 2 Mita Shikokumachi, Shiba-ku, Tokyo.
- Marx Shugi* (Communist m.): 6 Nishi-Kobai-cho, Kanda-Ku, Tokyo.
- Shakai Shiso* (Socialist m.): 385 Koshinzuka Sugamo-cho, Tokyo.
- Seiji-Kenkyu* (Socialist m.): 6 Tenjin-cho, Ushigome, Tokyo.
- Latvia**—*Arodniecks* (Federation of Trade Unions bi-m.): Aku Iela 10, Riga.
- Sozialdemokrats* (Socialist d.): Kr. Barona Iela 25, Riga.
- Lithuania**—*Socialdemokratas* (w.): Kelstucio gatve 40, Kaunas.
- Luxembourg**—*Der Proletarier* (Trade Union Secretariat w.): Neypergstrasse 13, Luxemburg-Gare.
- Die Soziale Republik*: Luxemburg.
- Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Socialist d.): Luxemburg.
- Mexico**—*Humanidad, Nuestra Palabra* (Confederacion General del Trabajo w.): Plaza de las Vixxainas 3, Mexico, D. F.
- CROM* (f.) *L'Orientacion Social* (Mexican Federation of Labor organs): Bellisario Dominguez 64, Mexico City.

*Pro-Paria* (Mexican Federation of Labor) : Orizaba, Vera Cruz.  
*Resurgimiento* (Trade Union Federation of Puebla organ) : Puebla, Puebla.

*La Lucha* (Socialist party organ) : Calle Belisario Dominguez 40, Mexico City.

*Tierra* (Socialist Party organ) : Merida, Yucatan.

*El Obrero Comunista* : Apartado postal 20-31, Mexico City.

*El Frente Unico* (Communist Party organ) : Vera Cruz.

*El Machete* (Communist Party w.) : Apartado 2703, Mexico City.

*El Laborista* (Labor Party w.) : Calle Aquiles Serdan 39, Mexico City.

**Netherlands**—*De Strijd* (Federation of Trade Unions w.) : Amstel 224, Amsterdam.

*De Vakbeweging* (Federation of Trade Unions m.) : Amstel 224, Amsterdam.

*De Vakstrijd* (General Trade Union Federation bi-m.) : Regentesse-laan 112, The Hague.

*De Arbeid* (National Labor Secretariat organ) : Nassaukade 101, Amsterdam.

*De Syndicalist* (Syndicalist w.) : Helmerstraat 73, Amsterdam.

*Het Volk* (Social Democratic Labor Party d.) : Kelzersgracht 378, Amsterdam.

*De Socialistische Gids* (Social Democratic Labor Party m.) : Paleisstraat 43, Amsterdam.

*De Tribune* (Communist Party d.) : Amstel 85, Amsterdam.

**New Zealand**—*The Maoriland Worker* (Workers' Union and Labor Party w.) : 290 Wakefield Street, Wellington.

**Norway**—*Medelesblad utgit av Landsorganisationen i Norge* (Federation of Trade Unions m.) : Folkets Hus, Mullergaten 18, Oslo.

*Alarm* (Syndicalist w.) : Box 2003, Oslo G.

*Social-Demokraten* (Communist Party d.) : Youngsgatan 13, Oslo.

*Arbejderbladet* (Communist Party d.) : Folkets Hus, Oslo.

*Den Nye Socialdemokraten* (Socialist d.) : Ovre Slogatan 15 B IV, Oslo.

*Mot Dag* (Communist student f.) : Eilert Sundsgatan 43, Oslo.

**Palestine**—*Davar* (Socialist d.) : Tel Aviv.

*Pinkas* (Federation of Trade Unions) : Tel Aviv.

**Poland**—*Robotniczy Przegląd Gospodarczy* (Central Trades Federation bi-m.) : 7 Rue Warecka, Warsaw.

*Wiadomoci Robotnika* (Federation of Trade Unions bi-m.) : 31 Sienna, Warsaw.

*Robotnik* (Socialist Party d.) : Warecka 7, Warsaw.

*Svit* (Communist d.) : 13 Lerchengasse, Vienna VIII, Austria.

*Volkswille* (German Socialist Party d.) : 29 Kosciuszkiego, Katowice.

**Porto Rico**—*Justicia* (Free Federation of Workers' organ) : San Juan.

*Union Obrera* (Labor d.) : San Juan.

*Voz de Obrero* (Labor w.) : P. O. Box 117, San Juan.

*El Alba Roja* (Socialist semi-w.) : Guayama.

*Conciencia Popular* (Socialist semi-w.) : Humacao, Porto Rico.

**Portugal**—*A Batalha* (General Confederation of Labor organ d.) : Calçada do Combro 38-A, 2 Lisbon.

*Heraldo* (Socialist Party f.) : Largo Alfonso Pena 35, Lisbon.

**Rumania**—*Socialismul* (Socialist Party w.) : 37 Strada Brezoianu, Bucharest.

*Lumea Noua* (w.) : Pasagiul Imobiliara, Bucharest.

*Arbeiter-Zeitung* : Strada General Dragalina 1, Timisoara.

*Vorwaerts* : Strada Scolea 6, Cernauti.

*Gewerkschaftsbulletin* (Trade Union m.) : Strada Memorandului 21, Cluj.

**Russia**—*Izvestia* (Soviet government d.) : Tverskaya 48, Moscow.

*Pravda* (Communist Party d.) : Tverskaya 38, Moscow.

- Trud* (Federation of Trade Unions w.): Palace of Labor, Solianka 12, Moscow.
- Russische Korrespondenz*: Carl Hoym Verlag, Hamburg 8, Germany.
- Socialistische Vestnik* (Social-Democratic Party bl-m.): Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin S. W. 68, Germany.
- Revolutionnaja Rossia* (Social Revolutionary Party m.): Uhelný trh 1, Prague, Czechoslovakia.
- Santo Domingo**—*El Radical* (Labor w.): San Domingo City.
- South Africa**—*Weekly Herald* (Industrial Federation w.): New Trades Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg.
- The Workers' Herald* (African Trade Union w.): 24 Loop Street, Cape Town.
- South African Review* (Socialist w.): P. O. Box 664, Capetown.
- The International* (Communist w.): 54 Fox Street, Johannesburg.
- Spain**—*El Socialista* (Federation of Trade Unions and Socialist Party d.): Calle de Carranza 20, Madrid.
- La Antorcha* (Communist w.): Apartado 873, Madrid.
- Solidaridad Obrera* (Syndicalist d.): Calle del Asalto 58, Barcelona.
- Sweden**—*Fachföreningsrörelsen* (Federation of Trade Unions w.): Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.
- Social Demokraten* (Social Democratic Party d.): Barnhusgatan 14, Stockholm.
- Folkets Dagblad Politiken* (Communist Party d.): Luntmakaregatan 52, Stockholm.
- Arbetaren* (Syndicalist d.): Box 413, Stockholm 1.
- Switzerland**—*Gewerkschaftliche Rundschau* and *Revue Syndicale* (Federation of Trade Unions m.): Monbijoustrasse 61, Berne.
- Berner Tagwacht* (Socialist d.): Glessereiweg 6, Berne.
- La Sentinelle* (Socialist d.): Parc 103, Chaux-de-Fonds.
- Basler Vorwärts* (Communist Party organ): Brunnegasse 3, Basel.
- Uruguay**—*Justicia* (Communist Party organ): Montevideo.
- Solidaridad* (Uruguay Federation of Labor): Cuarein 1321, Montevideo.
- Tribuna Libertaria* (Anarchist): Soriano 1423, Montevideo.
- Union Sindical* (Syndicalist): Rio Negro 111, Montevideo.
- Venezuela**—*Venezuela Libre*: Apartado 1635, Havana, Cuba.
- Obrero Libre* (m.): 29 Willow Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- West Indies**—*The Labor Leader* (w.): 95 Charlotte Street, Port of Spain, Trinidad.
- Yugoslavia**—*Radnicke Novine* (General Federation of Labor organ): Sumadyska ul. 16 Belgrade.
- Radnik* (Communist Party organ): Kosmayska 43, Belgrade.

## Papers in United States

### Trade Union and General Labor Papers

#### American Federation of Labor Publications

- The American Federationist* (American Federation of Labor m.): A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service; International Labor News Service* (American Federation of Labor w.): A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- The Metal Trades Department Bulletin* (A. F. of L. Metal Trades Department m.): A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

#### A. F. of L. National Union Journals

- Amalgamated Journal* (Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Works w.): 510 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- American Federation of Teachers Monthly Bulletin* (American Federation of Teachers m.): 512 Webster Building, 327 So. La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

- The American Flint* (American Flint Glass Workers' Union m.) : 337 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
- The American Photo-Engraver* (International Photo-Engravers' Union m.) : 701, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The American Pressman* (International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union m.) : Pressmen's Home, Hawkins, Tenn.
- The Bakers' Journal* (Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union w.) : 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- The Blacksmith's Journal* (International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers bi-m.) : 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- The Boilermakers' and Iron Shipbuilders' Journal* (Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers m.) : Suite 524 Brotherhood Building, Kansas City, Kansas.
- The Bottle Maker* (Glass Bottle Blowers' Association m.) : 1006-8 Colonial Trust Company Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers' Journal* (International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers f.) : 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- The Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer* (Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union m.) : 1417 K. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
- The Bridgemen's Magazine* (International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers m.) : 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo.
- The Broom Maker* (International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union m.) : 853 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
- The Carpenter* (United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners m.) : Carpenters' Building, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Cigarmakers' Official Journal* (Cigarmakers' International Union of America m.) : Room 620, 508 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Commercial Telegraphers' Journal* (Commercial Telegraphers' Union m.) : 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- The Coopers' International Journal* (Coopers' International Union m.) : Merlweather Building, Kansas City, Kan.
- The Elevator Constructor* (International Union of Elevator Constructors m.) : 1208 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- The Equity Magazine* (Actors' Equity Association m.) : 45 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.
- The Federal Employee* (National Federation of Federal Employees m.) : 10 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.
- Firemen and Oilers' Journal* (Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers m.) : 3611 North 24th Street, Omaha, Neb.
- The Fur Worker* (International Fur Workers' Union f.) : 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y.
- The Garment Worker* (United Garment Workers w.) : 117 Bible House, Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
- General Bulletin* (International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees w.) : 110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
- The Granite Cutters' Journal* (Granite Cutters' International Association m.) : 25 School Street, Quincy, Mass.
- The Headgear Worker* (Cloth Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers' International Union f.) : 621 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- The International Bookbinder* (International Brotherhood of Bookbinders m.) : A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- The International Fire Fighter* (International Association of Fire Fighters m.) : 105 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- International Horseshoers' Monthly Magazine* (International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers m.) : 605 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- International Molders' Journal* (International Molders' Union m.) : 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

- The International Musician* (American Federation of Musicians m.): 239 Halsey Street, Newark, N. J.
- The International Steam Engineer* (International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers m.): 6334 Yale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- The International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union Journal* (International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union m.): 446 South Ogden Street, Denver, Colo.
- The International Wood Carver* (International Wood Carvers' Association m.): 8605 85th Street, Jamaica, N. Y.
- Jewelry Workers' Monthly Bulletin* (International Jewelry Workers' Union m.): 58 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators* (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (m.): Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
- Journal of the Switchmen's Union of North America* (Switchmen's Union m.): 39 West North Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
- The Journeymen Barber* (Journeymen Barbers' International Union m.): 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
- Justice* (English), *Gerechtigkeit* (Jewish), *Giustizia* (Italian), *International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union w.*): 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.
- The Lather* (International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers m.): Lathers' Building, Detroit Avenue and West 26th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Leather Workers' Journal* (United Leather Workers' International Union m.): Room 610 Walsix Building, Kansas City, Mo.
- Life and Labor Bulletin* (National Women's Trade Union League m.): 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Lithographers' Journal* (International Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association m.): 205 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
- The Longshoreman* (International Longshoremen's Association m.): 744-48 Pramson Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
- Machinists' Monthly Journal* (International Association of Machinists m.): 204 Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
- The Miners' Magazine* (International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers m.): 500 Mercantile Building, Denver, Colo.
- The Mixer and Server* (Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League m.): 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- The Motorman and Conductor* (Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees m.): 260 East High Street, Detroit, Mich.
- Official Journal* (International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers q.): 803 United Home Building, St. Louis, Mo.
- Official Magazine* (International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers m.): 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- The Painter and Decorator* (Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers m.): Painters and Decorators' Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
- Papermakers' Journal* (International Brotherhood of Papermakers m.): 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, N. Y.
- Pattern Makers' Journal* (Pattern Makers' League m.): 1008 Second National Bank Building, 9th and Main Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Paving Cutters' Journal* (Paving Cutters' Union m.): Box 130, Rockport, Mass.
- The Plasterer* (Operative Plasterers' International Association m.): 401 Castell Building, Middletown, Ohio.

- The Plate Printer* (Plate Printers' and Die Stampers' Union f.) : 1630 West Loudon Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters' Journal* (United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters m.) : 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Postal Record* (National Association of Letter Carriers m.) : 405 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Potters' Herald* (National Brotherhood of Operative Potters w.) : West 6th Street, East Liverpool, Ohio.
- Quarry Workers' Journal* (Quarry Workers' International Union m.) : Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
- The Railroad Telegrapher* (Order of Railroad Telegraphers m.) : 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.
- Railway Carmen's Journal* (Brotherhood of Railway Carmen m.) : 512 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
- The Railway Clerk* (Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks m.) : Brotherhood of Railway Clerks' Building, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- The Railway Maintenance-of-Way Employees' Journal* (United Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers m.) : 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
- The Railway Post Office* (Railway Mail Association m.) : 506-8 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- Retail Clerks' International Advocate* (Retail Clerks' International Protective Association m.) : Levering Building, Lafayette, Ind.
- Seamen's Journal* (International Seamen's Union of America m.) : 525 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal.; *The Seaman* (m.) : 359 North Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Sheet Metal Workers' Journal* (Sheet Metal Workers' International Association m.) : 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
- The Shoe Workers' Journal* (Boot and Shoe Workers' Union m.) : 246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
- The Signalmen's Journal* (Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen m.) : 4750 North Kimball Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- The Sleeping Car Conductor* (Order of Sleeping Car Conductors m.) : 360 Union Station, Kansas City, Mo.
- The Stonecutters' Journal* (Journeymen Stonecutters' Association m.) : 324 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Stove Mounters' and Range Workers' Journal* (Stove Mounters' International Union m.) : 6466 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
- The Tailor* (Journeymen Tailors' Union f.) : 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- The Textile Worker* (United Textile Workers of America m.) : 605 Bible House, Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
- Tobacco Worker* (Tobacco Workers' International Union m.) : 50 Our Home Life Insurance Building, Louisville, Ky.
- The Typographical Journal* (International Typographical Union m.) : *Buchdrucker-Zeitung* (German m.) : 2820 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Union Clay Worker* (United Brick and Clay Workers m.) : Room 440, 323 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Union Leader* (Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees weekly) : 332 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Union Postal Clerk* (National Federation of Post Office Clerks m.) : 300 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
- United Mine Workers' Journal* (United Mine Workers f.) : 1102 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Upholsterers' Journal* (Upholsterers' International Union m.) : 230 East 58th Street, New York, N. Y.

## Independent Trade Union Papers

*Advance* (English w.); *Fortschritt* (Jewish f.); *Il Lavoro* (Italian f.); *Prace* (Czechoslovak f.); *Przemysłowa Democracja* (Polish f.); *Darbas* (Lithuanian f.); *Rabotchy Golos* (Russian m.); (Amalgamated Clothing Workers organs): 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

*The American Marine Engineer* (National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association m.): 311 Machinists' Building, 9th Street and Mt. Vernon Place, Washington, D. C.

*Express Worker* (American Federation of Express Workers m.): Mills Building, Washington, D. C.

*Free Voice of the Amalgamated Food Workers* (Amalgamated Food Workers f.): 98 Bowers Street, Jersey City, N. J.

*The Hotel Worker* (Amalgamated Food Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Branch m.): 133 West 51st Street, New York, N. Y.

*Locomotive Engineers' Journal* (Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers m.): 806 Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

*Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine* (Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen m.): 2112 East 46th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

*The Railroad Trainman* (Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen m.): 820 Superior Avenue West, Cleveland, Ohio.

*The Railroad Worker* (American Federation of Railroad Workers m.): 315 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

*The Railway Conductor* (Order of Railway Conductors m.): First Avenue and 1st Street, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

*Railway Employees' Journal* (Brotherhood of Railroad Employees m.): 190 North State Street, Chicago, Ill.

*Railway Expressman* (Order of Railway Expressmen m.): 105 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

*Steam Shovel and Dredge* (International Union of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen m.): Room 1208, 105 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

*The Train Dispatcher* (American Train Dispatchers m.): 10 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.

## Trade Union Educational League and Related Group Papers

*Industrialist* (New York Committee for the Amalgamation of the Printing Trade Unions m.): Box 63, Washington Bridge, New York, N. Y.

*Metal Trades Amalgamation Bulletin* (International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Trades Industry m.): 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

*Needle Worker* (English and Jewish m.): 108 East 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

*Printing Trades Amalgamationist* (International Committee for Amalgamation in the Printing Industry m.): 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

*Progressive Building Trades Worker* (International Committee for Amalgamation in the Building Trades m.): 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

*Railroad Amalgamation Advocate* (International Committee for Amalgamation in the Railroad Industry f.): 411 Dakota Building, 54 West 7th Street, St. Paul, Minn.

*Workers' Monthly* (Trade Union Educational League m.): 156 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

**Industrial Workers of the World Journals**

- Industrial Solidarity* (w.); *Industrial Pioneer* (m.); *Railroad Workers' Bulletin* (m.); *Felszabadulas* (Hungarian w.); *Golos Truzenika* (Russian f.); *Il Proletario* (Italian w.); *Industrijaalni Radnik* (Croatian f.); *Jedna Velka Unie* (Czechoslovak m.); *Rabotnicheske Mysl* (Bulgarian m.); *Solidaridad* (Spanish f.); *Tie Vapauteen* (Finnish m.); *Bermunkas* (Hungarian w.); (Industrial Workers of the World organs): 3333 West Belmont Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Industrialisti* (Industrial Workers of the World Finnish d.): Box 22-24 Lake Avenue North, Duluth, Minn.
- Industrial Unionist* ("Re-Organized" faction w.): Box 3291, Portland, Oregon.
- Industrial Worker* (Industrial Workers of the World f.): 1925 Western Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
- The Marine Worker* (Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union f.): 3 Coenties Slip, New York, N. Y.
- Muncitorul* (Industrial Workers of the World Rumanian f.): 13492 Orleans Street, Detroit, Mich.

**Workers' Education and Research Periodicals**

- The Brookwood Review* (Brookwood Cooperators m.): Katonah, N. Y.
- Commonwealth College Fortnightly* (f.): Mena, Ark.
- Facts for Workers* (Labor Bureau, Inc., economic news letter m.): 2 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.
- Federated Press Daily Mail Service Sheet* (d. except Sunday); *The Federated Press Labor Letter* (w.): The Federated Press, Inc., 156 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Friend* (The Workmen's Circle m.): 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- Jewish Workers' Voice* (Jewish National Workers' Alliance m.): 228 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- Labor Age* (m.): 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.
- The Labor Student* (Rand School of Social Science m.): 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Monthly News Service* (Workers' Health Bureau m.): 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- News-Bulletin* (League for Industrial Democracy irreg.): 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- Official Bulletin* (Workers' School irreg.): 108 East 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Solidarity* (Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund m.): 9 Seventh Street, New York, N. Y.
- Workers' Education* (Workers' Education Bureau q.): 476 West 24th Street, New York, N. Y.

**General Labor Papers****Alabama**

- The Advance* (w.): 416½ North 21st Street, Birmingham, Ala.
- Labor Advocate* (Trades Council w.): 2103½ Third Avenue, Birmingham, Ala.
- Southern Labor Review* (w.): 419½ North 21st Street, Birmingham, Ala.

**Arizona**

- Square Deal*: Bisbee, Ariz.
- Labor Journal* (State Federation of Labor w.): Phoenix, Ariz.
- The Equitist* (Equitist League w.): Phoenix, Ariz.
- Southwestern Record* (w.): Tucson, Ariz.

**Arkansas**

- Union Labor Advocate*: Hot Springs, Ark.
- Union Labor Bulletin* (w.): Hot Springs, Ark.
- Herald* (w.): Huntington, Ark.
- Union Labor Bulletin* (Central Trades and Labor Council w.): 519 Scott Street, Little Rock, Ark.

*American Railroad Chronicle*: 109 Main Street, Pine Bluff, Ark.  
*Independent Union News* (w.): Texarkana, Ark.

### California

*Kern County Union Labor Journal* (Labor Council w.): 2121 Eye Street, Bakersfield, Calif.  
*Labor News* (Eureka Federated Trades and Labor Council of Humboldt Co., Calif. w.): E. Street and 9th Street, Eureka, Calif.  
*Tri-County Labor News* (Fresno Labor Council w.): 1139 Broadway, Fresno, Calif.  
*Union News*: 2120 Kern Street, Fresno, Calif.  
*Labor News* (w.): 537 American Avenue, Long Beach, Calif.  
*The Oil Worker* (District Council 1, Oil Workers' International Union w.): 326-C American Avenue, P. O. Box 13, Long Beach, Calif.  
*Citizen* (w.): 540 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.  
*Southern California Labor Press* (State Building Trades Council; Los Angeles County Building Trades Council w.): 443 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles, Calif.  
*Contra-Costa County Labor Journal*: 200 Twelfth Street, Oakland, Calif.  
*The Daily Record* (d.): 286 Twelfth Street, Oakland, Calif.  
*East Bay Labor Journal*: 200 Twelfth Street, Oakland, Calif.  
*Union Labor Record* (w.): 285 Twelfth Street, Oakland, Calif.  
*California Labor Chronicle* (w.): 312 Ochsner Building, Sacramento, Calif.  
*Tribune* (w.): 729 I Street, Sacramento, Calif.  
*The Labor Journal* (w.): 1013 Third Street, San Bernardino, Calif.  
*The San Diego Labor Leader* (Federated Trades and Labor Council w.): 644 Fourth Street, P. O. Box 1406, San Diego, Calif.  
*Labor Clarion* (San Francisco Labor Council w.): 2940 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, Calif.  
*Musical and Theatrical News* (Musicians' Union No. 6 f.): 230 Jones Street, San Francisco, Calif.  
*Rank and File* (w): Pacific Building, San Francisco, Calif.  
*The Search-Light* (Ferryboatmen's Union m.): 59 Clay Street, San Francisco, Calif.  
*The Union Journal* (w.): 173 West Santa Clara Street, San Jose, Calif.  
*Union Labor News* (w.): 740 State Street, Santa Barbara, Calif.  
*Sonoma County Labor Journal* (w.): 4th and D. Streets, Santa Rosa, Calif.  
*The Forum* (w.): 1134 East Main Street, P. O. Box 333, Stockton, Calif.  
*Stockton Labor Journal* (w.): 216 East Market Street, Stockton, Calif.  
*West Side Union* (Central Labor Union w.): Taft, Calif.  
*Labor Journal* (w.): Vallejo, Calif.

### Colorado

*Labor News* (w.): 112 East Cucharas Street, Colorado Springs, Colo.  
*Colorado Labor Advocate* (State Federation of Labor w.): 1715 California Street, Denver, Colo.  
*Denver Labor Bulletin* (State Federation of Labor w.): P. O. Box 447, Denver, Colo.  
*Risveglio* (Italian semi-w.): P. O. Box 1555, Denver, Colo.  
*Unione* (Italian f.): 318-20 South Victoria Avenue, Pueblo, Colo.

### Connecticut

*Labor Standard* (f.): New Britain, Conn.  
*Connecticut Labor News* (w.): 148 George Street, New Haven, Conn.

**Delaware**

*Labor Herald* (w.) : 415 Shipley Street, Wilmington, Del.

**District of Columbia**

*Labor* (Railroad Labor w.) : 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.  
*Trades Unionist* (Central Labor Union w.) : 720 Fifth Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

**Florida**

*Artisan* (Central Trades and Labor Council w.) : Jacksonville, Fla.  
*Labor News* : P. O. Box 585, Jacksonville, Fla.  
*Miami News* (Miami Central Labor Union w.) : 14 S. E. First Street, Miami, Fla.  
*Florida Labor News* (w.) : 713½ Franklin Street, Tampa, Fla.  
*El Internacional* (Cigar Makers' International Union local w.) : Post Office Box 5116, Ybor City Station, Tampa, Fla.

**Georgia**

*Journal of Labor* (Federation of Trades Union w.) : Peters Building, Atlanta, Ga.  
*The Labor Review* (w.) : Campbell Building, Augusta, Ga.  
*Gleaner* (Central Labor Union w.) : 107 Whitaker Street, Savannah, Ga.

**Hawaii**

*Nippu Jiji* (Japanese and English w.) : Honolulu, Hawaii.

**Illinois**

*Alton Leader* (Alton Trades and Labor Assembly; Building Trades Council of Alton; Madison County Federation of Labor w.) : 321 State Street, Alton, Ill.  
*Fox River Leader* (w.) : Aurora, Ill.  
*Searchlight* (Bloomington Trades and Labor Assembly w.) : 724 W. Washington Street, Bloomington, Ill.  
*Twin City Review* (City Federation of Labor w.) : 116 North First Street, Champaign-Urbana, Ill.  
*The Federation News* (Chicago Federation of Labor w.) : 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*Illinois Labor News* (m.) : 105 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*Illinois State Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter* (w.) : 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*The Labor Defender* (International Labor Defense m.) : 23 South Lincoln Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*Margaret Haley's Bulletin* (teachers' f.) : 127 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*Prosveta* (Slavonic d.) : 2657 South Lawndale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.  
*Public Ownership* (Public Ownership League m.) : 127 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*Rovnost Ludu* (Slovak semi-w.) : 1510 West 18th Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*Union Labor Advocate* (m.) : 107 North Market Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*Union Labor News* (w.) : 160 North Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*Labor Leader* (w.) : 115 West Main Street, Danville, Ill.  
*Vermilion County Star* (Danville Trades and Labor Council; Westville Central Labor Union w.) : 129½ East Main Street, Danville, Ill.  
*Decatur Weekly News* (Trades and Labor Assembly w.) : 716 East Eldorado Street, Decatur, Ill.  
*Galesburg Labor News* (w.) : 56 N. Cherry Street, Galesburg, Ill.  
*Sponge & Brush* (Painters' State Conference of Illinois m.) : 56 North-Cherry Street, Galesburg, Ill.  
*Williamson County Miner* (semi-w.) : 204 East 7th Street Johnston City, Ill.  
*The Commonwealth* (Central Trades and Labor Council w.) : 104 North Desplaines Street, Joliet, Ill.  
*Illinois Journal of Labor* (f.) : Peoria, Ill.  
*Peoria Labor Gazette* (w.) : 225 North Adam Street, Peoria, Ill.  
*Labor Advocate* (w.) : 120 South 7th Street, Quincy, Ill.

- Labor News* (Quincy Trades and Labor Assembly w.): 331 Hampshire Street, Quincy, Ill.  
*Labor News* (Central Labor Union w.): Rockford, Ill.  
*Tri-City Labor Review* (w.): Industrial Home Building, Rock Island, Ill.  
*Illinois Miner* (Illinois District Miners' w.): Illinois Mine Workers' Building, Springfield, Ill.  
*Illinois Tradesman* (Federation of Labor w.): 223½ South 6th Street, Springfield, Ill.

### Indiana

- Labor Forum* (Central Labor Union w.): 804 Main Street, Evansville, Ind.  
*Worker* (w.): Room 6, Dehim Block. Fort Wayne, Ind.  
*Central Labor Union News* (Central Labor Union w.): 642 Washington Street, Gary, Ind.  
*Union* (f.): 474 Century Building, Indianapolis, Ind.  
*Union Labor News* (f.): 31 West Ohio Street, Indianapolis, Ind.  
*Free Press* (South Bend Typographical Union w.): 315½ South Michigan Street, South Bend, Ind.  
*Terre Haute Advocate* (Vigo County Central Labor Union w.): P. O. Box 653, Terre Haute, Ind.

### Iowa

- Independent* (w.): Boone, Iowa.  
*Iowa Labor News* (Trades and Labor Assembly w.): 424 North Main Street, Burlington, Iowa.  
*The Cedar Rapids Tribune* (Cedar Rapids Federation of Labor, Cedar Rapids Building Trades Council w.): 210 Third Avenue, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.  
*Iowa Unionist* (Des Moines Trades and Labor Assembly w.): 609½ Mulberry Street, Des Moines, Iowa.  
*The Dubuque Labor Leader* (w.): Main and Sixth Sts., Dubuque, Iowa.  
*Marshalltown Labor World* (w.): 22 North Center Street, Marshalltown, Iowa.  
*The Union Advocate* (w.): 522 Nebraska Street, Sioux City, Iowa.

### Kansas

- Labor Bulletin* (Kansas State Federation of Labor and Central Labor Union of Kansas City w.): 530 Minnesota Avenue, Kansas City, Kan.  
*The Chronicle* (State Federation of Labor w.): 518 Cherokee Street, Leavenworth, Kan.  
*Lavoratore Italiano* (Italian, 3 times a m.): Pittsburg, Kan.  
*Echo-Boomer* (w.): Scammon, Kan.  
*Kansas Trade Unionist* (w.): 625 Jackson Street, Topeka, Kan.  
*Plaindealer* (Wichita Trades and Labor Assembly w.): Wichita, Kan.

### Kentucky

- Magyar Banyaszlap* (Hungarian Miners' w.): Himlerville, Ky.  
*Labor Advocate* (Central Labor Union m.): Labor Hall, 139 North Broadway, Lexington, Ky.  
*Journal of Labor* (w.): 511 Republic Building, Louisville, Ky.  
*The Labor Union* (w.): 131 West Market Street, Louisville, Ky.  
*Louisville American* (Railway Employees' Central Body and Allies w.): 609 Republic Building, Louisville, Ky.  
*New Era* (w.): 121 South Third Street, Louisville, Ky.  
*Labor Herald* (Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties w.): Newport, Ky.

### Louisiana

- The American Vanguard* (m.): Leesville, La.  
*The Federationist* (w.): 520 Conti Street, New Orleans, La.  
*Labor Record* (w.): 320 St. Charles Street, New Orleans, La.  
*Railroad Brotherhoods Journal* (m.): 520 Conti Street, New Orleans, La.

**Maine**

*Maine Labor Leader* : 223 Middle Street, Portland, Me.

**Maryland**

*Baltimore Trades Unionist* (Building Trades' Council w.) : 102 East Lexington Street, Baltimore, Md.

*Federationist* (Baltimore Federation of Labor w.) : 1222 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Md.

*Labor Leader* (Baltimore Federation of Labor w.) : Franklin Building, Baltimore, Md.

**Massachusetts**

*Darbininkas* (Lithuanian, 3 times a week) : 366 West Broadway, Boston, Mass.

*Wage Earner* (w.) : 263 Northampton Street, Boston, Mass.

*Brockton Diamond* (w.) : 22 Brett Street, Brockton, Mass.

*Western Massachusetts Labor Review* (m.) : 175 State Street, Springfield, Mass.

*The Labor News* (w.) : 17 Federal Street, Worcester, Mass.

*New England Labor Review* (m.) : 19 Foster Street, Worcester, Mass.

**Michigan**

*Industrial Herald* (w.) : 309 Ninth Street, Bay City, Mich.

*Detroit Labor News* (Detroit Federation of Labor w.) : 274 East High Street, Detroit, Mich.

*Glos Robotniczy* (w.) : 5937 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

*Observer* (w.) : 130½ Lyon Street N. W., Grand Rapids, Mich.

*Square Deal* (Jackson Federation of Labor w.) : 121 West Pearl Street, Jackson, Mich.

*Lansing Industrial News* (Lansing Trades and Labor Council w.) : 109½ North Washington Avenue, Lansing, Mich.

*Workers' Voice* (w.) : 311 Court Street, Saginaw, Mich.

**Minnesota**

*The Labor World* (w.) : 701 Palladio Building, Duluth, Minn.

*St. Louis County Independent* (w.) : 1915 Fifth Avenue, Hibbing, Minn.

*The Minneapolis Labor Review* (Central Labor Union w.) : 405 Sixth Street, South, Minneapolis, Minn.

*Minnesota Union Advocate* (w.) : 158 Third Street, St. Paul, Minn.

*Lake County Chronicle* (w.) : Two Harbors, Minn.

*Range Labor News* (w.) : Virginia, Minn.

*Labor News* (w.) : Winona, Minn.

**Missouri**

*Hannibal Labor Press* (w.) : I. O. O. Building, Hannibal, Mo.

*Missouri Trades Unionist* (w.) : Central Hotel, Jefferson City, Mo.

*Labor Tribune* (w.) : Joplin, Mo.

*The Kansas City Labor News* (w.) : 210 New Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.

*Labor Herald* (w.) : 410 Admiral Boulevard, Kansas City, Mo.

*St. Joseph Labor News* : 301 South Sixth Street, St. Joseph, Mo.

*St. Joseph Union* (w.) : Third and Edmond Streets, St. Joseph, Mo.

*Saturday Union Record* (w.) : Third and Chestnut Streets, St. Louis, Mo.

*Trades Council Union News* (w.) : Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo.

*Railway Federationist* (w.) : Sedalia, Mo.

*The Sedalia Leader* (w.) : 313 South Lamine Street, Sedalia, Mo.

*The Springfield Laborer* (w.) : 222 West Commercial Street, Springfield, Mo.

**Montana**

*Free Lance* (w.) : Butte, Mont.

*Labor Bulletin* (Trades and Labor Assembly w.) : 11 North Main Street, Butte, Mont.

*Montana Labor Review* (w.) : Great Falls, Mont.

*Great Northwest* (w.) : 432 North Higgins Avenue, Missoula, Mont.

**Nebraska**

*Nebraska Craftsman* (Central Labor Union w.) : 217 North 11th Street, Lincoln, Neb.

*Mid-West News* (w.) : 305 Crounse Block, Omaha, Neb.

*Unionist* (w.) : Omaha, Neb.

**New Hampshire**

*Manchester Labor News* (United Textile Workers w.) : Manchester, N. H.

**New Jersey**

*Union Labor Bulletin* (m.) : 56 Hollywood Avenue, East Orange, N. J.

*Union Labor Advocate* (Union County Central Labor Union m.) : 1038 Grove Street, Ellizabeth, N. J.

*Labor Review of Hudson County* (m.) : Jersey City, N. J.

*Union Labor Messenger* (Essex Trades Council m.) : 41 Franklin Street, Newark, N. J.

*Trades Union Advocate* (Central Labor Union m.) : 153 Sherman Avenue, Trenton, N. J.

**New York**

*Legislative Labor News* (State Federation of Labor w. and m.) : 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, N. Y.

*Labor Weekly* (w.) : Auburn, N. Y.

*American Labor Reporter* (w.) : Law Exchange Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

*Buffalo Labor Journal* (w.) : 75 East Eagle Street, Buffalo, N. Y.

*Labor News-Railroad Worker* (w.) : 553 Bramson Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

*Union Labor Advocate* (Central Labor Council w.) : Jamestown, N. Y.

*Orange County Workman* (m.) : Newburgh, N. Y.

*American Labor World* (m.) : 8 Reade Street, New York, N. Y.

*The Labor Banker* (Brotherhood Investment Company m.) : 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

*New York Teacher* (Teachers' Union of New York m., except July and August) : 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

*Il Nuovo Mondo* (Italian labor d.) : 81 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

*Office Employees' Journal* (Bookkeepers', Stenographers', and Accountants' Union m.) : 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

*Opportunity* (National Urban League m.) : 127 East 23rd Street, New York, N. Y.

*The Pocketbook Worker* (International Pocketbook Workers m.) : 11 West 18th Street, New York, N. Y.

*The Russian Daily* (Russian Trade Union and Educational Associations d.) : 274 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

*Russky Golos* (Russian labor d.) : 64 East 7th Street, New York, N. Y.

*State Federationist* (w.) : 113 Leonard Street, New York, N. Y.

*Universal Engineer* (m.) : 150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

*The Truth* (w.) : 21 Academy Street, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

*Labor News* (m.) : New Rochelle, N. Y.

*Labor Herald* (Central Trades and Labor Council w.) : 23 South Water Street, Rochester, N. Y.

*Empire State Leader* (w.) : P. O. 664, Schenectady, N. Y.

*Industrial Weekly* (Central Trades and Labor Assembly w.) : 238 West Fayette Street, Syracuse, N. Y.

*Labor Journal* (w.) : 59 Congress Street, Troy, N. Y.

*Labor Advocate* (w.) : 16 Liberty Street, Utica, N. Y.

*Workman* (w.) : 64 Main Street, Yonkers, N. Y.

**North Carolina**

*Asheville Advocate* (w.) : 91 Patton Avenue, Asheville, N. C.

*The Charlotte Herald* (w.) : Charlotte, N. C.

*Labor Educator* (w.) : Raleigh, N. C.

*Union Herald* (w.) : Hargett and Wilmington Streets, Raleigh, N. C.

*Union Labor Record* (w.) : 10½ Dock Street, Wilmington, N. C.  
*Unity and Justice* (w.) : 924 Chestnut Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.

### North Dakota

*North Dakota Labor Leader* (w.) : Grand Forks, N. D.

### Ohio

*Akron Herald* : Haver Building, Akron, Ohio.  
*People* (w.) : 21 South Main Street, Akron, Ohio.  
*Summit County Labor News* : 11 East Market Street, Akron, Ohio.  
*Union Reporter* (m.) : Alliance, Ohio.  
*Guernsey Valley Bulletin* (Guernsey County Central Labor Union m.) : 649½ Wheeling Avenue, Cambridge, Ohio.  
*Stark County Labor Journal* : 307 Market Ave. South, Canton, Ohio.  
*Union Reporter* (m.) : Walnut and Fifth Streets S. E., Canton, Ohio.  
*Chronicle* (Central Labor Council w.) : 1311 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.  
*The Labor Advocate* (Building Trades Council of Cincinnati w.) : 20-21 Thoms Building, Fifth and Main Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
*News* (Machinists' w.) : 1314 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
*Trades Union Journal* (w.) : 16 East Court Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
*Workers' Journal* (w.) : 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
*Cleveland Federationist* (w.) : 307 Superior Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.  
*Columbus Federationist* (w.) : Grant Theatre Building, Columbus, Ohio.  
*The Labor Review* (w.) : 211 South Ludlow Street, Dayton, Ohio.  
*Labor Weekly* (Central Labor Union w.) : Lorain, Ohio.  
*Newark Leader* (Trades and Labor Assembly w.) : 17½ West Main Street, Newark, Ohio.  
*Labor News* (f.) : 132½ North Fifth Street, New Philadelphia, Ohio.  
*Labor Review* (Central Labor Council w.) : Portsmouth, Ohio.  
*Tribune* (Trades and Labor Assembly w.) : 138 West High Street, Springfield, Ohio.  
*People's Press*, 210 Wayne Building, Toledo, Ohio.  
*Toledo Union Leader* (Central Labor Union w.) : 1103 Cherry Street, Toledo, Ohio.  
*Labor Record* (Labor Council w.) : P. O. Box 61, Youngstown, Ohio.  
*Labor Journal* (w.) : 6th and South Streets, Zanesville, Ohio.  
*Zanesville Tribune* (Central Trades and Labor Council w.) : 17½ North 4th Street, Zanesville, Ohio.

### Oklahoma

*The Herald* : Madill, Okla.  
*Oklahoma Federationist* (State Federation of Labor m.) : 521½ West Main Street, Oklahoma City, Okla.  
*Oklahoma Leader* (w.) : 17 West 3rd Street, Oklahoma City, Okla.  
*Oklahoma Trades Review* : 408 West 2nd Street, Oklahoma City, Okla.  
*Unionist-Journal* (m.) : 222 West 3rd Street, Tulsa, Okla.

### Oregon

*Oregon Labor Press* (Central Labor Council w.) : Labor Temple, Portland, Ore.

### Pennsylvania

*Pennsylvania Labor Herald* (w.) : 529 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.  
*Union News* : Allentown, Pa.  
*Labor News* (Central Labor Council w.) : 630 Third Street, Beaver, Pa.  
*Panther Creek News* (daily except Sunday) : 128 East Street, Coaldale, Pa.  
*The Independent* (w.) : 307 Cumberland Street, Harrisburg, Pa.  
*Slovensky Obcan* (Slovak w.) : 9 East Chestnut Street, Hazelton, Pa.  
*Labor Leader* : 38 Market Street, Lancaster, Pa.  
*The Loyalty Press* : R. F. D. 2, Lancaster, Pa.

*Labor Journal* (w.) : 401 West Main Street, Monongahela, Pa.  
*Progressive Labor World* (w.) : 1530 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

*Trades Union News* (w.) : 827 Filbert Street, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Iron City Trades Council* : Washington and Webster Avenues, Pittsburgh, Pa.

*Justice* : 149 Brushton Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

*Labor Free Press* (w.) : 431 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

*Labor World* (w.) : 220 Third Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

*National Labor Tribune* (w.) : P. O. Box 302, Pittsburgh, Pa.

*Industrial Advocate* (Central Labor Union w.) : Pittston, Pa.

*Anthracte Labor News* (w.) : Shenandoah, Pa.

*Working World* (w.) : Uniontown, Pa.

*Courier-Herald* (w.) : Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

*Labor News* (w.) : 700 Meyer Building, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

*Labor Advocate* (Federation of Trades Unions w.) : 130 South Beaver Street, York, Pa.

### **Rhode Island**

*New England Labor Digest* (m.) : 125 Prairie Ave., Providence, R. I.

### **South Dakota**

*Labor Defender* (m.) : Huron, S. Dak.

*Labor News* (Trades and Labor Assembly w.) : Sioux Falls, S. Dak.

### **Tennessee**

*Central Labor Journal* (w.) : Chattanooga, Tenn.

*The Labor World* (Trades and Labor Council w.) : 318 North 8th Street, Chattanooga, Tenn.

*Independent* (w.) : 2115 East Nelson Street, Knoxville, Tenn.

*Progressive Labor* : 319½ North Gay Street, Knoxville, Tenn.

*Labor Review* (w.) : Goodbar Building, Memphis, Tenn.

*Labor Advocate* (w.) : 307½ Second Avenue, North, Nashville, Tenn.

### **Texas**

*Star* (semi-w.) : Beaumont, Tex.

*Union Standard* (w.) : Cleburne, Tex.

*Craftsman* (w.) : Labor Temple, Young and Evergreen Streets, Dallas, Tex.

*Texas Carpenter* (Texas State Council of Carpenters m.) : P. O. Box, 1313, Dallas, Tex.

*Toiler* (w.) : Labor Temple, Young and Evergreen Streets, Dallas, Tex.

*Labor Journal* (w.) : 331 Main Street, Denison, Tex.

*Labor Advocate* (Central Labor Union and also Building Trades Council w.) : Labor Advocate Building, El Paso, Tex.

*Southwestern Bricklayer* (m.) : 223 South Oregon Street, El Paso, Tex.

*Southwestern Railway Journal* (m.) : 108 East Weatherford Street, Fort Worth, Tex.

*Union Banner* (w.) : P. O. Box 987, Fort Worth, Tex.

*Union Review* (w.) : Galveston, Tex.

*Labor Journal* (w.) : 607 Franklin Avenue, Houston, Tex.

*Texas Railway Employees' Journal* : Kiani Building, Houston, Tex.

*Luz y Verdad* (Spanish m.) : P. O. Box 674, Laredo, Tex.

*Advance* (w.) : Palestine, Tex.

*Labor Forum* (w.) : 310 Sixth Street, Port Arthur, Tex.

*The Weekly Dispatch* (w.) : North Street, Labor Temple, P. O. Box 1113, San Antonio, Tex.

### **Utah**

*Utah Labor News* (w.) : Salt Lake City, Utah.

### **Virginia**

*Times-Advocate* (w.) : 155 Bank Street, Norfolk, Va.

*Virginia Unionist* (w.) : People's Press, Norfolk, Va.

*Labor Herald* (Central Trades and Labor Council w.) : 1306 East Franklin Street, Richmond, Va.

*Square Deal* (Central Trades and Labor Council w.) : Richmond, Va.

**Washington**

*Southwest Washington Labor Press* (Labor Council w.) : 104 North G Street, Aberdeen, Wash.  
*The Labor World* : Bellingham, Wash.  
*Labor Journal* (w.) : Labor Temple, Everett, Wash.  
*Northwest Painter* (Northwest Painters' Conference m.) : Labor Temple, Everett, Wash.  
*Seattle Union Record* (Central Trades and Labor Council d.) : 1915 First Avenue, Seattle, Wash.  
*Labor World* (w.) : 311 Sprague Avenue, Spokane, Wash.  
*Tacoma Labor Advocate* (Tacoma Central Labor Council w.) : 115½ Broadway, Tacoma, Wash.

**West Virginia**

*The West Virginia Federationist* (Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union and Charleston Building Trades Council w.) : P. O. Box 1207, Charleston, W. Va.

**Wisconsin**

*The Union Laborer* (w.) : Mannette, Wis.  
*The Labor Advocate* (Racine Trades and Labor Council f.) : 428 Wisconsin Street, Racine, Wis.  
*Superior Labor Journal* (w.) : Superior, Wis.

**Wyoming**

*Wyoming Labor Journal* (Wyoming Federation of Labor w.) : Box 997, Cheyenne, Wyo.

**Political Organs****Socialist Organs**

*American Appeal* (Socialist Party w.) : 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.  
*Americke Delnicke Listy* (Bohemian w.) : 4130 Broadway, Cleveland, Ohio.  
*Arbeiter-Zeitung* (German w.) : 940 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.  
*The Citizen* (w.) : 156 Barrett Street, Schenectady, N. Y.  
*Dziennik Ludowy* (Polish d.) : 959 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill.  
*The Emancipator* (tri-w.) : Main Street, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands.  
*Eritassard Hayastan* (Armenian w.) : 6 Parmelee Street, Boston, Mass.  
*Hairenik* (Armenian d.) : 13 Shawmut Avenue, Boston, Mass.  
*Jewish Daily Forward* (d.) : 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.  
*The Messenger* (Negro m.) : 2311 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.  
*The Milwaukee Leader* (d.) : 528 Chestnut Street, Milwaukee, Wis.  
*Naujienos* (Lithuanian d.) : 1739 South Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*The New Leader* (w.) : 7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.  
*Nykyaika* (Finnish m.) : 48 Wallace Avenue, Fitchburg, Mass.  
*La Parola del Popolo* (Italian w.) : 1011 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.  
*Philadelphia Tageblatt* (d.) : 107 North 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Proletarec* (Yugoslav w.) : 3639 West 26th Street, Chicago, Ill.  
*Raivaaja* (Finnish d.) : 48 Wallace Avenue, Fitchburg, Mass.  
*Reading Labor Advocate* (w.) : 27 Reed Street, Reading, Pa.  
*Robotnik Polski* (Polish w.) : 959 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill.  
*St. Louis Labor* (w.) : 940 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.  
*Volks-Stimme* (German w.) : 107 North 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., and Edmund Thomaser, 10714 112th Street, Richmond Hill, N. Y.  
*Vorwaerts* (German w.) : 528 Chestnut Street, Milwaukee, Wis.  
*Der Wecker* (Jewish w.) : 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.  
*The World* (w.) : 1020 Broadway, Oakland, Calif.  
*Der Yiddisher Arbeiter* (Poale Zion w.) : 133 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.  
*Die Zukunft* (Jewish m.) : 175 East Broadway, New York, N. Y.

## Communist Organs

- The Daily Worker* (d.): 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Darbininkiu Balsas* (Lithuanian m.): 46 Ten Eyck Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Delnik* (Bohemian w.): 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Empros* (Greek w.): 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Desteptarea* (Rumanian w.): 4417 Chewe Street, Detroit, Mich.
- Eteenpain* (Finnish d.): 54 Belmont, Worcester, Mass.
- Freiheit* (Jewish d.): 30 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
- Laisve* (Lithuanian d.): 46 Ten Eyck Street, New York, N. Y.
- Il Lavoratore* (Italian w.): 108 East 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
- The Marxist* (Workers' Educational Institute, independent, irreg.): P. O. Box 24, Station E, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- New Yorker Volkszeitung* (Independent German d.): 15 Spruce Street, New York, N. Y.
- Novy Mir* (Russian d.): 30 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
- Ny Tid* (Scandinavian d.): 3206 North Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Obrana* (Bohemian w.): 326 East 73rd Street, New York, N. Y.
- Proletar* (Armenian w.): 407 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- The Proletarian* (Proletarian Party m.): 301, 184 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Radnik* (South Slavic tri-w.): 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Sasnanio* (Bulgarian f.): 1343 East Ferry Street, Detroit, Mich.
- Spravedlnost* (Independent Bohemian d.): 1825 South Loomis Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Toveri* (Finnish d.): 131 Seventh Street, Astoria, Oregon.
- Trybuna Robotnicza* (Polish): 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Tyomies* (Finnish d.): 601 Tower Avenue, Superior, Wis.
- Uj Elore* (Hungarian d.): 33 First Street, New York, N. Y.
- Ukrainian Daily News* (d.): 17 East Third Street, New York, N. Y.
- Uus Ilm* (Estonian w.): 1787 First Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- Vilnis* (Lithuanian semi-w.): 3116 South Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.
- The Young Comrade* (Young Pioneers m.): 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- The Young Worker* (Young Workers' League f.): 1113 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

## Socialist Labor Party Organs

- Arbetaren* (Scandinavian w.): 45 Rose Street, New York, N. Y.
- A Munkas* (Hungarian w.): 419 East 83rd Street, New York, N. Y.
- Rabotnicheska Prosveta* (Bulgarian w.): 1404 Madison Avenue, Granite City, Ill.
- Radnicka Borba* (South Slavonian w.): 3359 St. Clair Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Robotnychyj Holos* (Ukrainian m.): 45 Rose Street, New York, N. Y.
- Weekly People* (w.): 45 Rose Street, New York, N. Y.

## Farmer-Labor Organs

- The Carolina Farmer* (w.): 10½ Dock Street, Wilmington, N. C.
- Farm-Labor Union News* (Farm Labor Union w.): 1526 Texas Avenue, Texarkana, Tex.
- Farmer-Labor Advocate* (Farmer-Labor Federation, Inc., w.): 158 East Third Street, St. Paul, Minn.
- Farmer-Labor News* (w.): 606 10th Street, Modesto, Calif.
- Farmer-Labor News* (w.): 212 South Main Avenue, Sioux Falls, So. Dak.
- Farmer-Labor State Record* (w.): Blismarck, N. D.

*Hoosier Farmer* (Indiana Farm Bureau m.): 16 West Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.  
*Iowa Homestead* (w.): Des Moines, Iowa.  
*The Kansas Leader* (w.): 117 South 5th Street, Salina, Kas.  
*Marshall County Enterprise* (Farmer-Labor Union w.): 115 Little Boulevard, Madill, Okla.  
*Minnesota Leader* (f.): Lock Box 2072, Minneapolis, Minn.  
*The National Gleaner Forum* (m.): 5705 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.  
*North Dakota Nonpartisan* (w.): Bismarck, N. D.  
*The People's Press* (w.): Hallock, Minn.  
*The People's Voice* (w.): 712 Chicago Street, Green Bay, Wis.  
*The Union Press* (w.): Guerdon, Ark.  
*Uusi Kotima* (Finnish semi-w.): New York Mills, Minn.  
*Waco Farm and Labor Journal* (w.): Waco, Tex.  
*Western Progressive Farmer* (m.): Sedro Wooley, Wash.

### Cooperative Movement Publications

*Agricultural Cooperation* (United States Department of Agriculture f.): Division of Agricultural Cooperation, Washington, D. C.  
*Agricultural Grange News* (Washington State Grange f.): 1007 Weller Street, Seattle, Wash.  
*Associate Magazine* (The Cooperative League of the United States of America m.): 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.  
*The Bridge* (Credit Union National Extension Bureau m.): 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.  
*Cooperation* (The Cooperative League of the United States of America m.): 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.  
*Cooperative News Service* (All American Cooperative Commission w.): 806 Engineers Building, Cleveland, Ohio.  
*The Cooperative Student* (Cooperative Educational Association, Inc., semi-yrly.): 400 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
*The Cooperators Herald* (m.): Globe Building, St. Paul, Minn.  
*Equity News* (Wisconsin State Union, American Society of Equity f.): 440 Washington Building, Madison, Wis.  
*Fire Insurance Journal* (Associated Cooperative Fire Insurance Companies m.): Woodridge, N. Y.  
*Home Cooperator* (The Cooperative League of the United States of America m.): 167 West 12th Street, New York, N. Y.  
*Kansas Union Farmer* (w.): P. O. Box 48, Salina, Kas.  
*Kentucky Union Farmer* (Kentucky Division, Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union f.): 804 Guaranty Bank Building, Lexington, Ky.  
*The Llano Colonist* (w.): Newllano, Vernon Parish, La.  
*The Minneapolis Cooperator* (The Franklin Cooperative Creamery Association m.): 2108 Washington Avenue, North, Minneapolis, Minn.  
*Nebraska Union Farmer* (Nebraska Division, Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union m.): 11th and Jones Streets, Omaha, Neb.  
*Northern States' Cooperator* (The Northern States' Cooperative League m.): 2108 Washington Avenue, North, Minneapolis, Minn.  
*The United Consumer* (Central States Cooperative Wholesale Society m.): 1752 State Street, East St. Louis, Ill.  
*Waukegan Cooperator* (m.): 665 McAllister Avenue, Waukegan, Ill.

### Publications Concerned with Labor Questions

#### Governmental Publications

*Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Irreg.): United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

- Bulletin of the Women's Bureau* (irreg.): United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.
- The Industrial Bulletin* (New York Industrial Commission m.): Albany, N. Y.
- Industrial Hygiene Bulletin* (Bureau of Industrial Hygiene m.): New York State Department of Labor, 124 East 28th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Labor and Industry* (m.): Department of Labor and Industry, The Capitol, Harrisburg, Pa.
- The Labor Bulletin* (m.): Illinois Department of Labor, 116 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
- Monthly Labor Review* (m.): Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.
- Oklahoma Labor Market* (m.): Department of Labor, Oklahoma City, Okla.
- Oregon Safety News* (m.): State Industrial Accident Commission, Capitol Building, Salem, Oregon.
- Publications of the Children's Bureau* (irreg.): United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.
- Wisconsin Labor Market* (m.): Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, State Capitol, Madison, Wis.
- Wisconsin Labor Statistics* (m.): Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, State Capitol, Madison, Wis.

### Non-Governmental Publications

- The American Child* (National Child Labor Committee w.): 215 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- American Economic Review* (American Economic Association q.): Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
- American Labor Legislation Review* (American Association for Labor Legislation q.): 131 East 23rd Street, New York, N. Y.
- American Journal of Sociology* (American Sociological Society): University of Chicago, 58th Street and Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- The Annals* (American Academy of Political and Social Science bi-m.): West Philadelphia P. O., Philadelphia, Pa.
- The Arbitrator* (m.): 114 East 31st Street, New York, N. Y.
- Bulletin of the Consumers' League of New York* (Consumers' League m. exc. July, August, September): 289 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Information Service* (Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches w.): 105 East 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.
- The Journal of Political Economy* (University of Chicago bi-m.): 58th Street and Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Journal of the American Statistical Association* (American Statistical Association q.): Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Law and Labor* (League for Industrial Rights m.): 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- The Nation* (w.): 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y.
- National Catholic Welfare Council News Service*: 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.
- The New Republic* (w.): 421 West 21st Street, New York, N. Y.
- News-Bulletin* (National Bureau of Economic Research irreg.): 474 West 24th Street, New York, N. Y.
- Political Science Quarterly* (q.), *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York* (semi-ann.) (Columbia University pubs.): New York, N. Y.
- The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (Harvard University q.): Cambridge, Mass.
- Social Service Bulletin* (Methodist Federation for Social Service f.): 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
- Survey, The* (w.): 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

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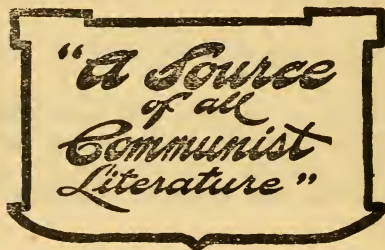
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